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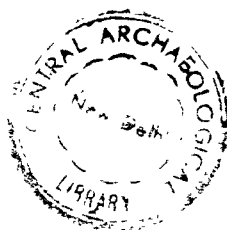
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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

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Vol. XVIII. 1925-26.

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केन्द्रीय पुरातत्व परिसर

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- Page 2, l. 23.—*For Bōl read Bōl.*
- „ 6, l. 30.—*For ellaiṇṇum read ellaiṇṇum.*
- „ 10, text l. 11.—*For bṛindam read vṛindam.*
- „ 13, translation of v. 10.—*For toir ght read to right.*
- „ 16, l. 2 in para. beginning with “ The Palæography ”.—*For Shāh-jī-kī-dherī read Shāh-jī-kī-dhērī.*
- „ 17, l. 2 of translation.—*For (Uttarasena ?) read (Uttarasēna ?).*
- „ 18, l. 4 of Notes.—*For -dherī, read -dhērī.*
- „ 21, l. 3.—*For Komarei read Komar.*
- „ „ l. 7 from bottom.—*For (prāsas) read (anuprāsas).*
- „ 22, l. 1.—*For am aturer read a maturer.*
- „ 23, l. 13.—*For been read born.*
- „ 26, l. 16.—*For Śāṅkara- read Śaṅkara-.*
- „ 27, l. 4 from bottom.—*For Gaṅgavāṭi read Gaṅgavāṭī.*
- „ 28, item 29.—*For Kaḷavaḷi read Kaḷavaḷī.*
- „ 29, item 22.—*For Kaḍāra read Kaḍāram.*
- „ 30, l. 7 from bottom.—*For nscription read inscription.*
- „ „ item 27.—*For Paraṇi read -pParaṇi.*
- „ 32, f. n. 1.—Omit the first ‘ and ’.
- „ 33, f. n. 11.—*For यद्विः read यद्विः.*
- „ 35, text l. 84.—*For वृष्टवर्षाव read वृष्टवर्षाव.*
- „ 36, „ l. 116.—Insert “ (३) ” after वृ.
- „ 40, f. n. 8.—Insert “ ? ” at the end.
- „ 49, translation of v. 12.—*For king read kings.*
- „ „ f. n. 1.—Omit the hyphen between *Rāja* and *pārampariyam* and *for Sōlan read Sōlān* -
- „ 51, f. n. 6.—*For Kalinga° read Kaliṅga°.*
- „ 59, text l. 2.—*For -gu- read -ga-.*
- „ 61, l. 13 from the bottom.—*For Mayurabhanja read Mayūrabhaṇja.*
- „ „ l. 10 „ „ „ *For ākshayaṇī read ākshayaṇī.*
- „ 62, l. 16.—*For Amala- read Āmala-.*
- „ 64, l. 3.—*For Bhara° read Bhara°.*
- „ „ f. n. 1.—*For amil read Tamil.*
- „ 67, l. 15 from the bottom.—*For Chhandas-śāstra read Chhandas śāstra.*
- „ „ l. 7 „ „ „ *For village and Mīlālālā read village and Mīlālāi.*

Page 76, f. n. 6.—*Insert*] at the end.

- „ 81, l. 3 from the bottom.—*For* Nāhār *read* Nāhar.
- „ 83, f. n. 2.—*Omit* the “ a ” at the end of the line.
- „ 86, l. 19.—*For* = *read* -.
- „ 92, f. n. 1, l. 2.—*For* Hiwen *read* Hiuen.
- „ 93, l. 10.—*Insert* ‘ , ’ after Marmad.
- „ 113, f. n. 1, l. 3.—*For* -Nīṭisārā *read* -Nīṭisāra.
- „ 114, f. ns. 5 & 6.—*For* ender *read* render, and *for* ns cription *read* inscription.
- „ 116, l. 17.—*For* -rāshtra *read* -rāshṭra.
- „ 117, l. 15.—*For* ghatakayar *read* Ghatakayar.
- „ „ penultimate line.—*Insert* ण between ष and ऋ.
- „ 118, l. 23.—*Insert* ‘ r ’ between ‘ sepa ’ and ‘ ated ’.
- „ „ f. n. 2.—*For* 53 *read* 541.
- „ „ f. n. 3.—*For* IX *read* XI.
- „ 119, l. 10.—*For* tates *read* states.
- „ „ l. 11.—*For* विप्राणां गनाय वरं ददात् *read* विप्राणां गनाय वरमदात्.
- „ 120, text l. 10.—*For* °ल्वि° *read* °ल्वि°.
- „ 124, serial numbers 4, 6, 9 and 10 of the table.—*For* Irādhīdara, Ēpūr, 51, 52, Sēnda° and Śaḍaṅga° *read* Irādhītara, Ēpūr, 52, 53, Śēnda° and Śaḍaṅga° respectively.
- „ 130, l. 21.—*For* ‘ undovbted ’ and ‘ thts ’ *read* ‘ undoubted ’ and ‘ this ’ respectively.
- „ 131, f. n. 2.—*For* वष *read* वर्ष.
- „ 139, ll. 3 & 13.—*For* Nāchchikrurchchi and *sthānapati* *read* Nāchchikrurchchi and *sthānapati* respectively.
- „ 140, l. 4.—*For* Musalmans *read* Musalmāns.
- „ 141, text l. 16.—*For* °न *read* °न; and *for* °र° *read* °र°.
- „ „ „ l. 21.—*For* °ली° *read* °ली°.
- „ 144, „ 8° —*Delete* .
- „ 145, l. 17.—*For* *sthānapati* *read* *sthānapati*.
- „ „ f. n. 1, l. 2.—*For* -Kāoya *read* -Kāvya.
- „ 156, l. 15.—*For* ‘ the ’ *read* ‘ to ’.
- „ „ l. 16.—*For* Hastyā° *read* Hastyā°.
- „ 159, text l. 6.—*For* Vrrisa *read* Varisa.
- „ 160, l. 11.—*For* Śri- *read* Śrī-.
- „ 163, Metres.—*For* Śālinī *read* Śālinī.
- „ 171, heading.—*For* 17 *read* 171.
- „ „ ll. 23 & 24.—*For* ‘ eltus ’ and ‘ i ’ *read* ‘ elu ’ and ‘ is ’ respectively.
- „ „ l. 26.—*Insert* a hyphen at the end.
- „ 181, l. 22.—*For* Gaya *read* Gayā.
- „ 183, l. 8.—*For* Sōbhana- *read* Śōbhana-.

- Page 194, f. n. 2.—For 'th' read 'the'.
- „ 198, f. n. 3.—For Kālidāsa read Kālidāsa.
- „ 199, f. n. 3, l. 3.—For 'sten' read 'stem'.
- „ 206, l. 1 of translation of J.—For 'he' read 'the'.
- „ 217, f. n. 4.—For 'appaya-' read 'Appaya-'.
- „ 218, l. 5.—For Bijjanadēvā read Bijjanadēva.
- „ „ translation of ll. 38-43.—For dharmēta read dharmmēta
- „ 219, f. n. 1.—For 'न' read 'न'.
- „ 222, f. n. 4.—For Kamaulf read Kamauli.
- „ 223, f. n. 1.—Insert [at the beginning.
- „ 228, ll. 14 and 17.—For Andeki read Andēki.
- „ 234, l. 20.— „ „
- „ 235, l. 6 from bottom.—For Gōvinda III. read Gōvinda III,
- „ 240, l. 4 from the bottom.—For Amōgh varsha read Amōghavarsha
- „ 244, text l. 12.—For राज्याभिषेक read राज्याभिषेक.
- „ 250, text l. 64.—For 'रि' read 'रि'.
- „ 253, translation of v. 24.—For Kōsala read Kōśala.
- „ „ „ „ v. 29.—For Jgaattuṅga read Jagattuṅga.
- „ 275, l. 8 from the bottom.—For full read fall.
- „ 285, f. n. 3.—For , read . and commence a new sentence with 'The'.
- „ 287, l. 9.—For Āmōghakalaśa read Amōghakalaśa.
- „ „ f. n. line 5 from the bottom.—For खुमन read खुमन.
- „ 289, ll. 14 and 42.—For Baripada and Binka read Baripadā and Binkā respectively.
- „ 291, f. n. 2.—For Bhanja and Daspalla read Bhañja and Daspallā respectively.
- „ 292, para. 1.—Close the quotation at the end of the penultimate sentence and omit the quotation mark at the end of the para.
- „ 293, ll. 1 and 12.—For स read सः.
- „ 294, text l. 21.—For सुत अग्नि read सुत । (तौग्नि°) and for अपरगोलश read अपर[*] गोलश.
- „ „ „ 1. 23.—For गुह्यः (अ) अग्नि read गुह्यः अ(श्व)ग्नि°.
- „ „ f. n. 4.—For Aūchadēva read Aichadēva.
- „ 297, f. n. 10.—For Matre read Metre.
- „ 305, text l. 8.—For sva-dharmum | read sva-dharmmē |
- „ 314, f. n. 5.—For Bōlu read Bōl and omit 'Vol XVIII'.
- „ 318, f. n. 4.—For Hathigumpha read Hāthigumphā.
- „ 321, l. 6 from bottom.—For Delha read Dēlha.
- „ 322, l. 4.—For , read . and omit the rest of the paragraph.
- „ 324, l. 4 from bottom.—For Delha read Dēlha.
- „ 325, text l. 2.—For Viṭasa[m*]ga° read Chīṭasa Ga° [N. G. Majumdar].

-
- Page 326, translation of No. I.—*For* ‘ Vitasamgata ’ *read* ‘ Chita of the Gatas ’ [N. G. Majumdar].
- „ „ text of No. V.—*For* Chu[la]pētukasa *read* Chulapitukasa.
- „ 327, l. 2.—After ‘ clear ’ add [*Chulapitukasa* means ‘ of the father’s younger brother, *i.e.*, uncle ’.—Ed.]
- „ „ translation of No. V.—*For* “ Agila, a resident of Chulapētu (?) ” *read* “ his uncle
• (Prakrit *Chula*^o=Sanskrit *Kshudra*^o) Agila ” [N. P. Chakravarti].
- „ „ „ VI.—*For* Chulayakha *read* “ Yakha (Yaksha) the Junior (Kshudra-Yaksha).”
- „ 328, No. XI, text and translation.—*For* “ Mahamatā ” *read* “ Maḥamitā (Mahāmitrā) ”.—
Ed.
- „ „ translation of No. XII.—*For* “ Dharmadēvī ” *read* “ Dhama dēvā (Dharmadēvā) ”.—
Ed.
- „ 336, l. 24.—*For* Poionnaruva *read* Polonnaruva.
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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOLUME XVIII

No. 1.—KONDANAGURU GRANT OF INDRAVARMAN.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

Ink impressions of this inscription were sent to me by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, along with the following description of the original plates :

"This set of five copper-plates was received from Pendyala Subrahmanya Sastri, National College, Masulipatam, through the President, District Board, Godavari, in June 1921. The plates are held together by a circular ring rivetted into the back of a circular seal, on the countersunk surface of which are cut, in relief, a crescent, the word *śrī-Tyāgadhēnu*, and an expanding lotus-flower of six petals. The plates bear writing on eight faces in all, the first and last plates having writing only on their inner sides, and have no raised rims. They measure about 7" in breadth, and a little less than 2" in height. The ring-hole is bored at a distance of about $\frac{1}{8}$ " from the left margin of the plates and measures about $\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter. The ring has a diameter of about 4", and the seal is a little more than 2" in diameter. The plates, with the ring and seal, weigh 100 tolas. The ring was cut in this office."¹

The writing on the plates is on the whole in a state of very good preservation. The alphabet resembles that of other early Eastern Chalukya inscriptions. The secondary forms of *i* and *ī* are not always clearly distinguished. The *Jihvāmūliya* occurs in *yañ=kaśchid=* (l. 30). A final form of *m* is frequently used ; one of *t* is found in *prādāt* (l. 18) and *vasēt* (l. 34), one of *n* in *rāja[r*]shin* (l. 26), and one of *l* in *-Bōl* (four times in l. 28 f., and once in l. 37).

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose ; but three verses of *Vēda-Vyāsa* are quoted in lines 31-35. The Telugu plural *-Bōl* occurs four times in line 28 f., and once in line 37. Lingual *l* is used also in *Chalukyanām* (l. 6), *-yugaḷaḥ* (l. 16), and in the Telugu village-name *Velḷekki* (l. 29). The Telugu *r* occurs in the two village-names *Cherupūru* (l. 20) and *Irralū[r]* (l. 22). The vowel *ri* after consonants is generally expressed by the syllable *ri*. After *r*, consonants (except sibilants) are doubled, and *dh* is doubled before *y* in *maddhyā* (l. 21). In *-vaksha-sthalasya* (l. 9 f.) *s* is elided before *sth*. In line 28 the group *ñj* is employed instead of *jñ* in *vinjāpanayā* and *āñjāpti* (for *ājñāpti*). In line 21 the adjective *niv[ā*]sin* seems to be used in the sense of 'lying, situated.'

The inscription records the grant of the village of *Koṇḍanagūru* to the *Brāhmana* *Chenḍīsarman* by the *Mahārāja Indravarmān*, surnamed *śrī-Tyāgadhēnu*,² i.e. 'the (celestial) cow in liberality,' who was a son of the *Mahārāja Viṣṇuvardhana* and a grandson of the *Mahārāja Kirtivarmān*, and who belonged to the family of the *Chalukyas*. The donor's father, *Viṣṇuvardhana*, has to be identified with *Viṣṇuvardhana I*, the founder of the

¹ [The inscription has been reviewed in the *Epigraphical Report* for 1922 ; App. A, No. 2, and p. 96.—Ed.]

² The same surname forms the legend on the seal of this grant which is reproduced on the back of Plate of the *Niduparu* grant of *Jayasimha I*, *infra*.

Eastern Chalukya dynasty, who is known to have been the younger son of the Western Chalukya king Kirtivarman I. Consequently, Indravarman must be the actual name of the younger son of Vishṇuvardhana I, who is called **Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka** or **Indrarāja** in the inscriptions of his successors, and who, according to later tradition, reigned only for seven days.¹

The grant seems to have been made at the request of a chief named **Koṇḍivarman**, and the executor of the grant seems to have been Indravarman's eldest son, who likewise bore the name **Indravarman**. From other inscriptions we know only of a single son of **Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka** or **Indrarāja**, who succeeded to the throne as **Vishṇuvardhana II**.

Line 28 f. contains four signatures of witnesses of the grant, each of which consists of the name of some village, followed by the word *Bōl*. In the opinion of Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri, *Bōl* (for *Bōyalu*) is the Telugu plural of *Bōya*. In the Chendalūr plates of A.D. 673, *Bōya* occurs five times, and is once replaced by the Sanskrit word *vāstavya*, 'a resident, inhabitant.'² The same must be the meaning of the word *Bōya* in a grant of Vishṇuvardhana II, where a large number of donees are mentioned by name and are stated to have been *Bōyas*, i.e. 'residents,' of certain villages.³ In the Chendalūr plates of A.D. 673 the actual names of the donees are omitted, and the expression 'resident of such and such a village' is employed in the place of the donee's proper name. Similarly, the donee's grandfather, **Durgasārman**, receives in the subjoined grant the epithet '**Irṇālū[r]**-*Bōya* by name' (l. 22). It might be concluded from this that *Bōya* is the designation of a village-clerk (*Karṇam*). But this possibility is excluded by the fact that in the above-mentioned grant of Vishṇuvardhana II two different individuals, **Veṇṇisārman** and **Chāmuṇḍisārman**, are stated to have been **Māraṭa-Bōya**, i.e. 'a resident of **Māraṭa**.'⁴ In a grant of **Bhīma I** the donee (or his grandfather) is styled **Ummarakāṇṭhi-Bōl**,⁵ i.e. 'a resident of **Ummarakāṇṭhi**.' This use of the plural *Bōl* suggests that the term *Bōl* in **Ālapākā-Bōl**, etc. (l. 28 f.), and in **Chōḍa-Bōl** (l. 37) will have to be explained as the *honorific* plural of *Bōya*, 'a resident, inhabitant.'

Lines 19-21 contain the names of four villages which formed the boundaries of the village granted, **Koṇḍanagūru**. The boundary in the South was **Cherupūru** (l. 20). This village is perhaps identical with **Cherupūra** in the **Plākī**⁶ district, which, according to Dr. Fleet,⁷ was probably an older form of **Chipurupalle** in the present **Vizagapatam District**. The remaining village-names I am unable to identify.

TEXT.⁸

First Plate ; Second Side.

- 1 Svasti⁹[*] Srimatām(tām) sakala-bhuvana-sainstūyamāna-Mā[na]vya-sagō-
- 2 tr[ā*]nām(nām) Hārīti-putrānām(nām) svāmi-Mahāsēna-p[ā*]d-ānudhyā-
- 3 tām(nām) Kausiki-vara-prasāda-labdha-rājy[ā*]nām bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-pra-
- 4 sāda-samāsādita-varāha-lāñchhan-ekshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśikri(kṛi)t-āśēsha-

¹ See above, Vol. VIII, Appendix, p. 16 and note 9.

² See my remarks, above, Vol. VIII, p. 238.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 187 f.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 188, text lines 41 and 50.

⁵ Above, Vol. V, p. 129, text line 25 f.

⁶ This is the actual reading of the **Chipurupalle** plates of **Vishṇuvardhana I**; see above, Vol. IX, p. 318, and cf. Vol. XII, p. 133.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 15; 96.

⁸ From ink impressions supplied by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri.

⁹ This word is entered by the writer on the left side of line 2.

2
 4

1. பிள்ளை
 2. பிள்ளை
 3. பிள்ளை
 4. பிள்ளை

6
8

10
12

[illegible]

والله اعلم

२८

22

124

28

28

30

32

34

36

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 5 mahibhṛitām [= *]śvamedh-āvabhṛitha-snāna-pavitrikri(kṛi)ta-mānasa-[śarirā]-
 6 nām(nām) sva-yaśō-vishayikri(kṛi)ta-trailōkyānām(nām) Chalukyānām(nām) ku-
 7 lam-ala[m]kri(kṛi)tya nija-janmanah(nā?) virājamānāh(nah?) śrī-Ki[r*]ttivarmma-
 mahā-
 8 rājasya naptā śrī-Vishṇuvarddhana-mahārājah¹ raṇa-mukha-ga(śa)ta-ripu-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 9 vijaya-samupalabdha-Śrī-vadhū-nivāsāyamāna-vipula-vaksha-sthala-
 10 sya putrah śakti-traya-samadhigata-mahā-khyāti-vibhūti[h] tri-²
 11 vargga-sēvā-nipunaḥ Purāṇapurusha iva bahu-lōka-stu-
 12 taḥ Purāstir-iva bhūta-gaṇa-priyaḥ dvitiya iva Makaradhvajah

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 13 pañchama iva lōkapālah Pridhagrasuta³ iva satya-sandhaḥ śarā(ra)t-kālā iva
 14 kṛita-bandhujiv-ōtsavaḥ pūrvv-āchalēndra⁴ iva mitr-ōday-ānukūla-
 15 mahimā mahipati-makūṭa-taṭa-ghaṭita-mahārātna-marichi-ma-
 16 ṇijarī-rañjita-charaṇ-āravinda-yugaḥ śr-Indrava[r*]mma-mahārājah Tyā-
 17 gadhēny-āpara-nāmadhēyah⁵ udaka-pūrvvakam sarvva-karā(ra)-parihār-ōpētam

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 18 brahmad[ā*]yikṛitya Koṇḍaṇagūru-nāma-grāma-grāmam prādāt [i*] Tasya grāmasya
 19 dig-vibhāgā[h*] | Uttarataḥ Mujumūru-nāma-grāma[h*] | Pūrvvataḥ Pagunūru-
 nāma-grā-
 20 maḥ [i*] Dakṣiṇa-vibhāg-[ā*]vasthitah Cherupūru-nāma-grāma[h*] | Paśchimataḥ
 Irbba-
 21 [l]i-nāma-gr[ā*]maḥ [i*] Ētēshām grām[ā]nām maddhyēm⁶ niv[ā*]si kṛitah [i*]
 Vājasanēya-cha-
 22 raṇasya Du[r*]ggaśa[r*]mmāṇah(nō) Brahma-vihita-karmma-niratasya Irralū[r]-
 Bōya-nāma-

Fourth Plate ; First Side.


- 23 [brāhmaṇa]sya pautrāya⁷ abhijana-vidyā-vri(vṛi)ttavataḥ(tō) Bhāradvāja-sagōtra-
 24 sya Vishṇuśarmmaṇah putrāya vēdavid-vipra-saṁstūyamāna-charitāya
 25 Cheṇḍīśarmmaṇē mātāpitṛōr-ātmanaś=cha puṇyō(ny-ā)vāptayē(ya) iti cha [i*]
 26 Bhāvinō rāja[r*]shin yathōpachāra-purassaram(raṁ) sammānayati [i*] Āryyā-
 27 hū-va[m]śa-gagana-tilaka-bhūta-Ko[nḍi]varmmaṇā mahārājasy-āgra-suta I-

¹ Read -mahārājasya.² Read -vibhūti=tri.³ Read Pritā-āgra-suta (i.e. Yudhishtīra).⁴ The syllable lē is corrected by the writer from lō.⁵ Read -mahārājasya=Tyāgadghēny-āpara-nāmadhēyah.⁶ Cancel this anusvara.⁷ Read pautrāya=ābhijana.

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 28 **ndravarmama** namadhēya¹ viñjāpanayā tasy-āñjāptirōvam² **Ālapāka-Bōl**
 29 . . **ppi-Bōl** **Sōmayājula-Velḷekki-Bōl** **Māraṭa-Bōl** [i*] Api cha mōhāl-lobbā-
 30 d-vā yah-kaśchid-vighna-karttāra³ sa pañcha-mahāpātaka-yuktō bhavishyati
 iti⁴ cha [i*]
 31 **Vēda-Vya[sas*]sya** ślōk[ā*]ś=ch=ātra [i*] Nighnatō bha[r*]tri(tri)-gō-vipra-bāla-
 yōshit-ta-
 32 pasvinaḥ [i*] yā gatis=sā bhavēt=vrittim⁵ harata[h*] śāsan-āṅkitām [|| 1 ||*]
 Shashthimma⁶ varsha-sa-

Fifth Plate ; First Side.

- 33 hā(ha)srāni svarggē tishṭhati bhūmi-da[h*] | ākshēptā ch-ānumant[ā*] cha
 tāny=ēva na-
 34 rakē vasēt [|| 2 ||*] Bahubhir=vva[su*]dhā dattā bahubhiś=ch-ānupālītā [i*]
 yasya-ya-
 35 sya yadā bhūmi[s=*]tasya-tasya tadā phalam[|| 3 ||*] Iti Kanakarāma-likhi-
 36 tē śā śa (ra) nē chatushashṭhyāśah⁷ [i*] Ētēshā nāmānām ēkaik-āśah⁸ 
 37 . . [pālvā]kum[ī]=ēk-āśā[h*] [i*] Chōḍa-Bōl⁹ tri(tri)tiy-ā[m*]śam [||*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

The Mahārāja Indravarman, whose other name was Tyāgadhēnu (l. 16 f.), adorned the family of the Chalukyas (l. 6 f.); was a grandson of the Mahārāja Kirtivarman (l. 7 f.); and was a son of the Mahārāja Vishṇuvardhana¹⁰ (ll. 8-10). He granted the village¹¹ of Koṇḍana-gūru (l. 18) to Cheṇḍiśarman (l. 25), son of Vishṇuśarman of the Bhāradvāja gōtra (l. 23 f.) and grandson of Durgasārman, (also) called Irṇalū[r]-Bōya, of the Vājasaneyā charaṇa (ll. 21-23). The boundaries of the village granted were: in the North, Mujuṃṇūru; in the East, Pagunūru; in the South, Cherupūru; and in the West, Irbba[l]i (ll. 18-21).

The grant seems to have been made at the instance of a chief named Koṇḍivarman, who belonged to the family of Āryyāhū(?), and at whose request the Mahārāja's (viz. Indravarman's) eldest son, who, (like his father), bore the name Indravarman, was appointed executor (āñjāpti) of this (grant).¹² Line 28 f. seems to contain the names of four witnesses of the grant, preceded by the particle ēvam, 'thus,' viz. **Ālapāka-Bōl**,¹³ . . **ppi-Bōl**, **Sōmayājula-Velḷekki-Bōl**, and **Māraṭa-Bōl**.¹⁴

¹ Read perhaps *Indravarmma-nāmadhēyō*.

² Read *viñjāpanayā tasy-āñjāptiḥ* | *Ētam*=.

³ Read *karttā*.

⁴ Read *bhavishyat=iti*.

⁵ Read *bhavēt=vrittim*.

⁶ Read *Shashṭim*.

⁷ Read *chatushashṭhy-āśāḥ*.

⁸ Read perhaps *Ētēshām brāhmaṇānām=ēkaik-āśāḥ*.

⁹ A point or dash is engraved between *bō* and *l*.
¹⁰ The genitive *-rakṣa-sthalasya* in line 9 f. proves that the nominative *-mahārājah* in line 8 must be a mistake of the clerk who drafted the grant, for *-mahārājasya*.

¹¹ The text reads *grāma-grāma*, 'village of villages,' i.e. 'a large village' (?) or 'a chief village' (?). The same expression occurs in another Eastern Chalukya grant; see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 133, text line 18.

¹² The purpose of the passage from which I derive these statements (ll. 26-28) is uncertain. If my correction *Indravarmma-nāmadhēyō* is accepted, it would still be necessary either to supply after *Koṇḍivarmanā* the word *kṛitayā* qualifying the instrumental *viñjāpanayā*, or to read *Koṇḍivarmanā*.

¹³ *Bōl* is the honorific plural of *Bōya*, 'a resident, inhabitant'; see my remarks on p. 2 above.

¹⁴ The epithet *Māraṭa-Bōya* is applied to two of the donees in a grant of Vishṇuvardhana II; see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 188, text lines 41 and 50. In l. 60 of that grant, *samprāṭa* must be corrected into *samprattāḥ*.

(This) edict (*śāsana*) was written by Kanakarāma (l. 35 f.). The village granted was divided into 64 shares, of which each of the donees¹ received one share (l. 36). The last line (37) contains the names of two further recipients of shares, of whom the first, whose name is doubtful, received one share, and the other, named Chōḍa-Bōḷ, one-third share.

No. 2.—BAHUR PLATES OF NRIPATUNGAVARMAN.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

As stated by M. Julien Vinson, this inscription is engraved on five copper-plates which were discovered by M. Jules Delafon² in 1879 'at a depth of about one metre, in the middle of a structure of bricks, at six metres south of the pagoda of Bāhūr, an important locality on the south of Pondicherry, from which it is 23·5 kilometres distant.' The plates are now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. They measure about 91·5 millimetres in height, 201·9 mm. in breadth, and 4·1 mm. in thickness, and weigh altogether 3106 grammes. There is the usual ring-hole, 13·5 mm. in diameter, at a distance of 9·10 mm. from the left margin of each plate; but the ring which must have been originally passed through the holes and borne the royal seal, has not been recovered. 'It had surely been broken long ago; for the first side of the third plate and the second side of the second one are in worse condition than the other sides. They were no doubt on the outside of the set. This allows us to conclude that the document has been buried with carelessness or in impatient haste.' I am deriving all these details from M. Vinson's article 'Le collège de Bahour au IX^e siècle,'³ in which he furnished a tentative transcript and translation of the inscription. Years ago I had published a few remarks on it,⁴ based on a transcript which had been prepared by a Tamil pandit and supplied to me by M. Delafon. This transcript has been recently printed in full, with some additional remarks, by Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri.⁵ The historical importance of the record now induces me to re-edit it from a set of photographs which M. Vinson had been good enough to send me in 1905. The photographs are not quite perfect and distinct, but nearly every detail of the text can be made out from them with certainty.

The languages of the inscription are Sanskrit and Tamil, and the alphabets are Grantha and Tamil, respectively. There are 32 Sanskrit verses (ll. 1-45 and 74-77); the rest of the text is in Tamil prose (ll. 45-74 and 78 f.). Grantha letters are occasionally used also in the Tamil portion (*Nṛi*, l. 45; *rmma*, l. 46; *brahmadēya*, l. 50; *vidyāsthā*, ll. 51, 71; *vidyābhōga*, ll. 52, 71 f.; *hā* and *vyavaste(sthāi)*, l. 72; *sarvaparīhā*, *brahma*, and *datti*, l. 73; *Udatōdaya* and *dē*, l. 78; *Nripatūṅga*, l. 78), and the Tamil syllable *rai* occurs in a Sanskrit verse (l. 34), while the purely Tamil name *Nilaitāṅgi* is written in Grantha letters (*Nilaitāṅg=iti*, l. 30). In the Sanskrit portion, the secondary form of *i* is not distinguished from that of *i*, nor that of *ri* from that of *ra*, nor *p* from *v*. In the Tamil portion, the length of initial *ē* and *ō* is not marked in *ēri* (l. 72) and *ōḍai* (l. 69). The secondary forms of *i*, *ē*, *ō* are the same as those of *i*, *e*, *o*. The length of the vowel *ā* is marked in *ūr*, *Vāgūr*, *Urattūr*, *°rūr*, *°nūr*, and *pūsi*; but the *mā* of *immāṇṇūrum* (l. 50) does not differ in shape from *mu*, and from the *lu* of *-pālun=* (l. 68).

¹ The names of the 64 shareholders are not specified, but the latter are alluded to by the pronoun *ētē*, 'these,' which implies that they were assembled in the king's presence when he made the grant. For similar instances of the use of the pronoun *ētaḍ* see above, Vol. IX, p. 59, note 6. The unnamed donees perhaps consisted of the chief donee Cheṇḍiśarman and his relatives, and of the four persons who were mentioned as witnesses of the grant in line 28 f.

² To the same gentleman we owe the discovery of the Kāsākuḍi plates of Nandivarman (S. I. I., Vol. II, No. 73).

³ *Mémoires Orientaux* (Paris, 1905), pp. 211-263.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV, p. 180 f.

⁵ S. I. I., Vol. II, pp. 513-517.

All these defective spellings are well known from many other Tamil inscriptions.¹ They were not intended to imply actual differences of pronunciation, but are only due to the yet imperfect development of the old Tamil alphabet. In my transcript, I have, therefore, substituted the long vowels wherever they are required. In the Sanskrit portion, a final form of *m* is frequently employed (ll. 11, 12, 13, etc.). Virāma is expressed by a vertical dash after *n* (ll. 10, 29 (?), 35 (?), 40, 41), but seems to be omitted generally after final *t* (ll. 4, 5, 26, 29, 30, 45), where I have tacitly supplied it. Superscribed *r* has the same shape as Virāma, but is represented by a point in *nirbabhau*, (l. 16) and *-pūrvaka[m]* (l. 32). In the Tamil portion, Virāma is expressed only in two instances: by a vertical dash in *tan* (l. 48), and by a point (*pulli*) in *im* (l. 50). In the Sanskrit portion, the end of a verse is marked indiscriminately by various signs of punctuation, consisting of one or more of five different elements (|, ||, :, —, 0—), but which I have in every case replaced by the usual mark (||). The end of the first half of a verse is marked by a horizontal line (—) only in five instances (ll. 13, 15, 17, 26, 30). At the end of the two Tamil passages, two other signs of punctuation are employed, viz. :||0— (l. 74) and :|0— (l. 79).

The orthography of the Sanskrit portion calls for a few remarks. Tamil pronunciation is responsible for the forms *Tantivarmman* (ll. 14, 18) for *Dantivarmman*, and *rēbha* (l. 33) for *rēpha*, and *agātha* (l. 37) is meant for *aqādha*. The group *ksh* is replaced by *tsh* in *varatsha* (l. 9 f.), *tshmāpāla* (l. 14 f.), *-didritshayā* (l. 17), and *Latshmīr* (l. 20). The Sandhi rules are disregarded in *pālanāt=bhūmim* (l. 15), *kritavān=sāstra* (l. 45), *svarggam=vimānēna* (l. 13), and *labdham=vidyā* (l. 35). Visarga is dropped, not only, as optionally permitted, in *=tēja sthiti* (l. 3) and *dāsa sthānasya* (l. 44), but also in *va śriyam* (l. 1) and *rājña śrī* (ll. 21, 42). Consonants are doubled after *r*, with four exceptions (*Śrī-bhartuś*, l. 3, *nirbabhau*, l. 16, and *Dhū[r*]jaṭir=jaṭa*, l. 36).² Double *t* is simplified before *v* in *datvā* (l. 39) and *tatva* (l. 45). The Tamil of the grant portion is on the whole correct. The only mistakes in it are °*pākkamum* (l. 49) for °*pākkamum*, *naṭṭi* and *viḍutka* (l. 53) for *nāṭṭi* and *viḍukka*, *viḍunda* (l. 56) for *viḍutta*, *ūmam* (l. 67) for *ūrum*, *vyavasteyum* (l. 72 f.) for *vyavasthaiyum*, and a few other slips in the two last lines of the inscription. The genitive affix *in* is joined to *ellai*, 'a boundary,' without Sandhi in *ellaiin* (ll. 58, 63, 64 f., 65, 66), and its final *n* is doubled before the conjunctive affix *um* in *ellaiṇṇum* (ll. 58, 59, 60, 61). Similarly, the past relative participle *āyina* is spelt *āina* (l. 62). For the past gerund *āy* we have *āyi* (l. 72, and twice in l. 73), which is an archaic form; *mēyi* (l. 68) for *mēy*, 'to graze', and *Nelvāyippākkam* (l. 59 f.) for *Nelvāyppākkam*.

The metres of the Sanskrit portion are: *Drutavilambita* (verses 1, 7), *Vasantatilakā* (15, 31), *Āryā* (32), and *Anuṣṭubh* (3-6, 8-14, 16-30). The metre of verse 2 is *Praharṣiṇī*; but its fourth Pāda is *Anuṣṭubh*, and in each of the two first Pādas the tenth and eleventh syllables of the *Praharṣiṇī* metre are missing. I am unable to correct and translate this verse in a satisfactory manner.

The Tamil portion of the inscription records a grant of three villages, and the Sanskrit portion preceding it professes to be a eulogy (*prastuti*, l. 45) celebrating the donor. The Tamil and the Sanskrit versions supplement and corroborate each other, and have both to be considered together. The grant was made in the eighth year (ll. 46, 51) of the reign of king (*kṛ*) **Vijaya-Nripatūṅgavarman** (l. 45 f.), or simply **Nripatūṅgavarman** (l. 74 f.), **Nripatūṅga** (ll. 24, 25, 32), or **Tūṅgavarman** (l. 42), who boasted of the title 'lord of the three worlds' (ll. 22 f., 41 f.). Verses 2-15 contain the following genealogical account of this king. From the lotus-flower arising from Vishṇu's navel was produced *Brahmā*; from him, *Āṅgiras*; from him, *Bṛihaspati*; from him, *Saṁyu*; from him, *Bharadvāja*; from him, *Drōṇa*; from him, *Aśvatthāman*; and from him, king *Pallava* (verse 6). The same mythical pedigree is found at the begin-

¹ Cf. S. I. I., Vol. I, Preface, p. v. 2.

² In *varshaṇād* (l. 15 f.) the doubling of the sibilant is prohibited by Pāṇini, VIII, 4, 49.

ning of several inscriptions of the Pallava kings of Kāñchi. Next we are told that from the family of Pallava 'arose a group (of kings) commencing with Vimala and Koṅkanika' (verse 7), and that, 'after Vimala, etc., had gone to heaven' (verse 8), there was Dantivarman (verse 9), whose son was Nandivarman (verse 12). As I have suggested on a former occasion,¹ the 'group (of kings) commencing with Vimala and Koṅkanika', which is sandwiched between the mythical king Pallava and the historical king Dantivarman, probably owes its mention to the desire of claiming for the latter connection with the Western Gaṅga kings, whose ancestor is believed to have been Koṅkaṇi.² The queen of Nandivarman, Śaṅkhā by name, was born in the Rāshtrakūṭa family (verse 13) and bore to him the donor of this grant, Nripatuṅga (verse 15). Of him verse 16 tells us that he supplied a Pāṇḍya king, whose proper name is not disclosed, with an army, and that he defeated some enemies, who are not specified either, on the further bank of the Arichit river. The name of this river must be a Sanskritized form of Ariśil, a branch of the Kāvēri which enters the sea at Kāraikkāl (Karikal).³ It may be concluded from verse 16 that Nripatuṅga allied himself with a Pāṇḍya king and undertook an expedition into the dominions of the Chōla king. The two names Dantivarman and Nripatuṅga occur also among the Rāshtrakūṭa kings, with whom Nandivarman became actually connected through his queen Śaṅkhā, and Dantivarman is perhaps identical with Dantiga, the ruler of Kāñchi who was defeated by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Govinda III in A.D. 804.⁴ Rao Bahādūr Krishna Sastri has shown quite recently that the Vēlūrpalaiyam plates of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman and the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman probably belong to the reign of Nripatuṅga's father Nandivarman.⁵

According to the Tamil portion, the grant was made at the request of Vēśāli-pēraraiyaṇ (l. 46), i.e. 'the great chief of Vēśāli.' The Sanskrit portion supplies his proper name, Mārtaṇḍa (l. 27 f.), and his surname, Nilaitāṅga (l. 30), and calls him, with a play on his name Mārtaṇḍa, 'the sun of the Vēśāli family' (l. 27 f.). From other inscriptions we learn that Vēśālippāḍi was the name of a province, of which Vāgūr-nāḍu, i.e. the country round Bāhūr, formed a subdivision.⁷ Evidently Mārtaṇḍa was a hereditary chief of this province. He claimed descent from the family of Kuru (ll. 27, 31 f., 43), the mythical ancestor of the heroes of the Mahābhārata. At his own request (ll. 32, 46 f.), he had received three villages in his own province (rāshṭra) from king Nripatuṅga (verse 21). This probably means nothing but that his sovereign accorded him permission to give away these three villages, and explains two apparently conflicting statements, viz. that, in verses 23, 26, and 29, Mārtaṇḍa is represented as the actual donor, while, in verse 31, Nripatuṅgavarman claims the merit of having made the grant himself.

The executor (*ājñapti* in Sanskrit, ll. 32, 39, and 41, or *āṇatti* in Tamil, l. 47) of the grant was Uttamaśīla (l. 41), the minister (*mantrin*) of king Tuṅgavarman (l. 42), i.e. of Nripatuṅga. He had the title Viḍēlviḍugu-Kāḍupaṭṭi-Tamiḷa-pēraraiyaṇ (l. 47), i.e. 'the great chief of the Tamilians of Viḍēlviḍugu-Kāḍupaṭṭi.' As Kāḍupaṭṭi is a synonym of Pallava,⁸ Uttamaśīla's title suggests that Viḍēlviḍugu, i.e. 'the crashing thunderbolt,' was a surname of the Pallava king Nripatuṅga. The same word Viḍēlviḍugu seems to have been a surname of his father Nandivarman. For an inscription of king Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman and of his feudatory, the Bāṇa chief Vikramāditya, at Tiruvallam⁹ records the grant of a village named Viḍēlviḍugu-Vikkiramāditta-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. The first member of this compound word

¹ Above, Vol. IV, p. 181.

² Cf. above, Vol. III, p. 164, n. 3, and S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 98 f.

³ S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 52, n. 8.

⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 127.

⁵ S. I. I., Vol. II, pp. 506 f., 518.

⁶ This Tamil name is paraphrased in Sanskrit by *lōkānāṁ nilayaḥ* (l. 29).

⁷ See M. Vinsor's article, p. 234 f., and Venkayya's Preface to S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 27.

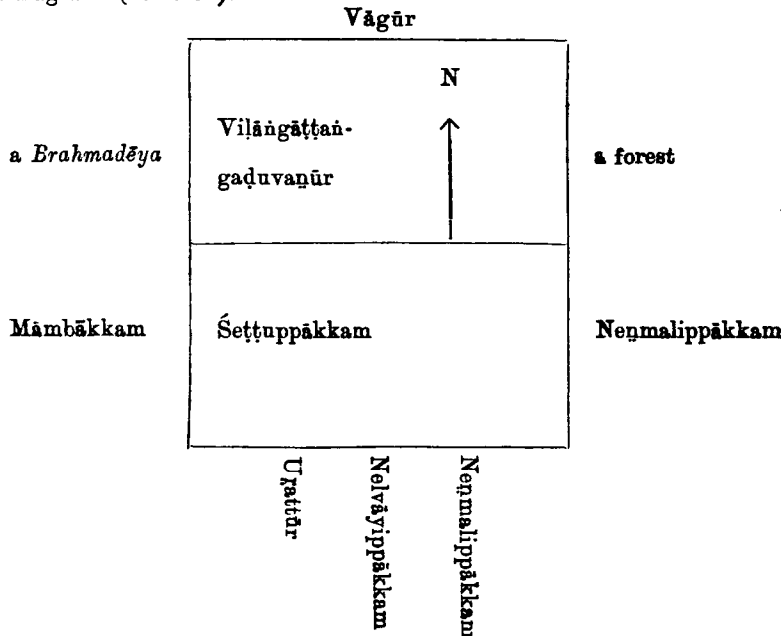
⁸ See above, Vol. VII, p. 25, n. 7, and J. B. A. S., 1913, p. 527.

⁹ S. I. I., Vol. III, No. 43.

must refer to Nripatuṅga's father Nandivarman,¹ and the second one to the Bāpa chief Vikramāditya. The executor (*āṇatti*) of the Tiruvallam grant was Kāḍupatti-Tamiḷa-pēra[rai]yaṇ which may be taken as a title either of Uttamaśīla himself, or of another minister who preceded him in office during the reign of Nandivarman.

The recipients of the grant were the residents of a 'seat of learning' (*vidyā-sthāna*), or college, at Vāgūr (ll. 51 f., 71; see also ll. 35, 37 f., 38 f., and 44 of the Sanskrit portion), i.e. Bāhūr, where the plates were discovered by M. Delafon. As M. Vinson remarks,² the modern form looks like a learned corruption, deriving the ancient name Vāgūr from the Sanskrit *bāhu*, 'an arm,' instead of the Tamil *vāgu*, 'beauty.' The grant was to be a *vidyā-bhōga* (ll. 52, 71 f.), i.e. a source of revenue for the promotion of learning. This is perhaps the earliest case on record of a university scholarship or educational endowment.

As in the Leyden plates (a scholarly transcript, translation, and analysis of which still remain a desideratum), the official routine observed in this grant was as follows. The three villages having been granted to the Vāgūr college, an order (*tirumugam*, l. 54) communicating this fact and calling for a report (*araiyōlai*, ll. 53, 55, 56) was issued to the headmen of Kīlvēli-Vāgūr-nāḍu, (a subdivision of the district) of Aruvā-nāḍu³ (l. 48). Having read the order, the headmen of the *nāḍu* reverently placed it on their heads and circumambulated the limits of the villages granted. Line 40 of the Sanskrit portion suggests that, as in the case of the Leyden plates, they were accompanied by an elephant whose hoofprints marked the boundaries, on which they raised stones and planted milk-bush (ll. 53, 55). The names of the three villages were Śeṭṭuppākkam,⁴ Viḷāṅgāṭṭaṅgaḍuvaṇūr, and Iraippuṇaichchēri (ll. 48-50). According to the report submitted by the headmen of the *nāḍu*, their boundaries were as shown in the two subjoined diagrams (ll. 56-66).

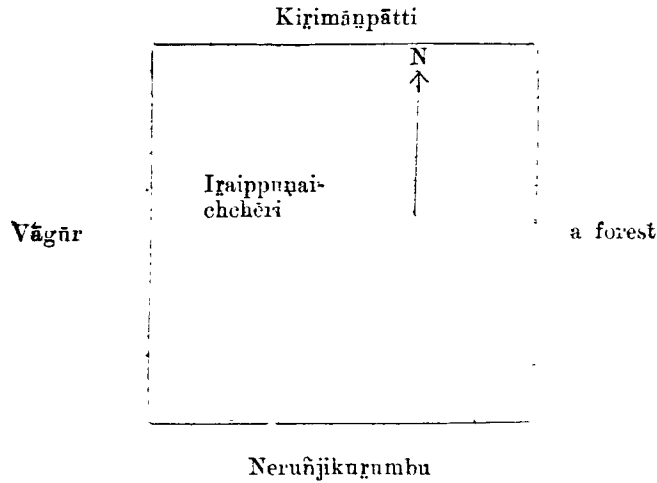


¹ Just as his name is given here and in other inscriptions in the fuller form of *kō Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman*, his son Nripatuṅgavarman calls himself also *kō Vijaya-Nripatuṅgavikramavarman*; see above, Vol. IV, p. 180 ff. and Vol. VII, p. 140

² See his article, p. 236.

³ Cf. Venkayya's Preface to S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 27. According to the Tamil dictionaries, Aruvā-nāḍu is one of the two districts in which common Tamil (*Koḍun-Tamiḷ*) is spoken, the second being Aruvā-vaḍatalai-nāḍu.

⁴ Spelt *Chēṭṭuppākkam* in *Grantha* (l. 32 f.).



M. Vinson¹ has consulted a local map and tells us that, besides Vāgūr (Bāhūr), two of these village-names survive to the present day: Kirimānpātti is now represented by **Kirimāmbakkam**, 6 kilometres north-east of Bāhūr, and Viṇṇāgāṭṭaṇḍuvaṇūr is perhaps connected with **Kaḍuvaṇūr**, 5 kilometres west of Bāhūr. I hope my Brahmin friends in Madras will find an opportunity for making enquiries on the spot, and will succeed in identifying a few more of the village-names which are registered in the detailed description of the boundaries of the grant.

In verse 30 we are told that the Sanskrit *praśasti*, which forms the first portion of the inscription, was composed by **Nāgaya**, a servant of the Vāgūr college. At the end of the whole document, its writer informs us of his name and parentage in a Sanskrit verse (32) and in Tamil prose, (l. 78 f.). He was a goldsmith (*suvarṇakṛt* or, in Tamil, *taṭṭaṇ*), named **Nṛipatuṅga** (ll. 77, 79),—evidently after his sovereign,—a hereditary servant of the **Pallava** family, the son of **Mādēvi-perundattāṇ**, and the grandson of **Uditōdaya-perundattāṇ** of **Kiḷ-Paiśāram** near **Kachchipēḍu** (Conjeeveram). The name, or rather the title, of his father means 'the great goldsmith (by appointment) to the chief queen.' Similarly, the name of his grandfather would mean 'the great goldsmith (by appointment) to (king) Uditōdaya,' and **Uditōdaya** (l. 78) or **Uditōdita** (l. 76) may have been a surname of one of the immediate predecessors of king **Nṛipatuṅgavarman**. **Uditōdita** is actually known to have been one of the numerous *birudas* of **Rājasimha**, an earlier **Pallava** king of **Kāñchi**.² From this king it may be supposed to have descended to one of the predecessors of **Nṛipatuṅgavarman**.

TEXT.³

First Plate; First Side.

- 1 Svasti śri[h *] Diṣatu va[h *] śriyam=ambuḷa-lōchanas=tridaśa-maṭli-nighṛi=
- 2 śṭa-pad-āmbuḷaḷ [h *] sakala-lōka-bhayaṁkara-rākshasa-prasama-nētur=a-
- 3 jē(jo) Madha(dhu)-sūdanah || [1 *] Śri-bhartuś=śayana parasya nētrē yat=
- toja[h *]⁴ sthiti-laya-sū-

¹ See his article, p. 235 f.

² S. I. I., Vol. I, p. 15, 6th niche.

³ From a set of photographs supplied by M. Julien Vinson.

⁴ Read perhaps =bhāṭṭaṇ.

- 4 ti-hētuḥ [*] tan-nābhēr=ajani samasta-bijam=abjam=Ātmayōnis=tatō=bhavat || [2 ||*]
 5 A[m*]girās=tata utpannō loka-nāthāch=chaturmmukhāt [*] Brīhaspatis=tatō
 6 mantri Śakrasya Vala-bhēdinaḥ || [3 ||*] Tataś=Śamyus=tatō jē(ja)jñō
 Bharadvāja-sa-
 7 māvayayā [*] tatō Drōṇō mah-ēshvāsas=samarē Śakra-vikramah || [4 ||*] Tatō
 8 Drōṇān=mahā-bāhus=sarvva-yu[d*]dha-viśāradaḥ [*] Aśvatthāmā kil-āmsēna samba-
 9 bhūva Pinākinaḥ || [5 ||*] Aśvatthāmnas=tatō rājā Pallav-ākhyō babhūva
 u(yah) [*] ra-

First Plate ; Second Side.

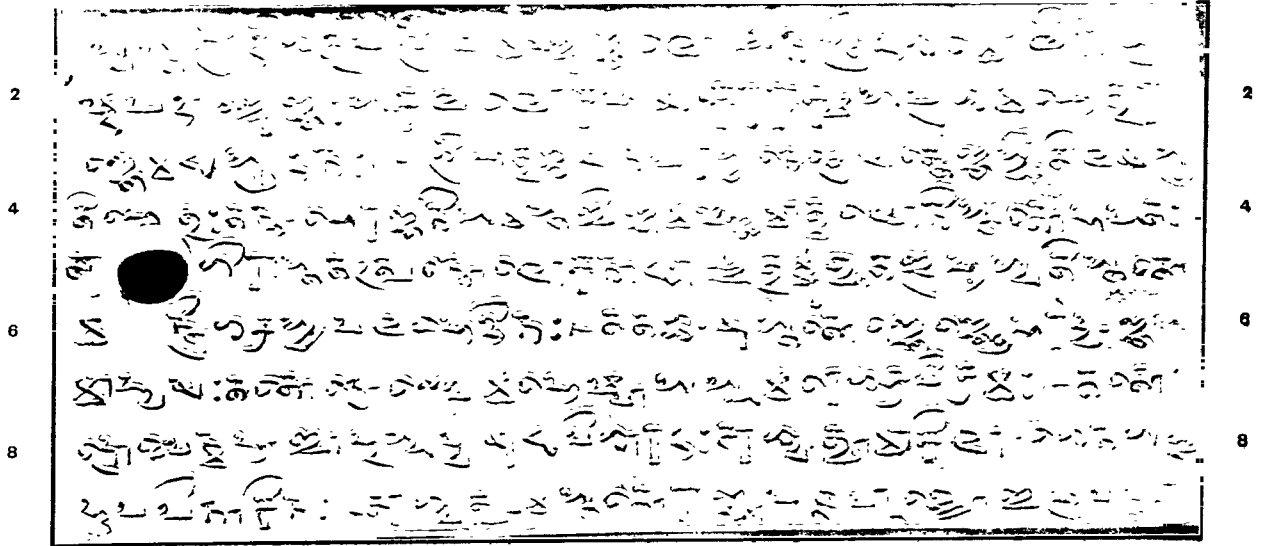
- 10 ratsha(ksha) nava-khaṇḍa-sthān=bhūpatin=sa-kṛṣṭivalān || [6 ||*] **Vimala-Komkaṇik-**
 ādi ta-
 11 d-anvayād=ajani brīdam=ari-pramad-ānatam [*] nihita-śāsanam=anya-nṛpēshv=api
 12 priyatamañ=jaya-ghōsham=anāratam || [7 ||*] Bhuktvā bhuvanā sva-vīryyēpa
 chatus-[sā]-
 13 gara-mēkhalām | tata[h*] svarggam=vimānēna¹ gatēshu Vimal-ādishu || [8 ||*] Ā-
 14 sit=Purandara-samō rājā² dṛipa(dha)-bhaktir=Mmura-dvipi(shi) [*] **Ta(Da)ntivarmma**
 mahā-[b]āhuḥ tshmā(kshmā)-
 15 pāla-makut-ānataḥ || [9 ||*] Dharmmēṇa pālanāt(d)=bhūmim Kalāv=api yugē
 nṛipah | va-
 16 rshaṇād=api dānasya parijanya iva nirbabhau || [10 ||*] Ātmanō bandi-yukt-
 ā[nām]³ Ya-
 17 m-ālaya-didritsha(ksha)yā | pāthēyam=iva kṛitv=ārīn=paṇḍāni⁴ visa[s*]rjja yah
 || [11 ||*] **Nandi-**
 18 varmmā mahā-bāhus=sa jātō⁵ **Ta(Da)ntiva[r*]mmaṇah** [*] samarē vijitā .
 bhūmir=asahāyē-

Second Plate ; First Side.

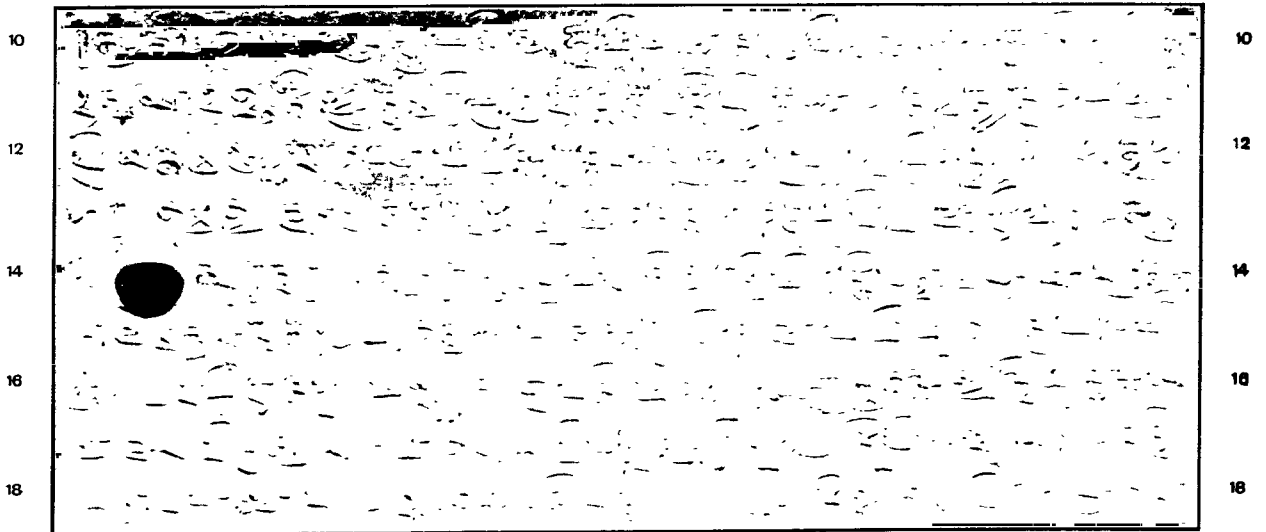
- 19 na yēna saḥ || [12 ||*] Āsich=**Chhañkh-āhvayā** dēvi tanv-amgi **Nāndivarmmaṇah**
 [*] **Rāshṭra-**
 20 kūṭa-[ku*]lē jātā Latshmi(kshmi)r=iva Mura-dvishah || [13 ||*] **Kshamāvatī**
 dharitr=iva mā[tri*]-vaj=jagataḥ
 21 priyā [*] babhau **Śamkh-āhvayā** dēvi rājñā[h*] śrīr=iva rūpiṇi || [14 ||*]
 Tasyām
 22 [ba]bhūva mati-kānti-kal-ādimatyām=mānyaḥ kulēna guṇavān=bhuvana-tray-ē-
 23 śah [*] utpadyamāna-tapanādhīpa-tulya-tējā jishṇuḥ kalāvān=samarē⁶
 24 **Nṛipatūmgadēvaḥ** || [15 ||*] Yat-prasād-ā[r*]jjitā sēnā Pāṇḍyēna samarē purā [*]
 25 pārē-Richit=sa rāj-āgnir=ddadāha ripu-samhatim || [16 ||*] **Nṛipatūnga** iti khyātō
 26 bālō=pi bhuvan-ēśvaraḥ | khyātō na kēvalam=bhūmāv=amushminn=api Rāma-vat
 27 || [17 ||*] Tasy=ōpakāra-samyuktō rājñah **Kuru-kul-ōdbhavaḥ** [*] **Vēśālī-vamśa-Mā-**

¹ Read *svarggam vimānēna*.² To satisfy the metre, this word must be cancelled.³ Read *pervā s. yukt-ānyān*.⁴ Read perhaps *kāṇḍāni*.⁵ Read *samjītō*.⁶ Instead of the last syllable of *kalāvān*, the metre requires a short syllable; read perhaps *kalāpa-samarē*

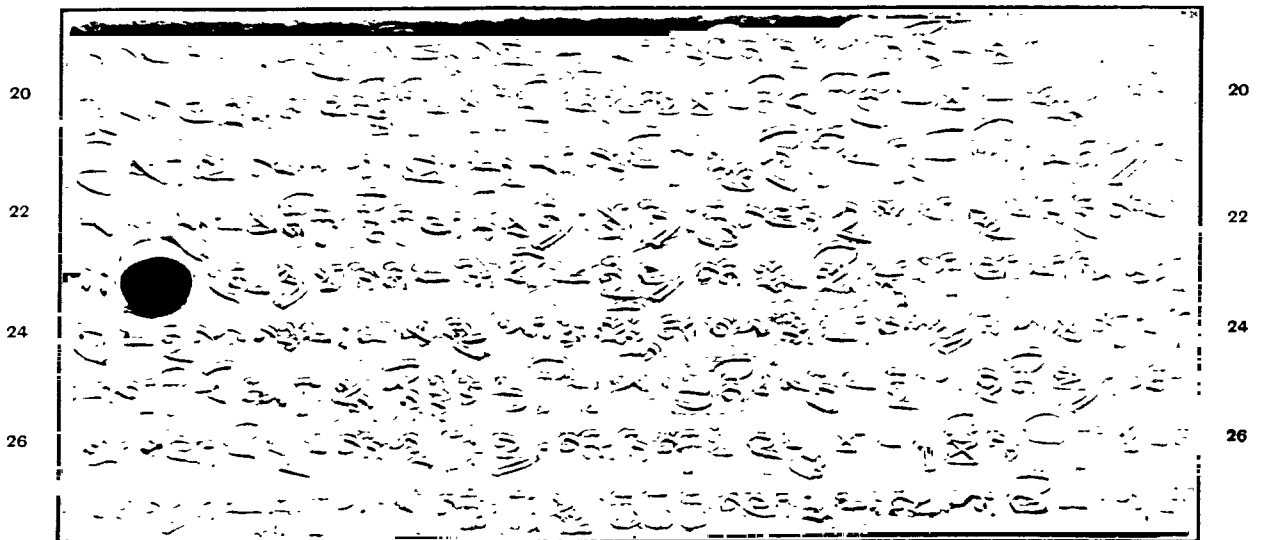
i a.



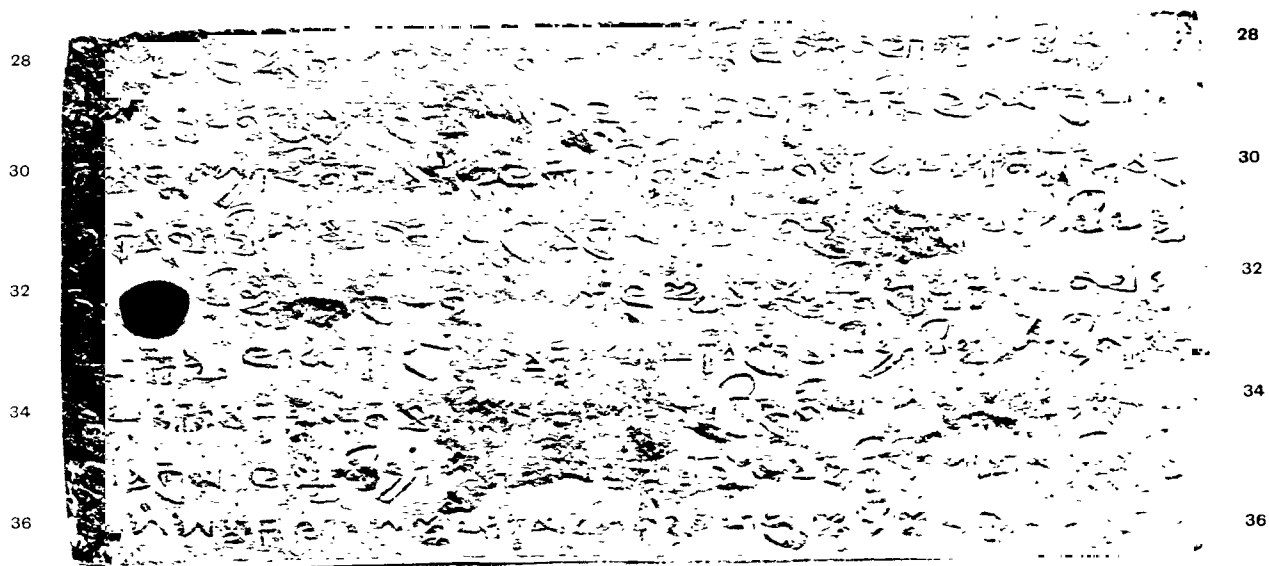
i b.



ii a.



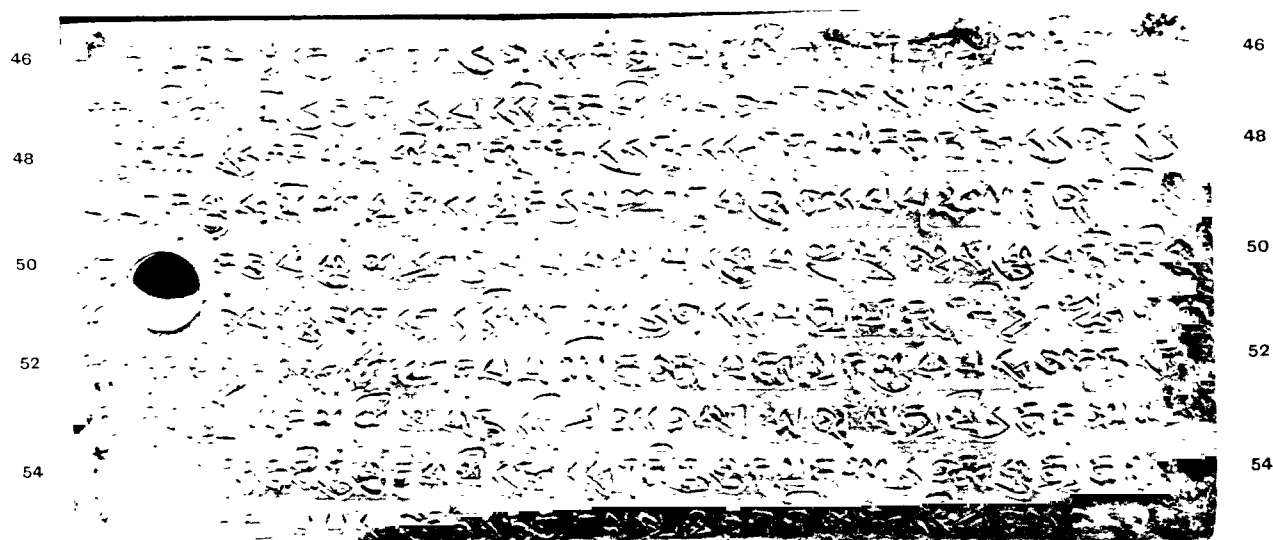
ii b.



iii a.



iii b.



Second Plate; Second Side.

- 28 rttāṇḍaḥ prajānām śarapē rataḥ || [18 ||*] Śāśi-vat-tālakō¹ lōkē gāmbhīrya-
ādan¹
29 samudra-vat [*] sū[r*]yya-vad=rakṣaṇāl=lōkān² lōkānān=ṇilayō nripaḥ || [19 ||*]
30 Tasmāt=tasy=ōchitan=nāma Nilaitāṅg=iti dēva-vat | athavā sutarān=nāma-pra-
31 tyakṣatvād=viśām=patēḥ || [20 ||*] Grāma-trayaṁ sva-rāṣṭrē saḥ³ Kuru-vamāsa-
vivarddha-
32 naḥ [*] vijñā[pya] Nripatūṅg-ēśāi=labdham=ājñapti-pūrvvaka[m] || [21 ||*] Chettu-
33 ppakkam=phal-ādāram grāmam=ēkam=ath=āparam [*] grāmaḥ(mam). Vidyā-
vilāṅg-ādi-rēbh(ph)-ā-
34 nta-pada-nāmaka[m] || [22 ||*] Tasmād=Iraippunaichchērin=tritiyaṁ sarvva={sampa}ṭam
[*] evam
35 grāma-trayaṁ labdham=vidyā-sthānāya⁴ dattavān || [23 ||*] Mandākinim
samāyāntim=ūrmmi-
36 vēga-samākulām [*] sa [ba]bhāra yathā dēvo Dhū[r*]jaṭir=jaṭay=aikayā || [24 ||*]

Third Plate; First Side.

- 37 Vidyā-nadi tath=āg[ā]thā(dhā) °chaturddiśa-gaṇ-ākulā. [*] Vāgūr[ṛ]-grāma-jush[ān]
38 sthānam vyāpya yasmād=vyavasthitā || [25 ||*] Tat=sthānam=evam vidushām. vidyā-
39 sthānam=prachakṣatē [*] tēbhyo datvā(ttva) sa bhūpālō grāmān=ājñapti-
40 pūrvvakān || [26 ||*] Hasti-saṅchāri-simāntān=ātmānam=bahu-manyatē [*] yuktān=sa
41 rvva-[pa]rihārair=akaratvēna rakṣitān || [27 ||*] Ājñaptir=Uttam:śilas=trailō-
42 ky-ēśvara-pūjitaḥ [*] mantri Bṛihaspati-prakhyō rājñā[h*] śrī-Tuṅg-
va[r*]mmanah || [28*]
43 Āgāminah prajāpālān=yāchatē Kuru-nandanah [*] dha[rmma*]sy=aitasya sāmānyā-
44 t=pālaniya iti svayam || [29 ||*] Dāsa[h*] sthānasya vidyāyā Vāgūr-grāma-
jushām=a-
45 yam⁶ [*] kṛitavān(ñ)=śāstra-tatva(ttva)-jñah prasastin=Nāgayas=su[kṛi*]t || [30 ||*]
Kō Viśaiya-Nri-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 46 patoṅgavarmmarku yāṇḍu eṭṭāvadu Vēśāli-ppēraraiyaṇ vinnap-
47 pattāl Vidēlviduṅgu-Kāṭṭupattī-Ttamiḷa-ppēraraiyaṇ ānatti āga
48 Aruvā-nāṭṭa=Kkīlvali-Vāgūr-nāṭṭu nāṭṭār -kāṅga ||[*] Tam-nāṭṭu Setṭu-
49 ppā[k*]kamum Vilāṅgāttaṅgaḍuvuṇṇurum Iraippunaichchēriyu-
50 m=āga immūṇrūrum paḷayav-aṇum brahmōdēyaṇum. nikki mu-
51 ṇ peṇṇarai māṇṇi yāṇḍu eṭṭāvadu Vāgūr vidyāsthāpat-
52 tārkku vidyābhōgam=āga=ppanittōm ||[*] Tāṅgaḷum paḍāgai naḍan-
53 du kallum kaḷḷiyum n[ā*]tṭi aṇaiyōlai śeydu 7vidutka(kka)v=egru
54 nāṭṭārkku=ttirumugam viḍa ||[*] Nāṭṭār tirumugaṇ=gāḍu toḷudu talai-
55 [k]ku vaittu=ppaḍāgai naḍandu kalluṇ=gāḷḷiyu=nāṭṭi aṇai[yōlai]

¹ The second part of the *au* of -ādan is engraved at the beginning of the next line.

² Read =lōkānāl=.

³ Read *sa*.

⁴ Read *labdham-vidyā*.

⁵ [Read *chāṭṭu*?—Ed.]

⁶ The reading = *imam* would be more suitable.

⁷ [This word may be read as *vidutaga*.—Ed.]

Fourth Plate; First Side.

- 56 seydu nāttār viḍunda(tta) araiyolai=ppaḍi nilattukk=ellai [1*] **Vilā-**
 57 ngāttāngaḍuvaṇṭrkkūṇ=Jeṭṭuppākkattukkum=āga iraṇḍu ṭrkkūṇ=gi-
 58 l-pārk=ellai kāttu ellaiṇṇum Neṇmalippākkattu ellaiṇ
 59 mērkun=deṇ-pārk=ellai Neṇmalippākkatt=ellaiṇṇun=Neivā-
 60 yippākkatt=ellaiṇṇum Uṇattūr=ellaikku vaḍakkum mēl-pā-
 61 rk=ellai Mambākkatt=ellaiṇṇum iv-Vilāngāttāngaḍuvaṇṭ-
 62 r-ppār=piramadēyam=āina aṇubadu seṇuvukku=kkilakkum vaḍa-pārk=ellai **Vā-**
 63 gūr=ellaiṇṇ=ṇerkum [1*] Iṇaippunaichehērikk=ellai kil-pārk=ellai natta-
 64 m ulliṭṭa kāttukku mērkun=deṇ-pārk=ellai Neruṇṇikurumbiṇ ellai-
 65 iṇ vaḍakku=mēl-pārk=ellai Vāgūr=ellaiṇ kilakkum vaḍa-pārk=ellai

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 65 Kiriṇāppātti ellaiṇṇ=ṇerkum=āga . ivv-iśaitta-peru-nāṅg-ellai-
 67 galilum=agappaṭṭa nilaṇ nīr-nilaṇum puṇṇēyyum ūmam¹ ūr-irukkaiyu=
 68 maṇaiyu=maṇai-ppaḍappu=maṇṇuṇ=gaṇṇu=mēyi-pāluṇ=gulaṇuṇ=gottagā[ra]-
 69 muṇ=giḍaṇṇuṇ=gēṇiyuṇ=gāḍuṇ=galarum oḍaiyum uḍaippum ulliṭṭu ni[r]
 70 pūṣi neḍum paramb=erindu nḍumb=ōḍi āmai tavaṇḍad=e[llā]-
 71 m uṇ-pilaṇ=oliv-iṇṇi Vāgūr vidyāsthāpattārkkū vidyā[bhō].²
 72 bhōgam=āyi Vāgūrōḍē ēṇi Vāgūr perṇa parihāramum vṇavaste(sthai)[yu]-
 73 m perṇu sarvva-parihāram=āyi brahmadēyam=āyi=pparadatti seṇṇa-
 74 du || Puṇyaṇ samaṇ kṛitavatām parirakshatāṇ=cha tad=rakshat=ēti nṇipatir=**Nṇṇi-**
 75 patuṇṇāvārmma [1*] āgāmināḥ kṣhitipatīn=prapamaty=ajasram mūrdhnaḥ
 Mukunda-chara[ṇ-ām]-

Fifth Plate; First Side.

- 76 buja-śekharaṇa || [31 ||*] Uditōdita-kula-tilaka[h*] suvarṇṇakṛit=sarvva-[śāstra]-
 77 nishpātaḥ [1*] alikhan=Nṇipatuṇṇ-ākhyāḥ Pallava-kula-mūla-bhṇityō=tra || [32 ||*]
 78 Kachchipēṭṭu Kil-Paiśārattu Uditōdaya-peru[n*]dattā[n*] magan Madēvi-
 peru[n*]dattā-
 79 n magan(n) Nṇipatuṇṇa[n*] eḷuttu ||

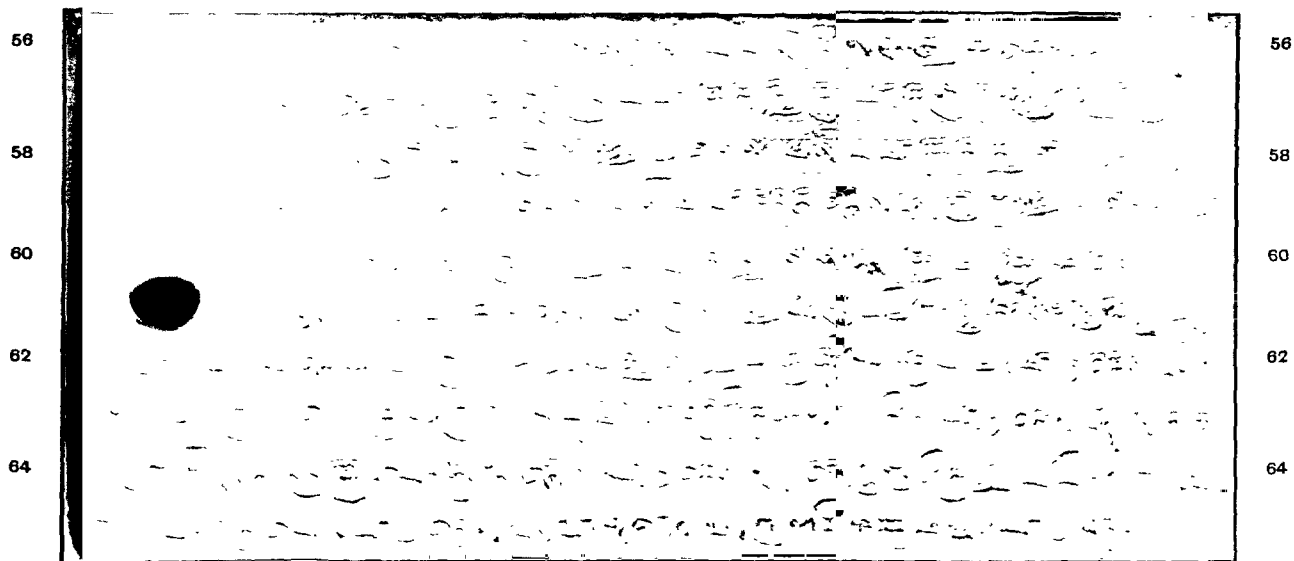
TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity!

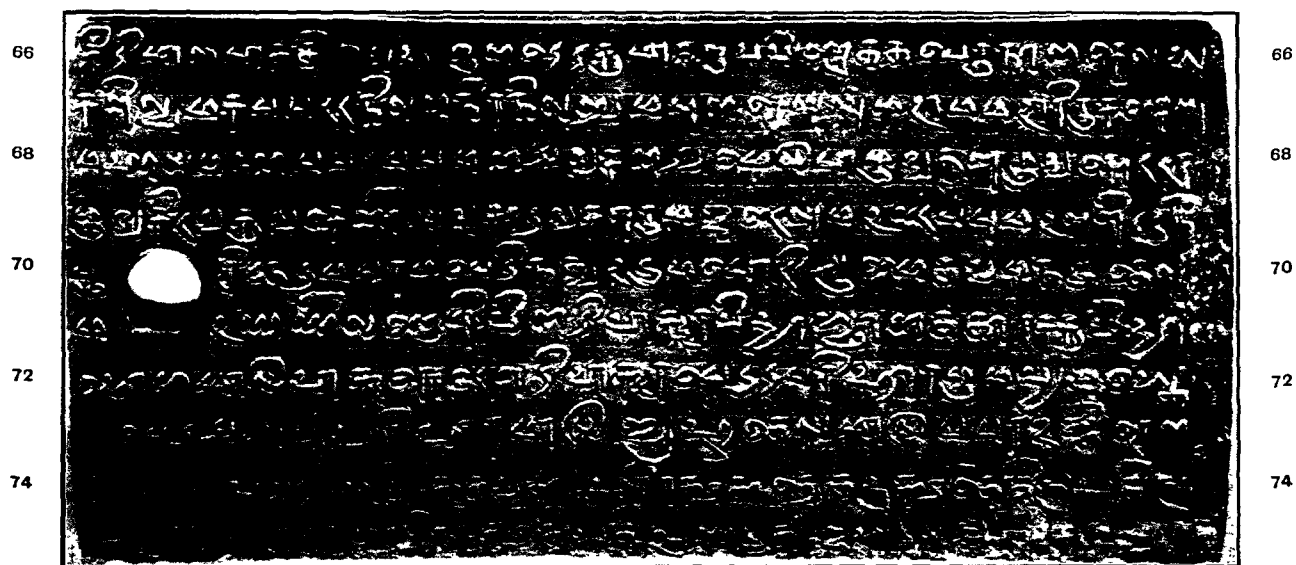
(Verse 1.) Let Madhu's destroyer (Vishṇu) grant you prosperity, the lotus-eyed one, whose lotus-feet are rubbed by the diadems of the gods (bowing to him), the unborn one, (who became) the means of the destruction of demons that terrified the whole world!

(Verse 2.) In the eye of the sleeping husband of Śrī (Vishṇu) was produced the luminary (i.e. the Sun?), (which is) the means of duration, destruction, and production. From his

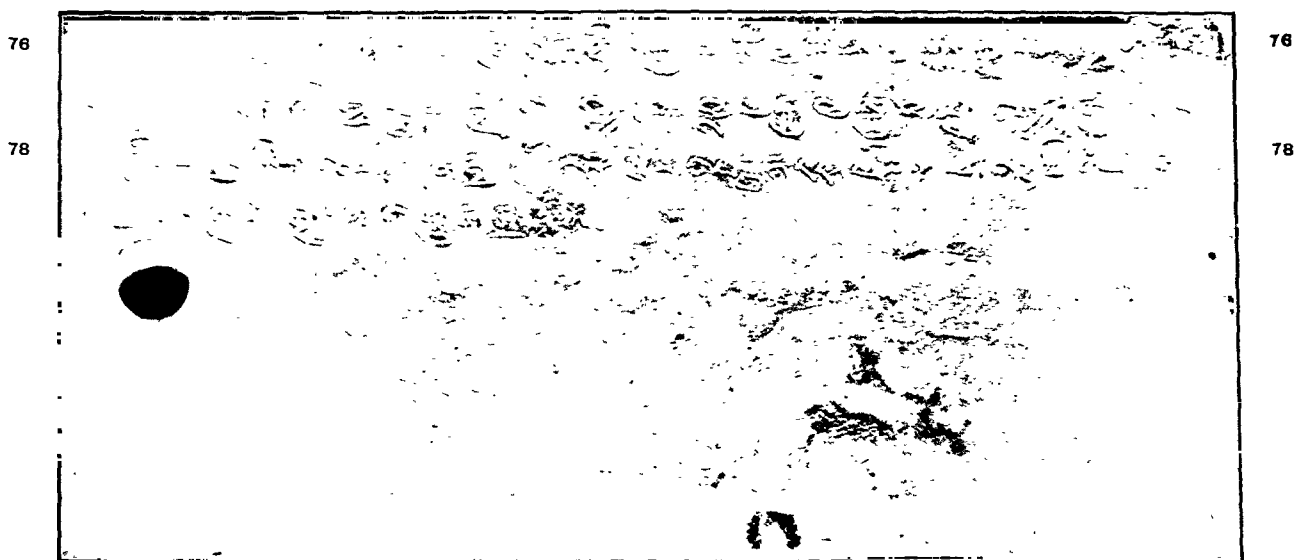
¹ Read *śrum*.² Cancel the bracketed syllab'c.



iv b.



v.



(Vishṇu's) navel arose a lotus-flower, the germ of all. From this (flower) the self-born one (Brahmā) was produced.

(Verse 3.) From this four-mouthed lord of the world, Aṅgiras was born, (and) from the latter, Bṛihaspati, the minister of Śakra (Indra), the splitter of (the demon) Vala.

(Verse 4.) From him was born Śamyu; from him, he who was named Bharadvāja; from him, the great archer Drōṇa, whose valour equalled that of Śakra in battle.

(Verse 5.) From this Drōṇa was produced, it is said, by a portion of Pinākin (Śiva) the long-armed Aśvatthāman, who was skilled in all fights.

(Verse 6.) From this Aśvatthāman was born a king named Pallava, who ruled the kings residing in the nine continents, together with the ploughmen.

(Verse 7.) From his family arose a group (of kings) commencing with Vimala and Koṅkaṇika, which was bowed to by the wives of enemies; which imposed commands even on other rulers of men; which was much beloved; (and) which continually shouted 'victory.'

(Verse 8 f.) Then, after Vimala, etc., having enjoyed by their own valour the earth girt by the four oceans, had gone to heaven on aerial cars, there was the long-armed (king) Dantivarman, who resembled Purandara (Indra), showed firm devotion to Mura's foe (Vishṇu), (and) was bowed to by the diadems of the rulers of the earth.

(Verse 10.) By ruling the earth according to right even in the Kali age, and by showering gifts, (this) ruler of men shone like a rain-cloud.

(Verse 11.) He dispatched arrows, furnishing (them) with provisions for (their) visit of the nether world under the guise of (the blood of those of his) enemies who were not (already) confined in his own prisons.¹

(Verse 12.) From Dantivarman was born that long-armed Nandivarman who subdued the earth unaided in battle.

(Verse 13.) Just as Lakshmi (is the consort) of Mura's foe (Vishṇu), (the wife) of Nandivarman was the slender queen named Śaṅkhā, who was born in the Rāshṭrakūṭa family.

(Verse 14.) Full of patience like the earth, beloved by the people like a mother, the queen named Śaṅkhā shone as if she were the embodied fortune of the king.

(Verse 15.) By her who possessed intelligence, beauty, arts, etc., was born the virtuous Nripatungadēva, the lord of the three worlds, noble by birth, resembling the rising sun in splendour, (and) victorious in fights with arrows.

(Verse 16.) Resembling fire, this king, by whose favour the Pāṇḍya had obtained an army formerly, burnt a confederation of enemies in a battle on the further bank of the Arichit (river).

(Verse 17.) Even in his youth (this) lord of the world (was) renowned (by the name) of Nripatunga (i.e. 'the high one among rulers of men'). (He was) renowned not only on earth, (but) even in the other (world), like Rāma.

(Verse 18.) Provided by this king with benefits (was) Mārtāṇḍa of the family of Vēśālī,² a descendant of the family of Kuru, (and) intent on (affording) refuge to (his) subjects.

(Verse 19.) An ornament to the world like the moon, (and) resembling the ocean in profundity, etc., (this) ruler of men (became) the resort of the people by protecting the people as if (he were) the sun.

¹ i.e. he either imprisoned or shot his enemies.

² Verses 19 and 20 suggest that the word Mārtāṇḍa (i.e. the sun) is not a mere metaphor (*rūpakam*), but has to be taken here as a proper name.

(Verse 20.) Therefore the (sur)name **Nilaitāṅgi** (i.e. 'the support of the world') (was as) suitable to this ruler of men as (unto) a god, or because (his real) name (**Mārtāṇḍa**, i.e. the sun) was quite manifest (to all).

(Verses 21-23.) This promoter of the family of **Kuru** gave to a seat of learning (*vidyāsthāna*) three villages in his own province (*rāshṭra*) which, at (his) request, (he had) received, provided with an executor (*ājñapti*), from that lord **Nṛipatuṅga**, viz. the village of **Chettup-pākkam**, rich in fruit, then another village whose name (consisted of) a word ending in an *r* and beginning with *Vidyāvīlāṅgā*,¹ (and) thirdly the very prosperous (village of) **Iraippunaichchēri**.

(Verses 24-26.) Just as the god Dhūrjati (*Śiva*) carried on the single lock of (his) hair the approaching **Mandākinī** (*Gāṅgā*), agitated by the velocity of waves, thus the deep river of learning, filled with troops (of scholars) from the four directions,² stayed after it had filled the seat of the residents of the village of **Vāgūr**. Therefore they call this seat of scholars a seat of learning,

(Verse 26 f.) This ruler of land thinks highly of himself after he has given to those (scholars) the (three) villages, provided with an executor, their limits having been circumambulated by an elephant,³ accompanied by all immunities, (and) protected by freedom from taxes.

(Verse 28.) The executor (was) **Uttamaśīla**, worshipped by the lord of the three worlds,⁴ the minister, resembling **Bṛihaspati**, of the glorious king **Tuṅgavarman**.

(Verse 29.) The descendant of **Kuru** himself entreats future kings:—'As this charity is common (to all kings), it must be preserved (by you as well) !'

(Verse 30.) The servant of the seat of learning of the residents of the village of **Vāgūr**, the pious **Nāgaya**, who knew the truth of sciences, composed this eulogy (*prastuti*).

(Line 45.) In the eighth year (of the reign) of king **Vijaya-Nṛipatuṅgavarman**, at the request of **Vēśālī-pēraṣaiyan**; **Viḍēlvidugu-Kaḍupaṭṭi-Tamiḷa-pēraṣaiyan** being the executor (*ānatti*). Let the headmen of **Kiḷvaḷi-Vāgūr-nāḍu**, (a subdivision) of **Aruvā-nāḍu**, see (this order);⁵

(Line 48.) In the eighth year (of our reign), we have granted three villages of your *nāḍu*, viz. **Setṭuppākkam**, **Viḷāṅgāṭṭaṅgaḍuvaṇūr**, and **Iraippunaichchēri**,—dispossessing the former tenants, (and) excluding ancient charities and *Brahmaḍēyas*,—to the residents of the seat of learning at **Vāgūr** as a source of revenue for the promotion of learning (*vidyā-bhōga*).

(Line 52.) And issued an order (*tirumugam*) to the headmen of the *nāḍu*, telling them to circumambulate the limits,⁶ to plant stones and milk-bush (along the boundaries), and to draw up and submit a report (*araiyōlūi*) !

¹ According to the Tamil portion, the full name of this village was **Viḷāṅgāṭṭaṅgaḍuvaṇūr**, to which the word *vidyā* is still prefixed here because it was granted for the promotion of learning.

² With *chaturdiśa-gaṇa* cf. the expression *chātudisasa bhikṣu-sa[m*]ghaṣa* at Nāsik, above, Vol. VIII, p. 78, text line 5.

³ The local authorities fixed the boundaries by letting an elephant walk round the limits. Cf. *pidi naḍappittu* or *pidi sūḷdu* in the Leyden plates, *passim*; *karinī-parikramaṇa-viśpashṭa-simā-chatusṭayam* *grāmam*, *ibid.*, l. 85 f.; *ibhī-pūṛṭa-simāṇam*, above, Vol. XV, p. 63, text line 109 f.; *pidi sūḷdu*, *ibid.*, p. 64, text lines 134-136, and p. 65, text line 165; *pidi naḍatti*, Travancore Arch. Series, Vol. II, p. 70.

⁴ i.e. king **Nṛipatuṅga**; see verse 15.

⁵ Cf. line 105 of the **Kāśākūḍi** plates.

⁶ *Paḍāgai naḍandu* corresponds to *paḍāgai valaṇ=jeyidu* in line 110 of the **Kāśākūḍi** plates; *pidāgai valaṇ=jeyāu* in a **Tiruvallam** inscription of **Nandivikramavarman**, S. I. I., Vol. III p. 91, l. 11; *pidāgai naḍandu* in the Leyden plates, *passim*; and *pradākṣhiṇi-kṛitya* in Sanskrit.

(Line 54.) When the headmen of the *nāḍu* saw the order, they raised (their) joined hands (before it), placed (it) on (their) heads, circumambulated the limits, planted stones and milk-bush, and drew up a report.

(Line 56.) According to the report submitted by the headmen of the *nāḍu*, the boundaries of the land (granted are as follows):—Of the two villages of *Viṅgattāṅgaḍuvāṇūr* and *Seṭṭuppākkam*, the eastern boundary is to the west of the boundary of a forest and of the boundary of *Neṇmalippākkam*; the southern boundary is to the north of the boundary of *Neṇmalippākkam*, of the boundary of *Nelvāippākkam*, and of the boundary of *Uṭattūr*; the western boundary is to the east of the boundary of *Māmbākkam* and of sixty rice-fields (*seruvu*) which form a *Brahmadēya* near this *Viṅgattāṅgaḍuvāṇūr*,¹ and the northern boundary is to the south of the boundary of *Vāgūr*.

(Line 63.) The boundaries of *Iraippūnsiochēri* (are):—The eastern boundary is to the west of a forest surrounding the village (*nattam*); the southern boundary is to the north of the boundary of *Ne:uṇjikuṇumbu*; the western boundary is to the east of the boundary of *Vāgūr*; and the northern boundary is to the south of the boundary of *Kirimānpātti*.

(Line 66.) Altogether, the land enclosed by the four great boundaries specified here, including wet land and dry land, villages and village-buildings, houses and house-gardens, clearings and young trees, waste grounds for grazing,² tanks, store-houses,³ ditches, wells, forests, brackish ground, water-courses and breaches,⁴ wherever water is conducted (?), long harrows are applied,⁵ iguanas run, and tortoises creep, not excluding the cultivated land,⁶ being joined⁷ to *Vāgūr* itself as a source of revenue for the promotion of learning to the residents of the seat of learning at *Vāgūr*, enjoying the immunities and agreements⁸ enjoyed by *Vāgūr*, possessing all immunities, (and) being a *Brahmadēya*,—the grant was made.⁹

(Verse 31.) 'The good works of those who perform (them) and of those who preserve (them) are equally (meritorious). Therefore preserve you (this gift)!' Thus (requesting them), king *Nripatuṅgavarman* perpetually bows (his) head, which bears on its crest the lotus feet of Mukunda (*Vishṇu*), to future kings.

(Verse 32.) The ornament of the family of *Uditōdita*, the goldsmith named *Nripatuṅga*, who was skilled in all sciences (and) a hereditary servant of the *Pallava* family, wrote (this).

(Line 78.) The writing of *Nripatuṅga*, the son of *Mādēvi-perundattāṇ* (who was) the son of *Uditōdaya-perundattāṇ*, (a resident) of *Kil-Paisāram* near *Kachchipēḍu*.

¹ In two other instances (ll. 49, 56 f.), the *ā* of *ffā* is represented by a short *a*.

² These three doubtful terms occur also in line 281 of the Leyden plates, and in the Anbil plates, above, Vol. XV, p. 65, text line 167 f., where they are translated by 'halls, wastes in which the calves graze.' I adopt M. Vinson's renderings of *minṇam* and *kunṇam* (as the Leyden plates read for *kanṇu*).

³ For *kottagāram* see S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 61, n. 2; above, Vol. XV, p. 71, n. 3; Travancore Arch. Series, Vol. III, p. 177, n. 3.

⁴ See S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 64, n. 1.

⁵ The expression *nir pūsi* occurs also in line 284 of the Leyden plates, and *nēḍum paramb=erindu* in line 305 (which ought to have been numbered 285) of the same. Both terms are used in line 434 of the Tiruvāṅgaḍu plates, S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 410.

⁶ See S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 109, n. 2.

⁷ *ēṇi* may be the intransitive form of *ēṇi*, 'having joined.'

⁸ For *vyacas/hā*, see S. I. I., Vol. I, No. 40, ll. 20 and 56; Vol. II, No. 98, ll. 58 and 62.

⁹ The two words *paradatti senṇadu* occur also in line 133 of the Kāsākudi plates, and in line 63 of the Vēlūrpāṭaiyam plates (S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 509), where I would read *paradatti* (with *Grantha da*) instead of *paradatti* and cancel the note on p. xiii of the Addenda and Corrigenda. The Anbil plates (above, Vol. XV, p. 65, text line 180 f.) read *paṇḍatti* for *paradatti*.

No. 3.—AN INSCRIBED RELIC CASKET FROM KURRAM.

BY THE LATE PANDIT V. NATESA AIYAR, B.A., PATNA.

This casket was brought to my notice in the year 1917, when I was Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Frontier Circle, Peshawar, by Khan Sahib Mian Wasi Uddin, my Assistant. On enquiry I learnt that its exact find-spot was unknown, but that it was given as a present by a villager to one of the sons of the Nawab of Landi Yaghazo, while he was Tahsildar of Kurram. The casket is now in the possession of his younger brother, a student of the Edwardes College, Peshawar, from whom I tried to acquire it for the local Museum, of which I was the *ex-officio* Curator; but I could not succeed until the moment of my departure from Peshawar in January, 1919.

The casket is made of copper and measures 18" in height. Its base is square and is attached to the drum by means of a fillet and grove joint. The *harmikā* is of the conventional shape and loosely threaded on to a central shaft, also of copper.

The casket is almost perfect in every detail and has the appearance of a miniature *stūpa* with its *harmikā* and umbrellas. (Pl. I, a)

The relics which the casket was meant to enshrine are no longer traceable. Likewise, as I have observed already, the exact find-spot of the casket is unknown. Neither could I, owing to the unsettled state of the Kurram valley, visit the spot and obtain any local information.

The inscription on the casket consists of four lines of Kharōṣṭhī script punctured, as in the case of the Kanishka casket from Shāh-jī-kī-dhērī, on the four sides of its square base. The writing covers a space of $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2''$ on each side and seems to be in fairly good preservation, except as regards the lowermost line on two of the sides, which, unfortunately, has disappeared altogether. (Pl. I, b, and Pl. II.)

The paleography of the record presents the same peculiarities as the silver scroll inscription from Taxila,¹ the Kanishka casket from Shāh-jī-kī-dhērī² and the Māpikīāla casket.³ The letters are of the elongated and cursive variety and belong undoubtedly, to the Kushān period.⁴ It is noteworthy that in the case of some of the letters in the present record, such as *ka*, *dha*, *yā*, *śa* and *sa*, the shape is not uniform throughout, but differs slightly in different places. This I attribute more to the carelessness of the engraver than to the transitional nature of the script at the time. This is borne out also by nearly the same symbol being used to represent *ta*, *ra*, *ba* and similarly of *a* and *va*.

The language is Prakṛit and of the variety peculiar to the Western Punjab and the North-Western Frontier of India, which constituted the ancient kingdom of Gandhāra. Among the orthographical peculiarities may be mentioned that *cha* is invariably used for *ta*, *va* for *pa* and *ga* for *ya*. Besides, double consonants are always represented by single consonants, as in *aviṣa* for *aviṣṣa*, *prachaga* for *prachchaga*, *viñana* for *viññana*, *phassa* for *phassa*, *tusha* for *tanha* and *dukha-khamdasa* for *dukkha-khamdhassa*.

The inscription records the enshrinement of the bodily relics (*śarīra*) of the Holy Śākya-muni in a shrine (*gaha* ?) belonging to the Sarvāstivādin sect, in the year 21 (?), on the twentieth day of the tenth month, Āśvina.⁵ Then follows the *anuloma* portion of the text of the *Pratītya-samutpāda* or *Nīlāna-Sūtra*, which the Lord Buddha revealed soon after

¹ A. S. E. for 1912-13, p. 18 f. and Plate; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, plate facing p. 295.

² A. S. E. for 1908-9, p. 50 f.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, Plate facing p. 299.

⁴ J. E. A. S. 1920, pp. 193 ff.

⁵ [With the reading and translation as given by me below, some of these details will be modified.—F. W. T.]

his enlightenment under the Bôdhi tree at Bôdh-Gayâ. The inscription ends with the prayer that these sacred relics, as well as the Sûtra propounded by the Lord, may be honoured by all sentient beings.

TEXT.

- 1 [Saṃ 20] 1 masa 10 Asunakasa di 20 iśe¹ chhunami [khe]tre Varma-
[va'sa-putrasa [Ruu]bhumi-rañasa² mi Ucha[rśa]na Sarva-
[sti]vadana³ . . gaha[mi] śu[bha]mi Bhagava[ta]sa Śaka-mun[i]sa
- 2 śarira . pradiokhadi⁴ Śakavuta Bhagava[ta]⁵ Avija-prachaga saṅkara saṅkara-
prachaga viñana viñana-prachaga nama-ruva namaruva-prachaga sha[d-a]ya-
[tana] sha[d-a]yatana-prachaga phasha phasha-prachaga
- 3 vedana vedana-prachaga tusha tusha-prachaga uvadana uvadana-prachaga
bhava bhava-prachaga jati jati-pra[chaga] jara-marana-soga-pari[bha]⁶va-dukhader-
manasta⁷ uvaga[sa] kevalasa dukha-[kaṃ]⁸dhasa samudae⁹ bhavati
- 4 śarira mahiphati[e]na¹⁰ sarva-satvana puyae
-
-
-
- sa[rva] sa[tva]na puyae
- eśa cha [pra]tichasamasa cha

TRANSLATION.

In the year 21, of the tenth month Āsaina, on the 20th day, at this moment, in the territory of Varmayaśas' son, the king of Ruḥbhūmi, in Ucharśana (Uttarasena ?) [consecrated], in the sacred shrine of the Sarvāstivādins, the bodily relics of the divine Śākya-muni. Says the holy scion of the Śakas :—

"From Ignorance spring Impressions, from Impressions springs Consciousness, from Consciousness spring Name-and-Form, from Name-and-Form spring the Six Provinces (of the six senses), from the Six Provinces springs Contact, from Contact springs Sensation, from Sensation springs Thirst (or desire), from Thirst springs Attachment, from Attachment springs Existence, from Existence springs Birth, from Birth spring Old Age and Death, Grief, Lamentation, Suffering, Dejection and Despair. [Such is] the origin of [this] whole (or unique) Mass of suffering. [May these] relics of the Lord of the Universe [be] honoured by all sentient beings and [likewise] this summary [doctrine] of causes and effects."

[Dr. Thomas's revised text and translation (inserting marks of vowel length).]

- 1 S. 21 māsa Avadūnakasa di 20 iśe chhunami Tāutra-Varmayaśa-putrasa
navakammī[asa Saṅghārā]mami āchāryāna[m] Sarvāstivādāna[m] gaha[mi]
thūbammī Bhagavatasa Śaka-munisa

¹ In the Brāhmī inscriptions of this period (cf. Lüders' List Nos. 32, 34) the corresponding expression is *asmi kshune* or *asma kshune*, while the Taxila silver scroll inscription has *isa divase*. [The *e*-mark is not seen. The letter may be read *ya*.—Ed.]

² Read °*rajasa*.

³ Read °*vadina*.

⁴ The formation of this word does not seem to be quite clear.

⁵ The usual form is *bhagava* (nom.) or *bhagavato* (gen.).

⁶ The other versions have *parideva*.

⁷ Read °*manas* i.

⁸ Read °*khaṃ*°.

⁹ Read *samudao*.

¹⁰ Read *mahipatianam*.

- 2 Śarira pratihāṇitī yathā(ētha ?) utam(vuṭa[m]) Bhagavatā avijā-prachaga
 saṃsk(kkh ?)āra saṃsk(kkh ?)āra-prachaga viñāna viñāna-prachaga nāma-rāva
 nāma-rūva-prachaga shad-āyatana shad-āyatana-prachaga phasha phasha-prachaga
 3 vedanā vedanā-prachaga tasha(tassha ?) tasha(tarsha)-prachaga uvāḍāna
 [uvāḍāna-prachaga] bhava bhava-prachaga jāti jā[ti-prachaga] jarā-[maraṇa]-śoya-
 parideva-dukha-domanavi(si)-uvega saṃ[bhava]ti kevalasa dukha-sk(kkh ?)aṇ-
 dhasa samudae bhavati
 4 danatidamahiphatilena (??) sarvasatvāna[m] pūyae sarva-satvāna[m] pūyae aya[m]-cha
 patichha-samupāde

TRANSLATION.

Year 21, month Avadūnaka (Andūnaios), day 20—on this date, in the monastery of the
navakarmika, son of Tāutra (kshudra)-Varmayaśas (?), in the abode of the reverend
 Sarvāstivādins, in a *stūpa*, was deposited a relic of the Holy Śākya-muni
 [This casket is given by . . .]
 for the honouring of all beings, and also for the honouring of all beings this *pratitya-samutpāda*
 [formula] is engraved.]

NOTES.

The record is of great importance for many reasons. To begin with, the inscription says
 in so many words that the relics to the consecration of which it refers are those of the Buddha
 himself. We know of very few instances of this kind so far. Even the epigraph on the Kanishka
 relic casket discovered at Shāh-jī-kī-dherī, in Peshawar, fails to supply us with anything but
 circumstantial evidence as to the authenticity of the deposit. It follows, therefore, that the
 monument in which the present casket was enshrined must have been regarded originally as
 among the most important in the country.

Secondly, there have been discovered in India only two other inscriptions containing the
 text of the *Nidāna-Sūtra*. The one comes from the village of Gopalpur in the Gorakhpur Dis-
 trict of the United Provinces, and the other from Kasiā, the ancient Kūsinagara, also in the same
 district. But, in both cases, we have only the Sanskrit recension of the *Sūtra*. The Gopalpur
 inscription is carved on both sides of one of 5 inscribed bricks which were dug out from a brick
 relic chamber in the centre of the *Mañjrātīya* mound, and coins of Wema Kadphises, Kanishka
 and Huvishka and one of Āyumitra are said to have been found along with the bricks. The
 script employed is the northern variety of the Gupta Brāhmī, and the text of the *Sūtra* is given
 as follows¹ :—

INSCRIPTION ON BRICK I.²

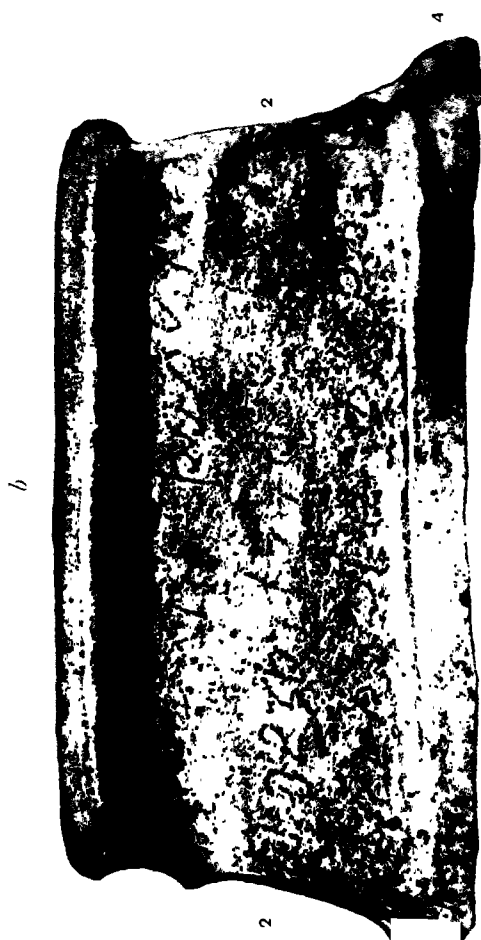
(Obverse.)

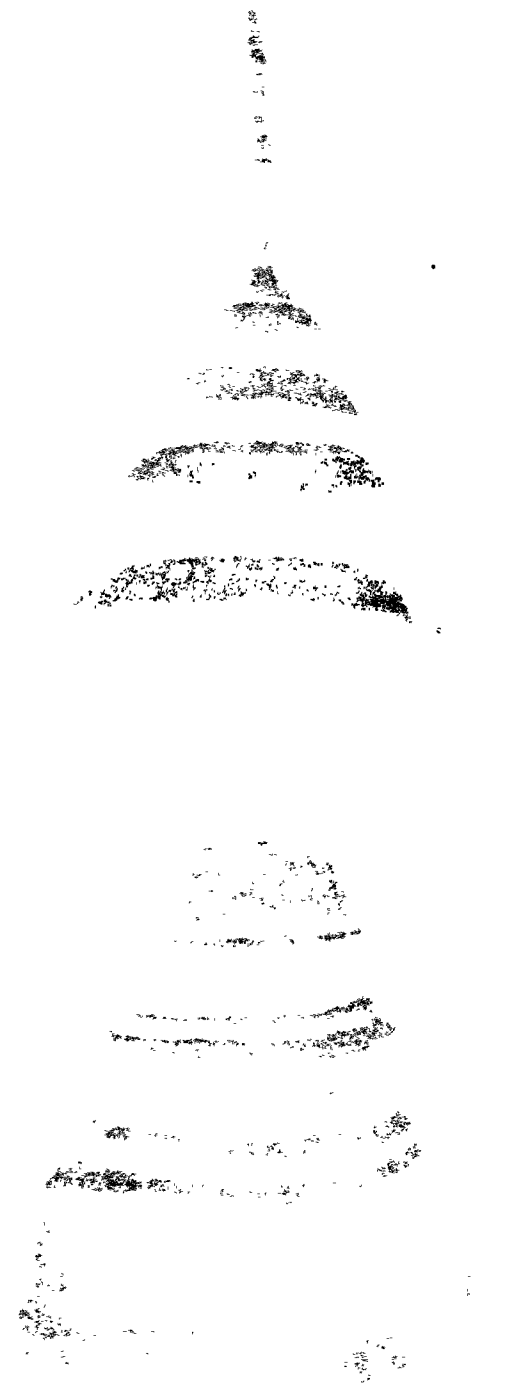
- 1 Evaṃ mayā śrutam=ēkasmin samayē Bhagavāñ=Chhrāvastyām viharati Jētavanē=
- 2 (A)nāthapiṇḍadaśy=ārāme tatra Bhagavān bhikṣhūn=āmantrayati sma dharmāpām
 vō bhi-
- 3 kshava āchayaṃ cha dēśayishyāmy=apachayaṃ cha tach=chhṛīṇṭa [sādhu-
 ch=āsushva cha]

¹ The text of the inscription is quoted here, because it gives a complete version of the *Sūtra* in Sanskrit, which
 even the Kasiā copper-plate does not.

² *Proc. A. S. B.* for 1896, pp. 99 ff.

Inscribed Relic-Casket from Kurram : the 21st (?) year.





SCALE TWO-FIFTHS

Eye-copy

- 4 manasi kurṇta bhāṣishyṣ dharmāṇām-āchayaḥ katamaḥ yad=ut=āsmiṇ sati=
 5 daṁ bhavaty=asy=ōtpādād=idam=utpadyatō yad=ut=āvidyā-pratyayāḥ saṁskārāḥ
 saṁskāra-
 6 pratyayaḥ vijñānaṁ vijñāna-pratyayaṁ nāma-rūpaṁ nāma-rūpa-pratyaya(h)
 sparśaḥ
 7 sparśa-pratyayā vēda[nā] vēdanā-pratyayā tṛishṇā tṛishṇā-pratyayaṁ=upādānaṁ=ā-
 8 pādāna-pratyayō bhavaḥ bhava-pratyayā jātir=jāti-pratyayā jarā-marāṇa-
 9 śoka-paridēva-duḥkh-ādēr=(°a-dō)manasy=opāyāsāḥ sambava(n)ty=ēvam=asya mahatō

(Reverse.)

- 1 duḥkha-skandhasya samudāyō bhavaty=ayam=uchyātō dharmāṇām-āchayaḥ dhar-
 māṇā-
 2 m=apachayaḥ katamaḥ yad=ut=āvidyā-nirōdhāt=samskāra-nirōdhāḥ samskāra-nirōdhād=vi-
 3 jñāna-nirōdhāḥ vijñāna-nirōdhān=nāma-rūpa-nirōdhāḥ nāma-rūpa-nirōdhāt=śaḍ-
 āyatana-
 4 nirōdhāḥ śaḍ-āyatana-nirōdhād=vēdanā-nirōdhāḥ vēdanā-nirōdhāt=tṛishṇā-nirōdhāḥ
 5 tṛishṇā-nirōdhād=upādāna-nirōdhāḥ upādāna-nirōdhād=bhava-nirōdhāḥ bhava-nirōdhāj=ja-
 6 nī-
 7 nirudhyant=ēvam=asya [kēvala]sya mahatō duḥkha-skandhasya nirōdhō
 bhavaty=ayam=uchyātō
 8 dharmāṇām=apachayaḥ dharmāṇām vō bhikshava āchayaṁ cha dēśayishyāmy=
 apachayaṁ cha
 9 itimē yad=uktam=idam=ētat=pratyuktam=idam=avōchad=Bhagavān=āttama[nasas=tē]
 10 bhikshavō bhagavatō bhāṣitam=a[bhya]nanda[n]

The other inscription which contains the text of this Sūtra comes, as I have said, from Kasiā. It is partly carved and partly written in ink on a copper-plate which was recovered from the relic chamber of the large stūpa behind the Nirvāṇa temple.¹ The language and the wording of the record are identically the same as those of the Gopalpur inscription, but the date is about two centuries later.

Again, the present epigraph is of considerable value from the philological standpoint. That its language is local Prākṛit goes without saying. In this the dedicators seem to have faithfully followed the injunction laid down in the Buddhist scriptures, for it is stated in the Chullavagga²

“*anujānāmi bhikkhave sakāya niruttiya Buddha-vachanam pariyaṇṭhun ti*” ;

that is, ‘that the Buddha had allowed that every one should learn the sacred texts in his own language.’ The same remark holds good in the case of the inscriptions discovered at Taxila, Peshawar, and other places on the North-West Frontier. The literary Pāli version of the Sūtra is contained in the *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, and this version is prefaced by an account of the incidents which led up to the propounding of ‘the doctrine of causes and effects’ by the Holy Śākya-muni. From this and from the fact that the only record bearing the complete text of the Sūtra, of which the provenance is definitely known,³ comes

¹ A. S. R., 1910-11, pp. 73 ff.

² Oldenberg, Introduction to *Vinaya-piṭaka*, p. XLVII.

³ [Full text of the Sūtra and its *vibhanga* in Sanskrit are incised on some bricks which Mr. Page unearthed at Nālandā in 1924. I am editing them in the *Ep. Ind.*—H. S.]

from the Mahā-parinirvāṇa-Chaitya of the Buddha, it is easy to see how much importance the Buddhists attached to the same. It is for this reason that I remarked above that the monument in which the present casket was enshrined must have been considered in olden days as one of the chief places of worship.

Let us now see if the places and persons mentioned in the inscription afford any clue to the identity of the monument. The only names available for this purpose are (1) *Varmayaśa-putrasa*, i.e. the son of *Varmayaśas*, (2) *Ruubhumi-raña*, i.e. the king of *Ruubhūmi*, and (3) *Ucharśana*, which I take to be the name of an individual. Who this *Varmayaśas* was and where he reigned—as, undoubtedly, he seems to have been a king—I have not been able to ascertain from the materials at my command. On the other hand, *Ucharśana* or *Uttarasēna*, if supposing I am right in my equation, though not a historical personage, yet seems somewhat capable of identification. In the itinerary of the Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tshang it is said: "About sixty *li* south-west from Mangkil city and on the east side of a great river was the tope erected by Uttarasena, king of this country, to enclose his share of the relics of the Buddha's body, and near this was the tope which that king built to mark the spot at which his large white elephant bearing the precious relics had suddenly died and become a rock."¹

Commenting on this passage Watters remarks: "There does not seem to be any mention either of Udyāna or of Uttarasena in the various accounts given in the various Nirvāṇa treatises of the division of the Buddha's relics. But other authorities relate how a female elephant named *Mo-tu* (or *Māta*) bearing relics of Buddha died suddenly on the way, was afterwards reborn as a human creature and became an Arhat with an enormous appetite." Major Deane identifies the monument mentioned by Hiuen Tshang with the remains of a *stūpa* which are said still to exist between the villages of Ghaligai and Shankardar on the Swat river in what used to be the ancient kingdom of Udyāna. It may be asked, however, how, inasmuch as the casket is reputed to have come from Kurram, it could be associated with any monument in the Swat valley, which lies in quite the opposite direction and in a different region. This objection can be met, in my opinion, by the fact that, as I have observed at the very outset, the exact provenance of the casket is not known even to its present owner and that, therefore, there would not be any inherent impossibility, if we were to suppose that the object gradually found its way from the place of its origin to the locality where it eventually came to light, because both the places are situated in the same province and are inhabited by almost kindred races or tribes, who are not too far removed to have constant intercourse with one another.

Lastly, we come to the date of the inscription. It is given merely as *Sam.* or *Samvat* 21 without reference to any particular era. We are, therefore, left to conjecture what the era could be. For this purpose our only guides are the paleography and the language of the record. The former, as I have noted above, shows the cursive variety of the Kharōṣṭhī script of the middle period. And this, we know from other records found in that region, has been attributed to the early Kushān period. I am, therefore, inclined to refer the date of the present inscription to the era of Kanishka which, according to the latest authorities, commenced in or about the year 150 A.D. If this supposition is correct the date under discussion would work out as A.D. 171.

From the language, it seems to me difficult in the present state of our knowledge to draw any definite conclusions with respect to date. And this difficulty is all the more pronounced, because we are not yet in a position to trace the development of the different varieties of Prākṛit which once prevailed in different parts of the country.

¹ Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 236. [With the reading and translation as inserted by me above the names *Ruubhūmi* and *Ucharśana* disappear.—F. W. T.]

No. 4.—KANYAKUMARI INSCRIPTION OF VIRA-RAJENDRA-DEVA.

By THE LATE T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A., TRIVANDRUM.

The village of **Kanyākumāri**, as everyone knows, is situated in the extreme south of India and is a very ancient place of great reputation. It was known to early Greek writers under the names of *Komaria Akron*, or Cape Komaria, as Ptolemy calls it, or simply *Komarei*, as described by the author of the *Periplus*. The latter says: "After Bakare occurs the mountain *Pyrrhos* (or the Red) towards the south, near another district of the country called *Paralia* (where the pearl-fisheries are which belong to king Pandion), and a city of the name of *Kolkhoi* Next to this is another place called *Komar*, where is the Cape of the same name and a haven. Those who wish to consecrate the closing part of their lives to religion come hither and bathe and engage themselves to celibacy. This is also done by women: since it is related that the goddess once on a time resided at the place and bathed."¹ *Paralia* mentioned in this extract is the name of the river *Paraliyāru*, which waters a portion of S. Travancore and empties itself into the *Kulitturāi* river. I have shown elsewhere that the land watered by the *Paraliyāru* was the country belonging to the powerful dynasty of Āy kings, who had their capital at *Kōṭṭāru*, which is mentioned by Ptolemy under the name of 'Kotiara Metropolis' and 'Kottara' by Pliny. From time immemorial, the Pāṇḍyas were the guardians of *Kanyākumāri* and the temple in it; one of their distinguishing titles being *Kaṇṇi-kāvalaṇ*, the guardian of *Kaṇṇi* (i.e. *Kanyākumāri*).

The temple of the goddess **Kanyākumāri** is situated on the very brink of the Indian Ocean. Opposite to the central shrine is a *maṇḍapa* locally known as the *maṇimanḍapa*, which contains six cylindrical stone pillars covered with writing in **Grantha** (ll. 1 to 419) and **Tamiḷ** (ll. 420 to 444) characters. *Kanyākumāri* was visited by the Madras Government Epigraphist in 1896, when an attempt was made by his staff to obtain a mechanical copy of the inscriptions contained on these pillars, but the task was given up as impossible. I tried to copy the inscription in 1910; the result was not at all satisfactory. Since then I have visited the place more than once; every time I saw the inscription on the pillars, which is clearly legible in some places, but more or less completely worn out in others, I was impelled to make a fresh attempt to copy it; and what was to be the last, a serious and determined effort to secure a good impression of the writing on all the pillars, was made in 1916. The first and foremost difficulty experienced by all up till then was that of removing the thick crust of oil and dirt which from a long time past had accumulated on the pillars. This was completely removed after one or two unsuccessful attempts, and the inscription was found in some places defaced, being corroded by the action of the sea-air. Though these parts did not appear legibly on the impression, it was still possible with great difficulty to read the writing on those parts directly from the stone. After straining every nerve to obtain a set of good estampages, with lamp in hand, letter by letter, word by word, the record was deciphered from the original stone itself. The success is largely due to the indomitable perseverance of my Paṇḍit, Mr. V. Srinivasa Sastri, Smṛitiviśārada; he and I worked at the epigraph, on the spot, for nearly one month. Most of the verses employ rhymes (*prāsas*), which also came in handy by suggesting conjectural readings which in almost all the cases proved, upon reference to the original stone inscription, to be quite correct. Thus then the text was at last nearly completely recovered from the worn surface of the pillars.

The inscription may fitly be called the "*Chōḷa-vaiṣṇava-praśasti*." It is extremely important for the history of the Chōḷas as it contains many pieces of information hitherto unknown to history. As I think that it is not right to defer the publication of this very important document

¹ Caldwell's *History of Tinnevely*, p. 19.

any longer, I am giving in this article what may be considered a preliminary notice, an *atutur* edition being reserved for my own publication, in the *Travancore Archaeological Series*.¹

As has been already remarked, the six pillars are covered with writing from the top to the bottom. At first I conceived that the writing went round the pillar in a spiral; but on closer examination it was discovered that each pillar consisted of two sections, one on the back face and another on the front. The inscription is continued from pillar to pillar in the following systematic order Ia, Ib, IIa, IIb, and so on, where I represents the first pillar and a and b represent the back and front faces of the pillar. The language is mostly Sanskrit. At the end of the record occurs the grant portion beginning with the *birudas* of king Virarājendra, and giving his regnal year. The *birudas* and names of the king in this section are written in the Grantha alphabet, while the rest is in the Tamil alphabet and language. The Sanskrit portion of the record, giving the genealogy of the Chōlas, is entirely in verse, whereas the Tamil portion is in prose. On the whole the epigraph consists of 444 lines.

In the first two verses the god Śiva, and in the third Viṣṇu, are praised. The god of the Universe first created the Brahmāṇḍa, and then Brahmā was ushered into existence for the purpose of creating all other things. Brahmā, in his turn, created several Ṛishis to assist him in his task. One of them was Marichi. The son of Marichi was Kāśyapa; his son was Vivasvān: the son of the latter was Manu; Manu's son was Ikshvāku; his son, Vikukshiśrava; Purañjaya, who obtained the title Kakutstha, was the son of the latter. In the lineage of Kakutstha was born king Prithu; in the same race arose Kuvalāśya, Mādhātṛi, Muchukunda, Hariśchandra, Sagara, Bhagiratha, Ṛituparna and Dilipa. In this illustrious family was born the Lord (*bhagavān*) in the four aspects of Rāma, Lakshmana, Bharata and Śatrughna, purposely to teach the world how each one has to conduct oneself towards others; that is, a son towards a father and mother, a younger brother towards his elder brother and so on. The verses describing Rāma (vv. 25-26) are very beautiful. Up to this the genealogy is purely *paurāṇic*. Next follows what might be considered as legendary and semi-historic.

In the solar race was born a king named Chōla. To this king, who ruled over the whole earth, the forests served as a sort of artificial garden. Once upon a time this king was sporting for some time in the forests inhabited by Ṛishis; with a small army he once proceeded on a hunting excursion in the adjoining forests. Then a Rākshasa who had assumed the shape of a deer appeared before him. Pursuing the animal he and his followers reached another forest, where he killed that deer.² By this time he had reached the bank of the river Kāvērī; he went along its course, bathed in its water, which was as sweet as *amṛita*; he looked all round for Brāhmaṇas and found none about the place. He then brought several Brāhmaṇas from the Āryāvarta and settled them comfortably on the banks of the river Kāvērī. Cutting down the forests on either bank of the Kāvērī, he planted gardens containing creepers of betel leaves and areca palms.

Rājakesari, the son of Chōla, succeeded him after his death. The son of Rājakesari was Parakesari. The *prasasti* does not mention the fact that in the Chōla dynasty the titles Rājakesari and Parakesari were assumed by alternate kings, as is stated in the Leiden and the Tiruvālaṅgaḍu grants.³ In this dynasty were born Mrityujit, who conquered Mrityu, the god of

¹ [This has since been done by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar in Volume III of that series, pp. 85 to 168 Ed.]

² This is evidently an imitation of a similar occurrence in the life of Rāma.

³ *Arch. Survey of South India*, Vol. IV, p. 204, and *South Ind. Inscri.*, Vol. III, p. 383.

death; Virasēna; and Chitra, frightened at the power of whose arrows Dēvēndra (Indra) accepted the tiger-banner, in which he also took refuge. From that time the tiger became the crest of the Chōlas just in the same manner as a pair of carp fish and the bow were respectively the crests of the Pāṇdyas and the Chēras; then came Pushpakētu, Kētumāla, Samudrajit and Pañchapa. The last mentioned king cut open five arteries in his body and fed with the blood issuing out of them five Yakshas who came to him as his guests and demanded of him this curious and cruel food. For feeding the Yakshas in the manner described he obtained the name Pañchapa. The king Nṛimṛida sprang in this race, and by the grace of Paramēśvara conquered Mṛityu, the god of death; then appeared Manōratha, and the illustrious Parunatkili (Perunatkili) and others. Karikāla, who was born in this family, seeing that the river Kāvēri by its irregular flow was destroying the crops, caused embankments to be constructed on both its sides, the kings conquered by him carrying earth on their heads for that purpose. Valabha,¹ Jagadēkamalla and Vyālabhayaṅkara were also been in this dynasty.

Here commences the genuine history of the Chōlas. Vijayālaya is said to have been born in this lineage. He was worshipped by all kings; he is here stated to have constructed anew the city of Tañjāpuri in the Chōla country; but the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant distinctly mentions the fact that Vijayālaya took Tañjāpuri by force and set up in it the goddess Nisumbhasūdanī (Durgā).² Evidently, the composer of the Kanyākumārī *prafasti* did not know exactly how Tañjāpuri came to be the seat of the Chōlas in the time of Vijayālaya. The true fact seems to have been remembered by the composer of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu document. It has been stated elsewhere that Tañjāpuri must have been seized from the Muttaraiyars, the vassals of the Pallavas, by Vijayālaya.³ The son of Vijayālaya was Ādityavarman *alias* Kōḍaṇḍarāma. In the village of Toṇḍamanāḍ near Kālahasti there is a temple of the Chōla period. One of its inscriptions belonging to the 34th year of the reign of Madiraikonda Parakēsarivarman, i.e. Parāntaka I, calls the temple by the name Kōḍaṇḍarāmēśvara *alias* Ādityēśvara. Mr. Venkayya in his Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year 1905, wrote about it thus:—"No. 318 of 1904 mentions the king's son śrī-Kōḍaṇḍarāma while No. 347 of 1904 refers to prince Kōḍaṇḍa. Even at the present day Kōḍaṇḍa is a familiar abbreviation of Kōḍaṇḍarāma, and we may therefore suppose that both Nos. 318 and 347 of 1904 refer to the same prince, who was the son of Parāntaka I. In the same village of Toṇḍamanāḍ is another inscription of Parāntaka I, dated in his 34th year (about A.D. 939), which mentions the temple of Kōḍaṇḍarāmēśvara *alias* Ādityēśvara. It is not impossible that this temple was called after the Chōla prince Kōḍaṇḍarāma. If this surmise proves correct, it may be concluded from the other name Ādityēśvara given to the Toṇḍamanāḍ temple that Kōḍaṇḍarāma was the surname either of the king's eldest son Rājāditya or of his second son Gaṇḍarāditya."⁴ Subsequently, while reviewing No. 286 of the Collection of the Madras Epigraphist for the year 1906, found in Tirumālpuram which stated that the village of Śirriyārūr had been granted as a *dēvadāna* and as a *brahmadāya* in the 21st year of Toṇḍaimāṇārūr-tuñjina-Uḍaiyār, Mr. Venkayya changed his opinion and said that Toṇḍaimāṇārūr-tuñjina-Uḍaiyār, i.e. 'the lord who died at Toṇḍaimāṇārūr,' must refer to Āditya I, that Toṇḍaimāṇārūr is probably Toṇḍamanāḍ near Kālahasti in the North Arcot District which in a record of Parāntaka I found at the place, is called Toṇḍaimāṇpārūr,

¹ The Tamil word *Valabaṇ*, which later on came to signify, like the word Chōla, any Chōla king, is converted here into Valabha.

² See S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 418, vv. 45 and 46.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 136.

⁴ *Ep. Rep.*, 1905, p. 50, para. 9.

and that the temple of Kōḍaṇḍarāmēśvara at the village, which is also called Ādityēśvara in the inscription of Parāntaka I must have been called after Āditya I.¹ This latter conclusion is now proved by the explicit statement found in the Kanyākumāri inscription that Āditya I, father of Parāntaka I, was known by the name Kōḍaṇḍarāma. The Kanyākumāri inscription adds that Āditya I *alias* Kōḍaṇḍarāma killed the Pallava king seated on his elephant.² The opponent of Āditya I was Aparājita.

The next king of the dynasty was Parāntaka, son of Āditya. He destroyed the Pāṇḍya king together with his whole army, took the whole of his treasure and burnt Madura, his capital. From these military exploits he was known as Madhurāntaka, that is, "death to Madhura (*i.e.* Madura)." Because he defeated the unconquered Kṛishṇa-Rāja he came to be known as Vira-Chōla. It is only in this inscription that we hear that the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III was defeated in battle by Parāntaka I. Kṛishṇa ascended the throne about A.D. 940, a year which falls within the reign of Parāntaka I (A.D. 907-948). It is quite probable that Kṛishṇa III was defeated by Parāntaka I, and it was perhaps in vengeance thereof that the former invaded the Chōla country soon after the death of the latter and early in the reign of Rājāditya, Parāntaka's son and successor.³

In all his Tamil inscriptions Parāntaka I is described as *Madiraikoṇḍa Parakēsarivarman*, that is, 'Parakēsarivarman who took Madura.' Sometimes the word "*Īlamum*" occurs after '*Madiraiyum*' in the inscriptions of this king. We shall see presently that he conquered also Īlam or Ceylon as reported in the Tiruvālaṅkāḍu grant.⁴

The Kanyākumāri inscription states that Parāntaka caused his army to cross the sea and conquer Siṃhala; by killing the lords of Siṃhala and subjugating the country he obtained the surname Siṃhalāntaka. As it is stated that it was only his army that crossed the sea we have to infer that Parāntaka I himself did not lead the army to Siṃhala, but, entrusting the invasion to his generals, stopped on the mainland. He is further stated to have constructed several *agrahāras* like Viranārāyaṇapura and granted them for the enjoyment of Brāhmaṇas. This Viranārāyaṇapura seems to be the same as the modern Kaṭṭumannārkōyil, a suburb of Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōlapuram which was the native place of the great Śrivaishṇava *āchāryas* Nāthamuniḡal and Yāmunārya *alias* Ālavandār.

The son of Parāntaka (I) was Arindama. To Arindama was born a son named Parāntaka (II). Anticipating trouble from this valiant king, the Pāṇḍya king fled across the mountains, evidently to the Kēraḷa country. Parāntaka II fought several battles and imprisoned a large number of kings.

The son of Parāntaka II was Rājārāja. He caused a number of *yāgas* to be performed. It was the custom with Rājārāja never to kill those enemies who surrendered to him; in spite of this well-known fact the Chālukya king Satyāśraya senselessly ran away from the battlefield.

Rājārāja had a son named Madhurāntaka. He conquered the Kuntala king, that is, the Chālukya, and made Mānyakhēṭṭa, his capital, a camping and sporting ground for his army. Sending his generals at the head of his powerful army northwards, he caused them to defeat successively the kings of the Kulūta⁵ and the Utkala countries and to kill the kings of

¹ *Ep. Rep.*, 1907, p. 71, para. 30.

² *Ibid.*, 1906, p. 65.

³ [It has been shown in *Archl. Survey Report* for 1908-09, p. 122, that Rājāditya died before his father and did not succeed to the Chōla throne.—Ed.]

⁴ *South-Ind. Inscri.*, Vol. III, p. 396, vv. 51-52.

⁵ An inscription found at Mahēndragiri (No. 397 of the Madras Epigraphist's Collection for 1897) states that "a general of Rājendra-Chōla (named in Tamil, Rājendra-Chōla-Pallavaraiyan Rājārajamārāyan) overcame the Kulūta king named Vimalāditya and set up a pillar of victory." The general is called Dattākara in another epigraph found in the same place.

Kalīṅga and Viṃśendra¹; and to bring the water of the Ganges filled in pots carried on the heads of the conquered kings. The latter statement regarding the conquest of Rājendra-Chōla of the countries as far as the Ganges is in close agreement with that found in the Tiruvālaṅgādu grant. In both the records it is distinctly mentioned that Rājendra-Chōla *alias* Madhurāntaka himself did not proceed against the northern kings and did not extend his arms as far as the Ganges by leading the army in person, but got the credit of having 'taken the Gaṅgā river' (Gaṅgai-konḍa) by the victories achieved by his generals.² The inscription states further, that he sent his army across the sea to the Kaṭāha country and set fire to it³ and that there was nothing impossible for this monarch to achieve.

This king, Madhurāntaka (that is, Rājendra-Chōla I), had three sons, named (respectively) Rājādhirāja, Rājendra-dēva and Vira-Rājendra-dēva. Of these, Rājādhirāja was the eldest. For the first time we have the very explicit statement in the inscription under notice that Rājendra-Chōla had three sons.⁴ Up till now the relationship existing between Rājendra-Chōla and the three brothers, Rājādhirāja, Rājendra-dēva and Vira-Rājendra-dēva, was vaguely conjectured.

The Kanyākumārī inscription states that Rājādhirāja destroyed the city of Kalyāṇapura and conquered the lord of that place, Āhavamalla. These facts are well known to students of Indian history by the inscriptions of this king. Kalyāṇapura was the capital of the Chālukyas and Āhavamalla was the Chālukya contemporary of Rājādhirāja.

After the death of Rājādhirāja, his next younger brother Rājendra-dēva ascended the throne, and the latter in his turn was succeeded by his younger brother Vira-Rājendra-dēva. He killed the Maṇṇāṭa (Kaṇṇāṭa ?) kings in the battle at Kūḍal-saṅgama. This king, Vallabhavallabha, took possession of Vēṅgi and Kalīṅga,⁵ left uncared for by his elder brothers and consequently overrun by enemies; Vira-Rājendra, who is known also by the names Karikāla and Vira-Chōla, set up several *dharma-sāsanas* (that is, engraved deeds of grants). He presented an invaluable ruby, known as *trailōkya-sāra*, to the god Dabhra-Sabhāpati (the god of Chidambaram), and it was set up in the crown of that god. He established a number of *agrahāras* in the Chōla, Tuṇḍira, Pāṇḍya, Gaṅgavāṭi and Kulūta countries and colonised them with forty thousand Brāhmanas well-versed in the Vēdas. From the other inscriptions of this monarch we know that he won a victory over the Chālukya Āhavamalla at Kūḍalsāṅgama and Koppa and captured all the treasures belonging to his opponent, as also

¹ [The note on Text I. 360 below reads *अ[कु] ऋ*.—Ed.]

² *South-Ind. Insers.*, Vol. III, p. 424, v. 117.

³ *Ibid.*, v. 123.

The conquest of Kaḍāram also is described in the historical introduction prefixed to his Tamil inscriptions.

⁴ The *Kalīṅgaṭṭupparanī* seems to indicate that Rājendra-Chōla I, seeing that he had no sons to succeed him, resolved on electing Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I, a grandson by his daughter, as his successor. This information is not of much value as it is not based on actual facts. Inscriptions of Rājādhirāja I and Rājendra-dēva enumerate a number of Chōla princes who stood in the relation of uncles, brothers, and sons to the kings. Besides, the Tiruvālaṅgādu Plates state that a certain Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍya was Rājendra-Chōla I's son; see *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 423, vv. 93 and 99.

⁵ The following is the passage in *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, Part I, pp. 63-70, which describes this event —:

"(L. 28) Having moved (his camp), he declared :—'(We) shall not return without regaining the good country of Vēṅgai, which (we had formerly) subdued. You, (who are) strong, come and defend (it), if (you) are able!' That army which was chosen (for this expedition) drove into the jungle that big army, which routed (its enemies) on the great river close to Viśaiyavāḍai (and) which had for its chiefs Jananāthan, the Daṇḍanāyaka Rājamaṇyaṇ, whose *maat* elephants trumpeted in herds, and Mopparaśan.

"(L. 29.) His elephants drank the water of the Gōḍavārī. (He) crossed even Kalīṅgam and, beyond (it), despatched (for) battle (his) invincible army as far as the further end of Śakkara-kōṭṭam (Chakra-kōṭṭa).

"(L. 30.) (He) re-conquered the good country of Vēṅgai and bestowed (it) on Vijayādityan, whose broad hand (held) weapons of war, (and) who had taken refuge at his lotus-feet."

his women. The fact of his presenting the god Sabhāpati with a jewel is quite new. That he established a number of *agrahāras* does not appear to be a mere boast; we have even now several of them, such as Virarājamangalam, Virachōlapuram, etc.

The Tamil portion of the inscription begins afresh with the phrase *Svasti Śrī* and states that the king Rājakesarivarman Vira-Rājendra, who bore the *birudas* and surnames¹ Mahārājādhirāja, Rājāśraya, Rāja-Rājendra, Vira-Chōla, Karikāla-Chōla, etc., seems to have made a grant of land to the temple of Kanyā-Piḍāriyār (*Bhagavati*) at Kumari (i.e. Kanyākumāri). This portion of the inscription is damaged and cannot be easily deciphered.

On the whole the Kanyākumāri inscription is a valuable document for the construction of the history of the Chōla dynasty. With the Anbil grant,² the Leiden grant,³ the Tiruvālaṅ-gādu grant⁴ and the Kanyākumāri inscription, the four most important documents, the history of the Chōlas could be written completely and satisfactorily. The Tamil works *Kalīngat-tupparani*, etc. may also be of great interest in the study of Chōla history.

The following table gives the genealogy of the Chōlas as found in the Kanyākumāri inscription; and the genealogies derived from the Tamil works, the *Vikrama-Śōlaṅ-ulā*, the *Kulōttuṅga-Śōlaṅ-ulā* and the *Śāṅkara-Śōlaṅ-ulā*, are also added for purposes of comparison.

The Kanyākumāri inscription.

1 Viśvādhinātha.	13 Muchukunda.
2 Brahmā.	14 Hariśchandra.
3 Marichi.	15 Sagara.
4 Kāśyapa.	16 Bhagiratha.
5 Vivasvān.	17 Riturarna.
6 Manu.	18 Dilīpa.
7 Ikshvāku.	19 Rāma, Lakshmana, Bharata and Śatrughna.
8 Vikukshīra.	20 Chōla, who first came to the south and settled down there; brought several families of Brāhmanas from Āryāvarta and populated the new kingdom.
9 Kakutsha <i>alias</i> Purañjaya.	21 Rājakesari.
10 Prithu.	22 Parakesari.
11 Kuvalāśva.	
12 Māndhātṛi.	

¹ The following is the passage referring to the several titles of Vira-Rājendra which occurs in No. 161, Chintāmani Tk., Kolar District of the Mysore province:—

"Sakala-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī Prithvi-vallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara parama-bhaṭṭāraka Ravi-kula-tilaka Chōla-kula-śekhara Pāṇḍya-kul-āntaka Āhavamalla-kula-kāla Āhavamallapai aimmaḍi meṅkaṇḍa Rājāśekhara Rājāśraya Rāja-Rājendra Vira-Chōla Karikāla-Chōla Śrī Vira-Rājendra-dēvaṅku yāṇḍu āṇavaḍu."

In *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 198, also we find:—"Sakala-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Mēdinivallabha mahārājādhirāja Chōla-kula-sundara Pāṇḍya-kul-āntaka Āhavamalla-kula-kāla Āhavamallapai mummāḍi meṅkaṇḍa Rājāśraya Vira-Chōla Karikāla-Chōla Vira-Rājendra-dēva Rājakesari-perumānaḍigaḷ . . . yāṇḍu 4 vaḍu."

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 44 ff.

³ *Arch. Survey of S. India*, Vol. IV, pp. 204 ff.

⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 383 ff.

The Kanyākumāri inscription.

23	Mṛityujit, who conquered Death.	37	Vijayālaya, who made Tañjāpuri the capital of the Chōla country.
24	Virasēna.		
25	Chitra, who made Indra seek refuge in his tiger banner.	38	Āditya <i>alias</i> Kōṇḍaṇḍarāma, who killed the Pallava that was seated on his elephant, in battle.
26	Pushpakētu.		
27	Kētumāla.	39	Parāntaka, who killed the Pāṇḍya king, extinguished his army, took all his treasure, and set fire to Madura, his capital. Hence he was called <i>Madhurāntaka</i> . He conquered the unconquered Kṛishṇarāja and was therefore called Vira-Chōla. He crossed the ocean and defeated the kings of Sindhala and was hence styled <i>Sindhajāntaka</i> . He established Viranārāyanapura and other famous <i>agrahāras</i> .
28	Samudrajit.		
29	Pañchapa, who cut his veins and fed with his blood five Yaksas who came to him as guests.	40	Ariadama.
30	Nṛimbiḍa, who with the help of Pāramēśvara conquered Death.	41	Parāntaka.
31	Manōratha.		The Pāṇḍya was driven away and several kings defeated in battle.
32	Pernatkiḷi.		
33	Karikāla, who built the embankments of the Kāvēri, which was destroying the crops by its excessive flow.	42	Rājārāja, who defeating several kings in battle, performed several <i>yāgas</i> . Satyāsraya ran away from him in battle.
34	Valabha.		
35	Jagadōkamalla.	43	Rājendra or Madhurāntaka; he conquered the king of the Kuntala country; made Mānyakhēta the playground for his army; his general defeated the kings of Kulūta and Utkala and killed those of Kalinga and Vaṅga and made the defeated kings carry the water of the river Gaṅgā on their heads for his lord. His army crossed the sea, defeated the king of Kaṭāha and set fire to it.
36	Vyājabbhayaṅkara.		
44	Rājādhirāja destroyed with fire Kalyāṇapura, defeated and dealt with Abhavamalla and his generals.	45	Rājendra-dēva.
		46	Vira-Rajendra (Rāja-Rājendra). He conquered in the battle of Kūḍalaṅgama the kings of the Kārṇāṭa family. He took the countries of Vēṅgi and Kalinga which were neglected by his brothers and had, therefore, been seized by enemy kings. He was called Vira-Chōla and Karikāla. He set a famous ruby called the <i>trailōkyasāra</i> in the crown of the lord of Chidambaram. He established <i>agrahāras</i> in the Chōla, Tāṇḍira, Pāṇḍya, Gaṅgavāṭi, Kulūta and other countries and caused lands to be granted to 40,000 learned Brāhmaṇas.

The Kalingattupparani.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1 Vishnu.
2 Brahmā.
3 Marichī.
4 Kaśyapa.
5 Arka.
6 Manu.
7 Ikshvāku.
8 He who drove his chariot over his own son.
9 Purandara.
10 He who made the tiger and the deer to drink water in the same stream.
11 Mochukunda.
12 He who made it possible for the gods to drink ambrosia.
13 He who weighed himself against a dove (Sibi).
14 Surādhirāja.
15 Chōja.
16 Rājakēsari.
17 Parakēsari.
18 He who explained the law to Death.
19 He who brought the river Kāvērī from the west.
20 He who took the higher worlds and ruled the whole of this world.
21 He who made Indra reside in his flag.
22 He who made the western ocean mix with the eastern one.</p> | <p>23 He who gave his blood to be drunk by a demon.
24 He who commanded the wind.
25 He who destroyed the flying forts.
26 He who roamed about the sky in his aerial chariot.
27 He who helped Dharmarāja in the Mahābhārata war.
28 He who married a Nāga princess.
29 He who, being pleased with the poem <i>Kalavālī</i> of the poet Poyyāi liberated the Chēra.
30 He who made kings (conquered by him) build the embankment of the Kāvērī.
31 He who received in his praise the poem called <i>Paṭṭinappālai</i>.
32 He who destroyed the kings of the Pāṇḍya and the Chēra countries and took Kūḍal (i.e. Madura) and Iḷam.
33 He who celebrated the festival of his birthday (<i>Sadaya-nakshatra</i>) in the Chēra country.
34 The king who made his horses drink water from the river Gaṅgā and took Kaḍaram situated beyond the sea.
35 He who set up a pillar of victory at Kampili, took Kalāṇa and caused the tiger emblem to be engraved on the eight chief mountains.
36 He who, seated upon an elephant, came out victorious at the battle of Koppa and received the anointment of heroes (<i>vir-ābhishēka</i>).
37 He who enforced the Laws of Manu and was thrice (or four times) superior to Manu himself.
38 Abhaya, who was victorious at Kūḍalsāṅgama.</p> |
|--|---|

The Vikrama-Sōḷaṅ-ulā.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1 Vishnu.
2 Brahmā.
3 Kaśyapa.
4 Marichī.
5 The wheeled charioteer (Sun).
6 He who drove his chariot over the body of his own son</p> | <p>7 He who made the tiger and the deer to drink from the same stream.
8 He who drove in his aerial chariot.
9 He who ruled over the Bhōgabhūmi (Purandara).
10 He who explained the law to Death.
11 He who
12 He who destroyed the flying forts.</p> |
|--|--|

The Vikrama-Sōḷaṅ-ulā.

13 He who made the water of the western ocean join with that of the eastern ocean.	22 He who took the Gaṅgā and Kaḍāra and was pleased to be seated on <i>śimhāsana</i> .
14 He who married the Nāga princess.	23 He who conquered the city of Kalyāṇa after attacking it thrice.
15 He who got into the scale-pan against the weight of a dove.	24 He who fought the battle at Koppam.
16 He who brought the Kāvērī river to the Chōḷa country.	25 He who presented the god Raṅganātha with a serpent couch.
17 He who built the banks of the Kāvērī.	26 He who defeated his enemies at Kūdalsaṅgamam and killed several elephants.
18 He who, being pleased with the poem of Poygai, liberated the Chēra king.	27 He who twice destroyed the <i>kalam</i> at Sālai, who took the western ocean, defeated the Pāṇdyas, Chēras, took Kōṅkana and Kannada, killed the Māratta king, and who is known by the name of Abhaya.
19 He who was adorned with 96 scars on his chest, received in battlefields.	
20 He who covered the hall (Chidambaram temple) with gold.	
21 He who took in a day the kingdom of the Malai-nēḍu.	28 Vikrama-Chōḷa.

The Kulōttuṅga-Sōḷaṅ-ulā.

1 The Sun (?)	15 He who broke the rock that stood in the way of the Kāvērī river and brought her into his country.
2 He who drove his chariot over his son.	16 He who ascended the scale-pan against the weight of a dove.
3 He who	17 Karikāla, who made kings carry earth to build the embankment of the Kāvērī.
4 He who protected the castles of the gods.	18 Killi, who married (the Nāga) damsel.
5 He who sat on the throne of the lord of gods (Indra) along with him.	19 He who liberated the Chēra king, being pleased with the poem <i>Kaḷavaḷi</i> of Poygai.
6 Killi, who explained the law to Death.	20 He who was adorned with 96 scars on his chest received in battle.
7 Mādhātṛi, who made the tiger and the deer to drink water from the same stream.	21 He who tore to pieces a Brahmarākhaṣa and repaired the Chidambaram temple: who took Iḷam and Madura.
8 The king of kings who brought down Mandākinī (Gaṅgā) to send his ancestors to heaven by bathing their bones with the holy water.	22 He who took and destroyed the fort of Uḍagai in one day.
9 He who fought against the Kauravas in the Mahābhārata war.	3 He who took the river Gaṅgā and the country Kaḍāram and was pleased to be seated on the <i>śimhāsana</i> .
10	24 Śuṅgandavirttōḷ.
11 He who took the head of a	25 Akalaṅkaṇ, who received in his praise the <i>Kalāgattupparaṇi</i> .
12	26 Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa.
13 He who destroyed the flying forts.	
14 He who joined the western ocean with the eastern.	

The Śaṅkara-Śōḷaṇ-ula.

1 Vishṇu.	18 The king who liberated the Chēra, being pleased with the poem <i>Kaḷavaḷi</i> sung by Poygai.
2 Manu (P).	19 He who bore on his chest 96 scars received in battle.
3 The Sun.	20 The king who covered the Hall with gold.
4 He who drove his chariot over his own son.	21 He who took the Kēraḷa country in one day.
5 He who made the tiger and the deer to drink from the same stream.	22 He who took Gaṅgā and Kaḍāram.
6 He who drove in a celestial chariot.	23 He who fought thrice against the city of Kal-yāna.
7 Purandara.	24 He who took 1,000 elephants at Koppam.
8 He who explained the law to Death.	25 He who gave to Vishṇu in Kōyil (Śrī-raṅgām) a jewel couch in the shape of a serpent.
9 He who	26 He who defeated his enemy at Kūḍalsāṅgam.
10 He who destroyed the flying forts.	27 He who received the <i>Kaliṅgattu-Parani</i> in praise of himself.
11 He who joined the western ocean with the eastern.	28 Vikrama-Chōla, who received the <i>ulā</i> in his praise from the pen of Kūttan.
12 He who married the Nāga princess whose ancestors possessed the seven worlds.	29 He who was praised in a <i>Vallaikkali-mālai</i> and a <i>Pillai-Tamiḷ</i> .
13 The king who presented 11,000 <i>poṇs</i> for one verse.	30 He who presented for each verse of an <i>ulā</i> praising him 1,000 <i>poṇs</i> .
14 Another who gave 16 crores of <i>poṇs</i> for a verse.	31 Śaṅkara-Rāja.
15 He who ascended the scale-pan against the weight of a dove.	
16 He who conducted the Kāvēri from the west to his country.	
17 He who built the embankments on both sides of the river Kāvēri.	

We have to mention here two Chōla kings, viz. Adhirājendra and Rājamahendra, who seem to have reigned as co-regents with Rājendra-dēva and Virārajendra.

Dr. Hultzsch believes that Rājamahendra must be the son of Rājendra-dēva and the predecessor of Vira-Rājendra-dēva. He writes about these kings thus :—"As regards Rājamahendra, his reign seems to be covered altogether by those of Rājendra-dēva and Vira-Rājendra I. Perhaps he was a son and temporary co-regent of Rājendra-dēva. This was suggested already by an inscription of the 9th year of Rājendra which mentions among the boundaries of a village 'the road of Rājamahendra.' A further confirmation is furnished by the fact that his successor Vira-Rājendra adopted the surname Rājākēsari. If he had recognised Rājamahendra Rājākēsari-varman as his rightful predecessor, he would, in accordance with all precedents, have assumed the title Parakēsari."

The *Kaliṅgattupparani*, the *Vikrama-Śōḷaṇ-ula* and the *Śaṅkara-Śōḷaṇ-ula* refer to a king who is stated in the two latter works to have given to the god Raṅganātha of Śrīraṅgam

a golden serpent couch.¹ The *Kōyilolugu* informs us that the king Rājamahēndra was a devotee of the god Ranganātha and that he constructed one of the *prākāras* of that god's temple. Putting together the statements of the two sets of literary evidences, I think it is possible for us to infer that the king who presented to the Śrīraṅgam temple a golden serpent couch must be identical with Rājamahēndra. Since the *Kalīngattupparani*, etc., place him before Vira-Rājendra, the finding of Dr. Hultzsch receives further strength. It is quite likely that he was made a *yuvarāja* with the title Rājakēśari, that, when his father and uncle were engaged in war with the Chalukyas, he was administering the kingdom in the capacity of the *yuvarāja*, but that he died before his father and therefore never ascended the throne. As a consequence, when Vira-Rājendra ascended the throne, in regular succession to Rājendra-dēva, he also called himself a Rājakēśari.

The Kanyākumāri inscription, which traces the descent of the Chōlas down to Vira-Rājendra, is silent about Rājamahēndra, his immediate predecessor. This silence about him is significant and corroborates further the hypothesis of Dr. Hultzsch.

TEXT.²

[Metres: vv. 1, 10-12, 18, 21, 24, 26, 44, 47, 52, 56, 73, 76, 77, 79, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 2-9, 15, 20, 60, *Sragdharā*; v. 13, *Vaṁśastha*; vv. 14, 49, 71, *Śikharinī*; vv. 16, 48, 50, 57, 67, 72, 74, *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 17, 23, 25, 41, 62, 65, 69, *Mālini*; vv. 19, 27, 28, 40, 75, *Mandākrāntā*; vv. 22, 53, 78, *Svāgatā*; vv. 29, 45, *Aupachchandasika*; vv. 30-31, 61, *Prithvi*; vv. 32, 46, 59, *Praharshinī*; vv. 33, 38, 39, 42, *Śālinī*; vv. 34-35, *Harinī*; vv. 36-37, 58, 63, 66, 68, *Rathoddhatā*; vv. 43, 54, 55, *Upajāti*; vv. 51, 64, 70, *Upēndravajrā*; vv. 80 and 81, *Anush-tubh*.]

First Pillar : First Side.

- 1 स्वस्ति श्री[ः*] यः कर्त्ता जगद्-
- 2 ०भवस्थितिलयानुत्भूतया⁴ ली-
- 3 लया यो वाचामधिनायकश्च-
- 4 यति यं सर्वज्ञतैकाग्रया [१*]
- 5 यत्भक्तिप्रवणैरपायविष-
- 6 मस्तार्थो भवाम्भोनिधिर्दया-
- 7 त्⁶ वस्स विभूतिमिन्दुशकलापीडो

¹ The *Kalīngattupparani* describes this king thus :—

Paṇṇuvalukku mudalāya Vēda-nāṅgiṟ-
paṇḍ-uraitta neri pudukki=ppalaiyar taṅgaṇ-
Maṇuviṇṇukku mummadi nāṇṇadiyām Sōlaṇ
nadikkṇḍaikkil-arau-dalirppa vaḷarndavāṇum

The *Vikrama-Sōlan-ulā* thus :—

Pāḍ-arava-tteṇṇ-Araṅga-mēyārkkku=ppaṇṇmaniyaḷ-
ādarava-ppāyal-amaittāṇum
. Maṇṇalaṇ-
kāppaṇaiḥ-Koyiṟ-karumugiṟku nāṇikkap-
pāppaṇai seydaḷitta pārttiyaṇṇu.

Śaṅkara, ll. 41-43.

² Both from the original stones and the mechanical impressions prepared by me.

³ Read ०द्वय.

⁴ Read ०नुत्तया.

⁵ Read यज्ञि.

⁶ Read ०द्.

- 8 भवानोपतिः ॥—[१*] मायामाया[मि]नो
 9 यो वहति जगदिदं रञ्जयन्तो¹
 10 जयन्तो ज्ञानाज्ञानप्रसू-
 11 ति² स्फुटचिवपुषा योगभाजा-
 12 गभाजा [१*] सत्वामत्वानुकम्पो हि-
 13 तमुदितमहा[ता]पशनाम्³ पशू-
 14 नाम्⁴ शश्वशम्भुग्नपापव्यति-
 15 कृति भवतस्स प्रपानात् प्रपा-
 16 तात् ॥—[२*] चक्रे चक्रेण दैत्य-
 17 प्रकरमतिबलं यस्ममस्तं समस्त-
 18 [म्] पाता पाताळमूलाहितबलिरनिश-
 19 म् भासुराणां सुराणां⁵ [१*] सद्यस्स द्य-
 20 त्वघं वो हरिरखिलजगद्रक्षणे-
 21 न क्षणेन खैरं खैरं[श]लेशैः⁶
 22 [रिव ध]रणिगतैस्सम्भवत्⁷भर्भवतिभः⁸
 23 ॥—[३*] आदौ देवस्मिष्टक्षामुपनतस-
 24 मयः [प्रत्यवेक्षा]मदभ्राम् बिभ्रत्⁹
 25 विश्वाधिनायस्समुचितजगदारम-
 26 भमम्भस्ससर्जं [१*] तस्मिन्नित्थिष्य
 27 बीजनिजमजमखिलं स त्रिलो-
 28 कीकरण्डम् ब्रह्माण्डं तेन [चक्रे]
 29 व्यधित विधिमपि स[ष्ट]मेनां¹⁰ वि[ना]-
 30 यम् ॥—[४*] तस्माज्जातस्तदानो स-
 31 कलमपि जगत् सप्रपञ्चं विरि-
 32 ष्वः कृत्वा तस्तार वीर्यं त्रिजमयमपरान्¹⁰

¹ The *anusvara* symbol is entered twice and once at the end of this line and again at the beginning of the next.

² Read प्रसूति.

³ Read पशना.

⁴ Read सुराणाम्.

⁵ The *ai* symbols alone are in this line and the letter *s* is in the next.

⁶ Read सवद्विभवंदिः.

⁷ Read विभट्.

⁸ Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar who has studied the inscription and edited it in the *Tr. Arch. Series* adds some notes and correct readings which *passim* are enclosed in rectangular brackets. [The correct reading seems to be ०८ मष्ट.]

⁹ [The inscription seems to read विधेयम्, the design being at the end of l. 29 and ष्व at the commencement of l. 30.]

¹⁰ [The correct reading is दुर्ज्वारवीर्यान्नजमयमपरान्.]

- 33 ब्रह्मणः [तान् मुनीन्द्रा]न्तेषामेकः [तु]¹
 34 शेषैरपि . . वि विभ . व . ततानिस²

First Pillar : Second Side.

- 35 . . . त्वि[ष्व]श्रीचिर्मरीचिस्त्रिभुवन-
 36 (न)[भवनात्] सञ्चकासाञ्चकार
 37 ॥—[५*] तस्मा[दि]स्तेरपत्मासन³नयन-
 38 चयस्यष्टदृष्टोर्जितश्रीश्रे-
 39 यस्मम्पत्तिभाजां(न)धुरि गणितगु-
 40 णः काश्यपः पश्यकोभूत् [1*] अ-
 41 न्योन्योन्मर्देनेन श्रियमिह दध-
 42 तो यत्प्रसूतास्मुराद्या निर्व्याज-
 43 त्विज्जयन्ति प्रचुरमुपचितानंबु-
 44 राशेस्तरंगान्⁴ ॥—[६] तस्माज्जात-
 45 स्तदानीं [समयकत]सम⁵ [स्त्रैः] प्र-
 46 भावेरुदारैर्विश्वत्राणप्रवी-
 47 णैस्ततमतितरां निर्जयन् [स्त्रां]⁶
 48 विवस्वान् [1*] निद्रासुद्राविभेदं प्रथ-
 49 मम[नु]भवन्त्यन्यूखाभिमर्शाद्वातु-
 50 र्व[क्त्वा]रविन्दैस्सह सकळगुरो-
 51 [र्नाभि]पद्मश्चकाशे ॥—[७*] यस्योदस्यात्⁷
 52 भिरारादव[तम]सतति⁸व्याततैरंशु-
 53 जालैर्भास्वत्कार्तस्वरा[ण्ड]म्
 54 प्रथममभिगच्छत्कार्त्विमेवा(म)व-
 55 भासे [1*] यत्त्विम्वः⁹ कर्णिका[त्व]न्निब-
 56 हति किरणैः केसरैराहि-
 57 तश्रीरुत्¹⁰गाढैर्द्विन्दुकोच्चै-
 58 रुप[र*]चितरुचो व्योमपङ्के¹¹

¹ Read मुनीन्द्रान् । [Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar has कस्येनिष्ठान्तेषामेकश्च. Perhaps the actual reading is क]स्त्रैःनित्य[1*] न्.—Ed.]

² [The reading of this line, in the *Trav. Arch. Series*, by Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar is equally doubtful and defective.—Ed.]

³ Read पद्मासन.

⁴ Read ०जं.

⁵ Read ०नन्वुराशेसरङ्गान्.

⁶ Read समयक्रुदस.

⁷ The *anusvāra* is in the next line; read ०स्त्रान्.

⁸ [सुप्र seems to be the correct reading.]

⁹ Read ०दस्यहि.

¹⁰ Read ततिं.

¹¹ Read यद्विब.

¹² Read ०वहाढे.

¹³ Read ०पङ्के.

- 59 रुहस्व ॥—[८*] एतस्याभूतनूजो
 60 मनुरमलतनुर्भूजाम् बीजमाद्य¹
 61 येनैकान्तेन योगाभ्युनिभिरभि-
 62 हिता मानवीयं प्रजेति [1*] लोका-
 63 नामेकवन्द्यः प्रविदधदतुलं शम-
 64 धर्मप्रपचैर्भाखान् भाखत्
 65 ³. . . पितरमिव⁴ सुतं यम् प्र-
 66 काशीचकार ॥—[९*] तस्यैल्लोकुरभूद्यशो-
 67 भिरमर्के⁵ हिंसाततैश्शोभितसू-
 68 नु . . . भूभृतां सुरगणैथ्यत्की⁶
 69 त्तिरुदगीयते [1*] यस्यामिन्नराधिराजवि-

Second Pillar : First Side.

- 70 रक्षाज्जेचमहा(ह)सर्वतो [ट्टा-
 71 ति]प्रसरं व्यजेष्ट बलव[न्नि]व-
 72 स्य तेजः परम् ॥—[१०*] तस्याभूतनयस्य-
 73 मुन्नतनयः प्रेक्षी विकुक्षिन्वो
 74 रक्षामक्षतविक्रमस्यमकरोत्
 75 क्षामण्डलस्यास्य यः [1*] अन्योन्य-
 76 प्रविमर्द्दनेन महती या पार्थिवै-
 77 लभ्यते तां [स्रु]ते त्रियमश्वमं क्षि-
 78 तिभृतां यत्पादयोरानति[:*] ॥—[११*] सुवस्तस्य
 79 पुरञ्चयस्यमभवत् संग्राममाजमुषा⁷
 80 जेता भूमिभुजास्त्रिगीषुरसुराश्च-
 81 ज्ञे स मान्यस्ततः । [जंभारिं]⁸ वृषभं वि-
 82 धाय ककु[दे] स्थूलेस्य⁹ यस्मिंस्थित-
 83 [स्तद्दे]वैरधिकप्रमोदग[ति]ताम्¹⁰ प्रा[पत्]¹¹

¹ Read मरुद्.

² Read चः.

³ [The gap may be filled up with the word सुतत्वात्.]

⁴ [The text reads निव which has to be corrected into निव.]

⁵ Read ०ले.

⁶ Read ०यःकीति.

⁷ Read ०जमुषा. The *anuvāsa* is in the next line.

⁸ Read जंभारिं.

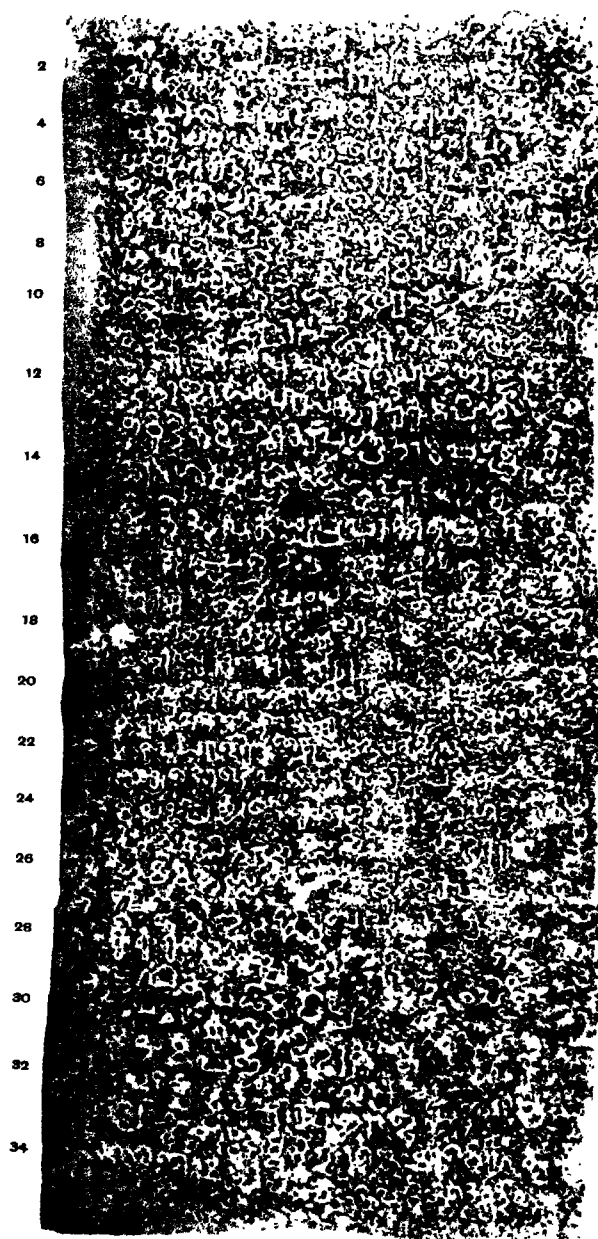
⁹ Read यत्तं.

¹⁰ Read ०नदिताम्.

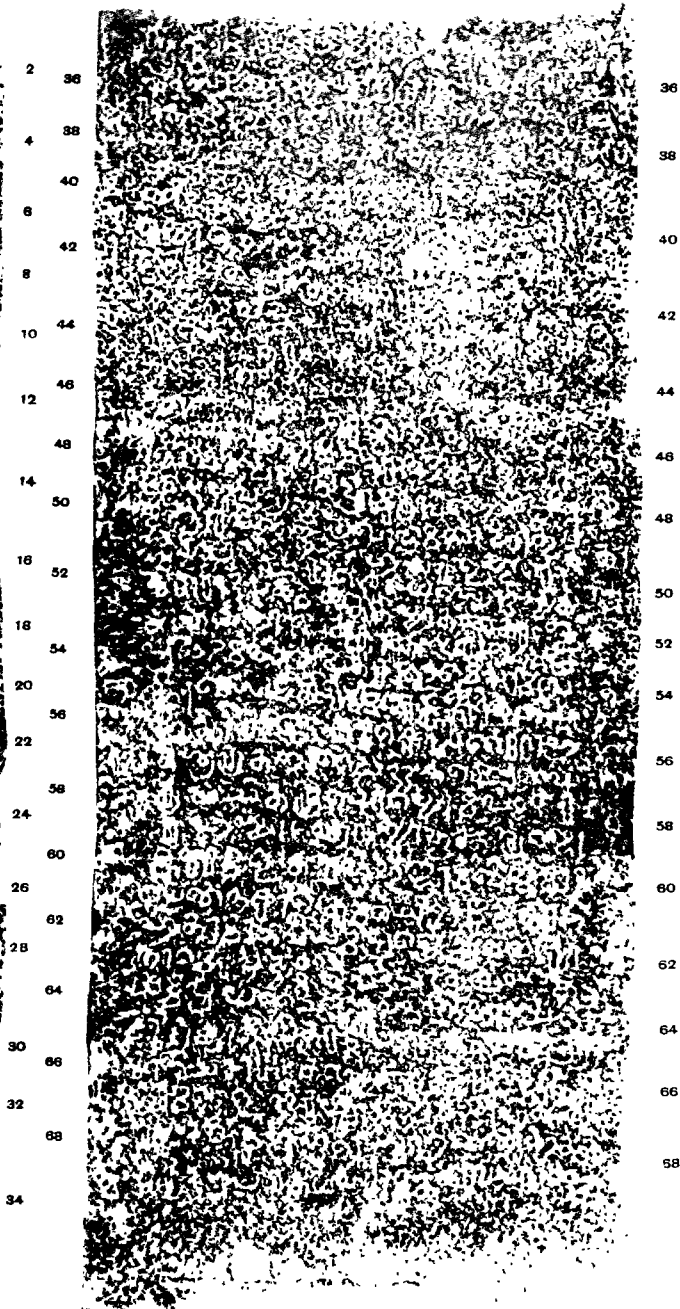
¹¹ [The correct reading is प्रापः.]

Kanyakumari Inscription of Vira-Rajendra : the 7th year.

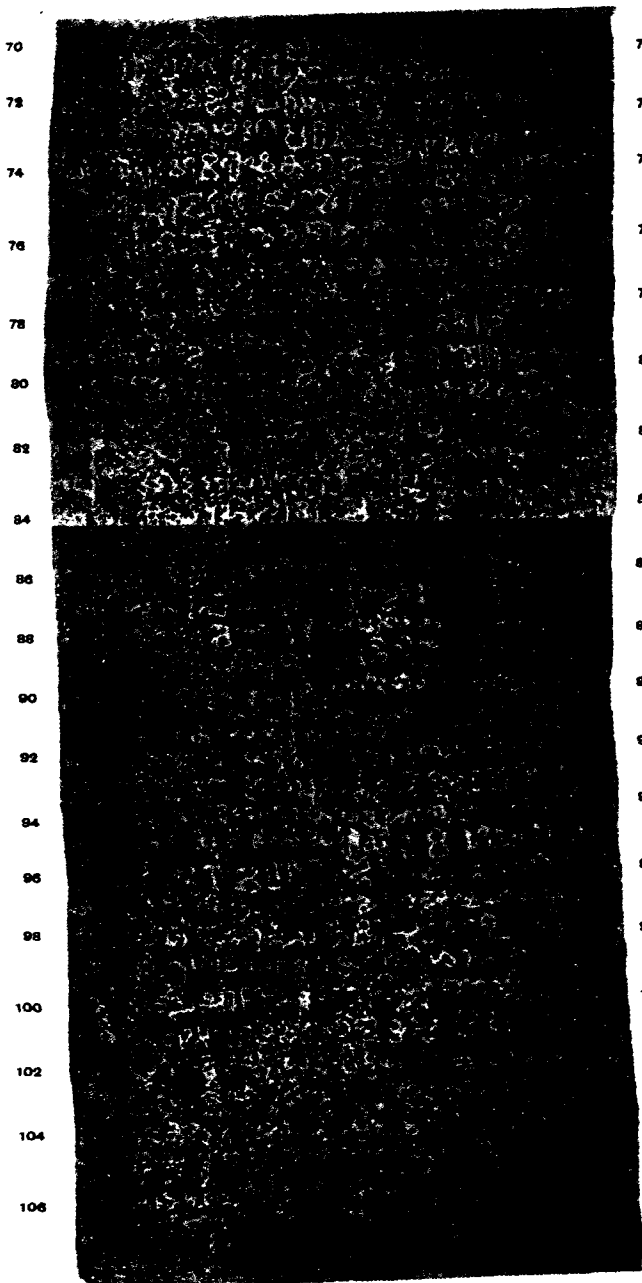
First Pillar : Front.



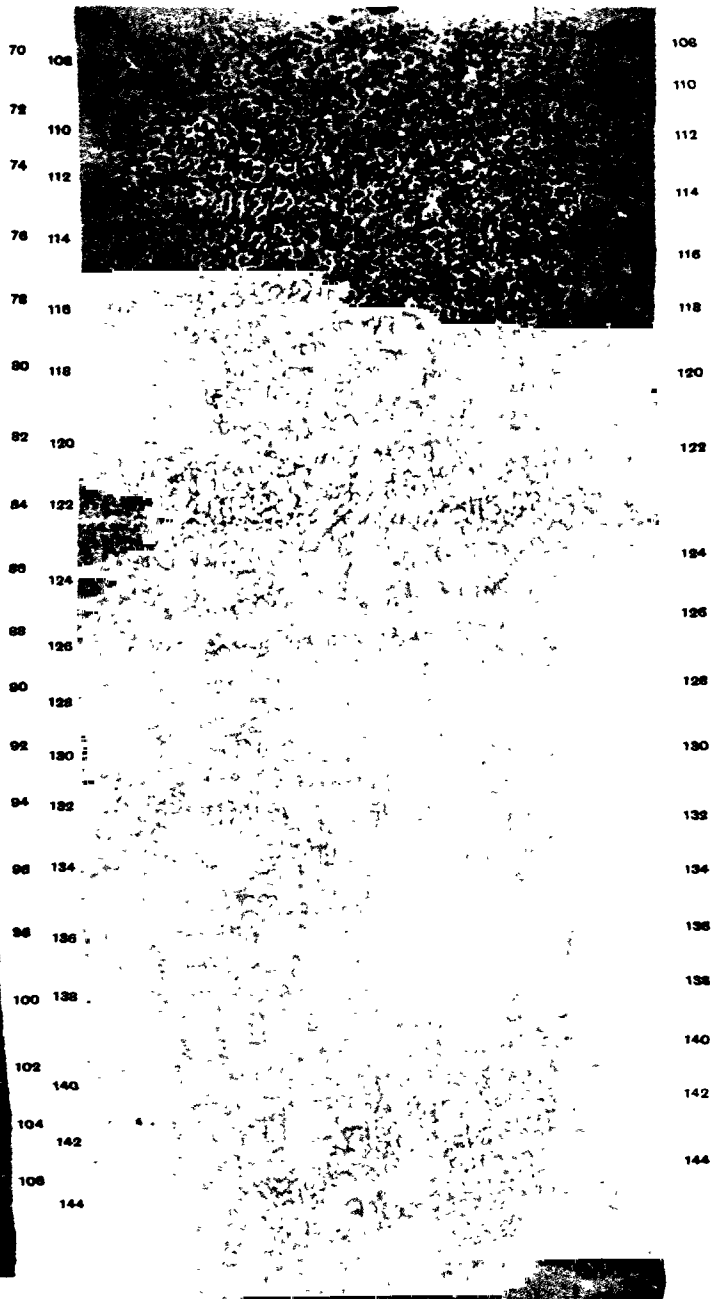
First Pillar : Back.



Second Pillar: Front.



Second Pillar: Back.



- 84 ककु[त्*]स्याभिधाम् ।[१२*] पृथुर्वर्भात्र कुले
 85 [कुलाद्रिणा] समसमस्तावनिपालवन्दितः [।*]
 86 [विवेकधुस्त]नृपतौ¹ स नन्दधु²र्न वे[प]-
 87 ³धुर्नपि च याचधु[स्त्र]नः³ ॥—[१३*] असुषिन्व-
 88 [शे]भून्महति कुवलाश्री नरपतिः स्फु-⁴
 89 र[द्दी]र्यैर्यैरतिनिभृतमुत्भासि-⁵
 90 ततनुः [।*] स धुन्धुन्दैत्येन्द्रम् बह्म-
 91 सिकतासिन्धुपिहितं हितं लोकाया-
 92 स्मै विदधदवधीदुहृतबलः ॥—[१४*] वंशे-
 93 स्मिन्नुत्बभूवात्भुत⁶महिमभरभ्राजितस्या-⁷
 94 मरारैरंशो विश्वभरार्तिप्रशमनमनि-
 95 शं कर्तुमुत्सिद्धकीर्तिः [।*] मान्याता⁸
 96 नाम राजा जननयनमहानन्द-
 97 स[दो]हजायो⁹ यस्याधर्मक्षयाय व्यच-
 98 रदतिजवात् चक्रमा चक्रवाकात् ॥—[१५*] त-
 99 स्मिन्नुपे परमतेजसि शासतीमाम् भू-
 100 मिच्चचार हरिणा हरिणस्सहापि [।*]
 101 सर्वो मिथस्सहजमप्यज[हा]दिरो-
 102 धन्धर्मस्त्वधर्मविरहान्न तथा चकार ॥—[१६*]
 103 उदयमिह दधानस्सत्¹⁰गुह्यैरघमान-
 104 स्तततमसदपाये वृद्धिमत्यन्ववाये [।*] उदजनि
 105 मुचुकुन्दः कुन्दगौरैर्यशोभिः परिण-
 106 त इव चन्द्रः शोभमानैर्मयूखैः¹¹ ॥—[१७*]

¹ [Read विवे[क्]थु like नन्दथु, वेपथु and याचथु which follow, must be the abstract nouns derived from the roots विविक् etc., by adding the termination थुच्. But विविक् is not, according to the Dhātupāṭha, a *with* root and hence the reading विवेकथु is very doubtful.—Ed.]

² Read 'धु'.

³ [The correct reading appears to be नरपतिर्न.]

⁴ Read 'धु' and मुद्गा.

⁵ Read युर्जनः.

⁶ Read 'नुहभूवात्भुत'.

⁷ The length of स्या is at the beginning of the next line. [We should have rather expected मरारै and not मरारि.—Ed.]

⁸ Read मान्याता. The secondary ā symbol is at the beginning of the next line.

⁹ Read दायी.

¹⁰ Read 'हु'.

¹¹ [The correct reading seems to be मानो मयूखः.]

Second Pillar : Second Side.

- 107
 108
 109
 110
 111
 112 वृप[स्तेषां स्व]र्गमतीव दुर्ग-
 113 मकरोद्युहे ह[ता]नामपि ॥—[१८*] अस्मिन्¹
 114 शोभवदभिभवन्नोजसा राज-
 115 वृन्दं लब्धानन्दस्मृतिषु हरिश्च-
 116 न्दनामा नरेन्द्रः [१*] दि[त्]सामिकां दधदपि
 117 नयन् कोशिकायान्धनायां² स्वं व्य-
 118 क्रीणात्तृणमिव तथा यस्मिन् पुत्रं कळ-
 119 त्रम् ॥—[१९*] आसीदचान्वाये सगर इति [२०]-
 120 पस्तर्ज्जिताशेषभूपो येनार[ब्धे]-
 121 पि कामं हयमखनिकरे चासितो
 122 देवराजः [१*] यत्पुत्राणाम् प्रभावा-
 123 क्षवणजलनिधौ सागरत्वं प्रप-
 124 न्ने शेषाणां वारिधौनामपि [स]क-
 125 सागरत्वश्चकार ॥—[२०*] आसीद-
 126 च [भ]गी[र*]थः क्षितिपतिर्वशे स्ववं-
 127 ³[शो]ङ्गवानुहर्त्तुं कपिलप्रकोप-
 128 दहनज्वालावलौभक्षितान् [१*] स्व[स्ति]-
 129 न्धुं वसुधादय⁴न्निपथगाश्चक्रे
 130 स भागोरथीं मर्त्यान्प्यमृताग्व्यधात्
 131 सुरसरित्वा⁵रिप्रवाहसृशः ॥—[२१*] अन्व-
 132 येन सुमहत्त्वतीर्षः[ः][स्वर्व]भूपतिगु-
 133 षैः परिपूर्णः [१*] सज्जनस्तुतिविरा-
 134 जितवर्णः आमरचदखिलामृतप-
 135 ण्णः ॥—[२२*] इह समजनि भूपः सर्वलो-

¹ The *ansarā* is in the next line.² [The correct reading would be कोशिकोवाधनायां.—*Ibid.*]³ [The *ē* sign of ओ is at the end of the previous line.]⁴ Read वसुधै⁵ Read रिहारि

- 136 कैकतीपः¹ क्षपित[भुवनता]पञ्चातिता-
 137 रिप्रतापः [i*] अरियु[वतिविलाप]स्सारि-²
 138 ³तोहामकोप[स्ममिति⁴ वि]जयिचा[प*][प्राप]तको-⁵
 139 त्तिर्हिलोपः⁶ ॥—[२३*] अस्मि[वंशच]तुष्टयेन
 140 भगवान् वंशज[नि]ष्ट प्रभुः [क्लि]ष्टां
 141 [वो]क्ष्य वसुन्धरामतिबलेर्दृष्टे-
 142 ⁷[मंहा]राक्षसैः [i*] [रामो लक्ष्म]णसं-
 143 युतोथ भरतश्च[चुन्न]युक्त[स्मृतद्वन्द्व]
 144 विष्णुभुजायुगद्वयतुला[मूर्]र्ज[स्वलां][i*] य-
 145 द्ययौ ॥—[२४*] पितरि तनयवृत्तं भ्रातरि⁸ भ्रात-

Third Pillar : First Side.

- 146 वृत्तं युवतिषु पतिवृत्तं शाच-
 147 वे शत्रुवृत्त[त्त]म् [i*] मुनिषु ⁹नृपतिवृत्त-
 148 म् ब[र]न्धवे बन्धुवृत्तं सकलम-
 149 खिल[नाशः]¹⁰ शिखवामास¹¹ लोकम् ॥—[२५*]
 150 [नो] कोपेन¹² जघान राक्ष[सप]तिं का-
 151 मेन¹³ न प्रेयसीं स प्रत्याहृतवा[न्*] म-
 152 होशचरितं काक्षर्येन चक्रे परम् [i*]
 153 नो चेत्किन्तपसि स्थितं स म-
 154 लये शूद्रं जघानासिना किं
 155 वानख्यकान्तिष्ट[त्यु]पचितान्त[त्या*]-
 156 ज सोतां [द्रु]तम् ॥[२६*] सेतुं नेतुं क-
 157 पिबलमसौ ब[ल]न्धयन्नेकम-
 158 ब्यौ चक्रे वक्रोत्तरगुणनिधिर्द्व-¹⁴
 159 मसेतूनशेषान् [i*] केतुं हेतुं [वि]-

¹ Read द्वीपः.

² Read स्सारिती. [I would suggest विलापैस्सारिती^c as the more probable one.—Ed.]

³ The ē symbol of ती is at the end of the previous line.

⁴ [The correct reading is स्मृतम्.]

⁵ [The text reads स्तीतको.]

⁶ Read कौर्तिर्हिलोपः.

⁷ Read मंहा.

⁸ [भ्रातृ] is the actual reading in the inscription.]

⁹ [नृपति] is the actual reading in the inscription. The ē sign of *ve* at the beginning of l. 147 is at the end of l. 146.]

¹⁰ Read ०नाशः.

¹¹ Read शिखवामास.

¹² [न कोपेन] is the actual reading.]

¹³ The ē symbol of *mē* is in the previous line.

¹⁴ Read ०ध्वं.

- 160 बुधविपदां व्यापदान्दानवीनां रामं
 161 कामं कथयति जनस्तत्गुण[¹]नाद्विधा[²] ॥—[२७*]
 162 अस्मिन्व[³]जनि विदक्यन्नोजसा [रा]जबु-
 163 न्द[⁴]को नाम क्षितिपतिरतिस्फीतराज-
 164 न्यकालः [⁵] यस्याशेषामवनिमवतो⁶
 165 राजधानीमिव खां लीलोद्या-
 166 ⁷नैस्तुलनमदधन्सर्वतः कानना[नि] ॥—[२८*]
 167 विहरन् स हरप्रभः कदाचिन्मुनिबुन्दा⁸-
 168 ध्युषितेषु का[ननेषु] [⁹] अनयद्विबु-
 169 धाग्रयो विहारप्रतिलब्धाव⁵
 170 सरा[णि] वासरा[णि] ॥—[२९*] कदाचन मृग-
 171 व्रजप्रमथनप्र[भु]ल्लादरञ्चचार⁶
 172 [वि]पिनान्तरेष्वनतिभूरिसैन्यः [क्ष]-
 173 मी [¹⁰] तदा स मृगरूपिणा भटिति केन-
 174 चिद्वक्षसा [हृतो] हरितमन्वगात्
 175 प्रकृतिदक्षिणो दक्षिणाम् ॥—[३०*] मृग-
 176 न्तमनु[ग]च्छता प्रजविना शनैर्वा⁷
 177 जिना पृथुदुमसमाकुलं विपि-
 178 नमन्यदासादित⁸ [⁹] न्त⁹मन्वयुरनारतं प्र-
 179 विततप्रयाणोन्मुखा जवेन र-
 180 भसोत्पतत्पृथुवरूथिनीना¹⁰
 181 यकाः ॥—[३१*] तं हत्वा रजनिचरं स तत्र
 182 भूपः कावेरीमनु विचचार भूरिचा-
 183 रः [¹¹] क्षोरांभोनिधिमथनात् सुरै-
 184 रवत्तम् पीयूषम् भुवि सलिलच्छन्ना-
 185 [हहन्तीम्] ॥—[३२*] तत्र [स्ना]त्वा . . . द्विजे-

¹ Read सद्गुणावां निधानम्.

² The secondary ā symbol of the letter tō is in the next line.

³ The ai symbol of nai is at the end of the preceding line.

⁴ The secondary ā symbol is engraved in the next line.

⁵ व looks like व.

⁶ The secondary ā symbol is in the next line.

⁷ Read °तम्.

⁸ The secondary ā symbol is in the next line.

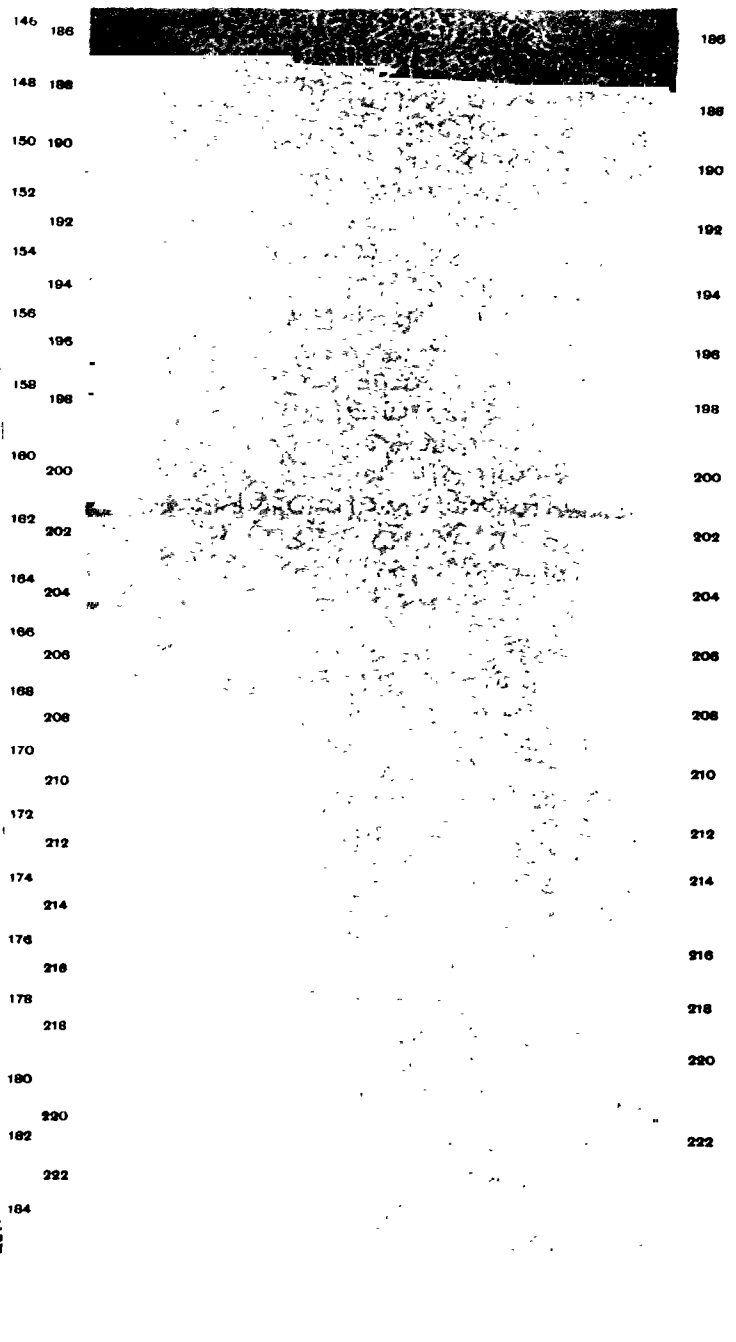
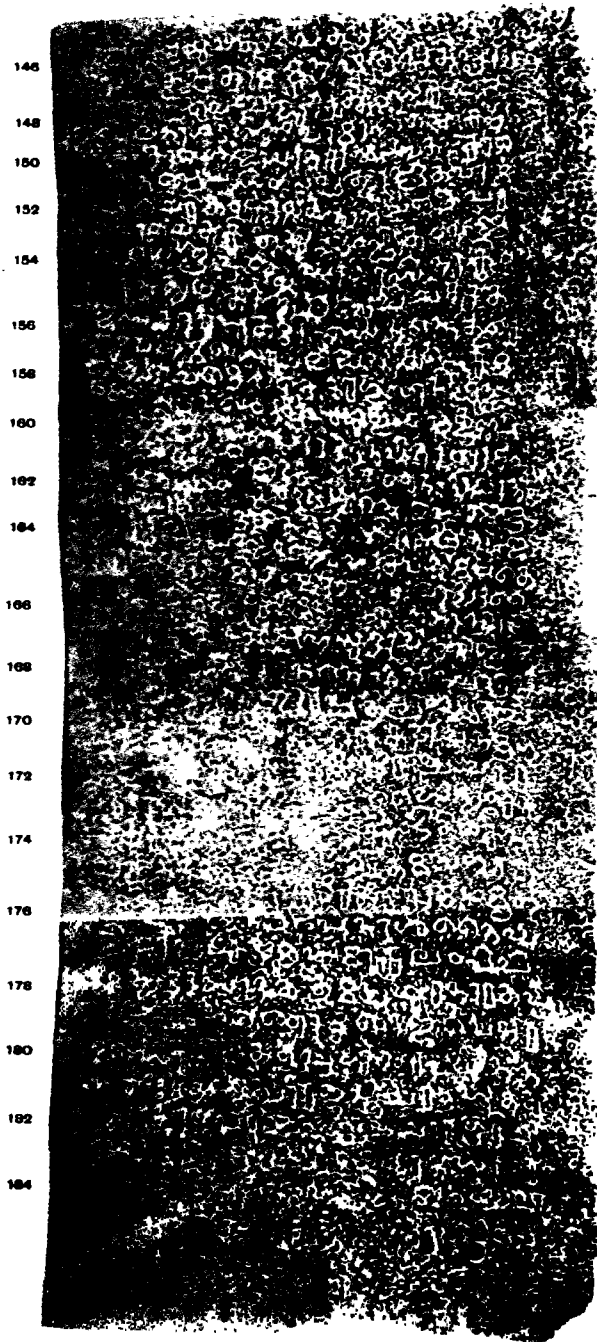
⁹ Read प्रफुल्लादरञ्चचार.

¹⁰ Read त°.

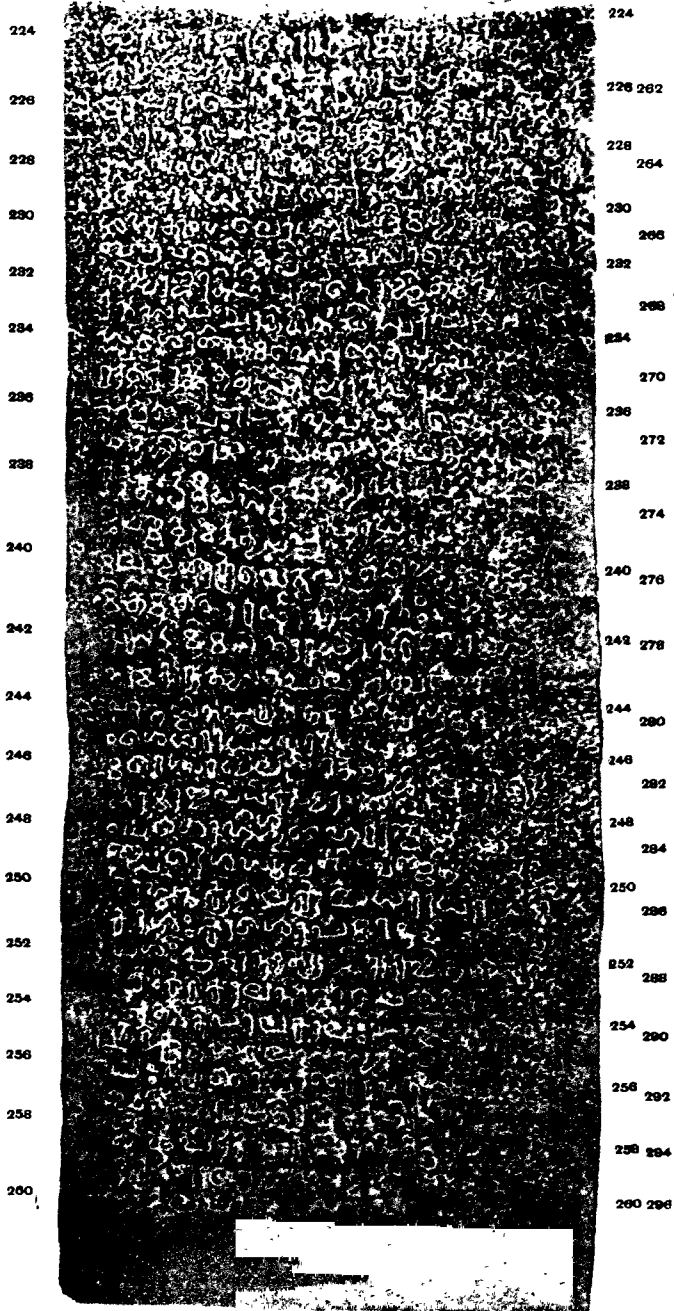
Kanyakumari Inscription of Vira-Rajendra : the 7th year.

Third Pillar : Front.

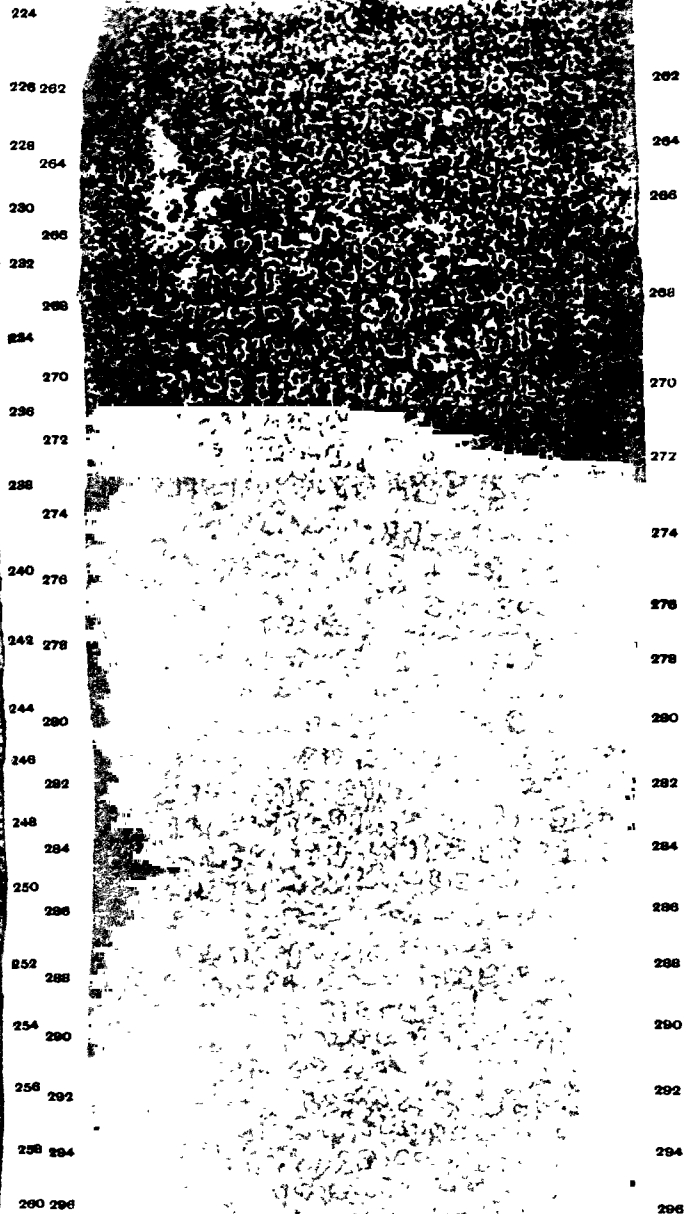
Third Pillar : Back.



Fourth Pillar: Front.



Fourth Pillar: Back.



Third Pillar : Second Side.

- 186 [भ्यो] नापश्यत्तान्वश्यचित्त-
 187 स्तदानोम् [१*] आर्यावर्ताद्विप्रवर्या-
 188 [नेनका]^१नानीयाध्यावासयाभा-
 189 [स] तीरे ॥—[३३*] विपिनमखिलं स्थित्वा^२
 190 पूमैश्चकार वनमहत्तदनु वि-
 191 [दधे धी]रस्सारं सनागक्षताकुल-
 192 [म्] [१*] उपवनचयैरन्यैः कवेर-^३
 193 सुतातटद्वयवसुमतीमेकच्छाया-
 194 मनेकफलां व्यधात् ॥—[३४*] अमरस-
 195 रि[ति] स्नानम् भूयस्तपश्चरणञ्चना
 196 विदधति तटे तस्याः कृच्छ्राक्षिविष्टप-
 197 काम्यया [१*] इह विरचितं स्नानं [धीरे]
 198 तपश्च सुरालयादपि शुभतरे व[र]-
 199 से व[सं] स्थिरीकुरुते सताम् ॥—[३५*] अन्वशा-
 200 त्तमनु राजकेसरी वासराधिप इवा-
 201 समद्युतिः [१*] चोळभूपतनयो नयात्^४
 202 [विभुः] क्षोणिमाजलधि वाहिताहितः ॥—[३६*]
 203 त[त्सु] परकेसरी नृपो मत्स-
 204 रो [तम]निवार्यशासनः [१*] सत्सखः
 205 तासुरनिकार-
 206 रमग्रिमः ॥[३७*] अस्मिन्वंशे मृत्युजिज्ञा-
 207 म राजा मृत्योर्जेता पातितारातिव-
 208 [र्गः १*] [रि]जे^५ यज्ञैराज्ञया च प्रका-^६
 209 म[न्देवां]च्छ[त्रू]न्तोषयन्^७ श्रेष्ठयं-
 210 [च] ॥—[३८*] अस्मिन्वंशे वीरसेनाभिधा-
 211 [नो जा]तो नीताशेषलोकाहित-
 212 [स] [१*] रेजे राजा तेजसा भानुतु-

^१ Read नेका.^२ Between ०रन्ध्रे and कवेर two long syllables are wanting. [Perhaps ०रन्ध्रेस्थीयं might be suggested....M.]^३ Read नयाद.^४ [The correct reading is ताप्रिता.]^५ [This word may also be read ज.]^६ The secondary ā symbol is in the next line.^७ Read ०रन्ध्रेस्थीयम्

- 213 ल्यः कल्याणानाम्मन्दिरं सुन्दरांगः ॥—[३९*]
 214 चि[त्रो]न्नाम¹ क्षितिपतिरभूत्तत्र वंशे-
 215 धिकश्चोर्विचस्तारिप्रकरविनतिव्यक्त-
 216 विच्छिन्नकोपः [1*] ह्यारातिर्भट्टिति² स-
 217 मरे तर्जितो यस्य बाणैर्मित्तो³-
 218 भूतस्ततमभजद्व्यात्रकेतुध्वजत्व-
 219 म् ॥—[४०*] भवनिमखिलपारावारतीराभि-
 220 रा[मा]म्⁴ परतनुविरतश्रीशासितुन्नाभि-
 221 [तारिः] [1*] निजभुजबललोलाकृष्टराजन्व-
 222 लक्ष्मीरिह समजनि वंशे भूपतिः पु⁵]षके-
 223 तुः ॥—[४१*] अस्मिन्वंशे केतुमालाभि-

Fourth Pillar: First Side.

- 224 धानो जातो राजा जातशम्पाप्र-
 225 काशः [1*] ह्यत्वा सर्वस्माभृतां [केतु]-
 226 मालां येनावाप्तं केतुमालाभि-
 227 धानम् ॥—[४२*] समुद्रजिन्नाम नरा[धिराजो]⁶
 228 [भुव]⁷ वोर्यः [1*] पूर्वापरा-
 229 म्भोनिधिमिश्रणेन [पश्ये]न . . .
 230 शसुतां [स]लो[भः]⁸ ॥[४३*] श्रीमत्य[त्र कुले]
 231 बभूव महितयोः पञ्चपाख्यो नृपो
 232 निर्व्याजातिथिपूजनोर्जितमना य[क्षा]-⁹
 233 न् स पञ्चातिथीन् [1*] विद्वा पञ्च[सि]रा-
 234 स्त्रयोषितमसौ तैर्याचित[स्माद]-
 235 रं कोष्णन्तत् सकलानपाय[य*]त त्यजा[*]तस्तु
 236 [त*]त् पञ्चपः ॥[४४*] अभवन्विभवेर्ज-¹⁰
 237 [य]न्दिगोशानिह वंशे नृपतिस्त्रधांशु-
 238 कान्तः [1*] नृमृडस्त्र मृडस्त्र सम्प्रसादाद-

¹ Read चित्रो नाम.

² Read भट्टिति.

³ Read वीर्यं.

⁴ [°रामे विरतिमविरत° appears to be the actual reading.]

⁵ The ā symbol of ḥā alone is in this line.

⁶ The secondary ā of the letter क्ष is in the next line. [Perhaps नराधिनाथ is the actual reading. Ed.]

⁷ [वंशेन विद्याल are seen before वोर्यः.—Ed.]

⁸ Could the passage read स क्षिमे.

⁹ The secondary ā symbol is in the next line.

¹⁰ Read अभवन्विभवेर्ज°.

- 239 जयन्मृत्युमनस्त्रयप्रभावः ॥—[४५*] अथा[भूद]-
 240 मलगुण[:*] कुलेतुल्योस्तेज[स्त्री स]-
 241 मिति मनोरथाभिधानः [1*] यो इत्वा
 242 भट्टिभि¹ मनोरथानरोहाम् . . .²
 243 नामकुरुत सत्फलात्³ बलेन ॥—[४६*]
 244 एतस्मिन्पद्मनत्किङ्किप्रभृतयो वं-⁴
 245 शे धराधीश्वरा भूयांसस्तु जिता-
 246 मरेश्वरवलश्रीविक्रमा जज्ञिरे [1*] ये-
 247 धामाजलधिद्वमांसपतनव्याप्तं⁵
 248 यशोभिश्चभैरावगङ्गाण्डमख-
 249 ण्डदेशसमयं विश्वन्जग[द्रा]जते⁶ ॥—[४७*]
 250 अस्मिन् कुले कुलधराधरस[न्नि]-
 251 काशः काशोपमान[विततो]-
 252 यशःप्रतानः [1*] आसीत् क्षितोशतिल-
 253 कः करिकालनामा चोळसमुत्थितरि-
 254 पुक्षितिपालकालः ॥—[४८*] स काधेरो-
 255 न्दूरीकृतसकलसस्यां विदधतीम् प-
 256 यःपूरै⁷स्फारैरवनिम[विनीतो]-
 257 हति[ह]रः [1*] प्रतीरोभूताभिर्नरपति⁸करा-
 258 श्लिष्टपिटकप्रकीर्णाभिर्भृत्भि⁹र्न्य[रुण]-
 259 दक्षणाग्रेसरसम[:] ॥—[४९*] [अस्मिन्कुले]
 260 सकलपार्थिववन्द्यपादो [जातो]-

Fourth Pillar : Second Side.

- 261 भिजात[गुण]संहति . . . ओः [1*]
 262 [ऊ]र्जस्वलोत्भुत¹⁰नि[जा]प्रतिमप्र-
 263 ताप(र)सन्तापितारिश्लभो¹¹ व-
 264 लभो महीशः ॥—[५०*] इहान्वये-
 265 भूदमरेशतुल्यः परास्त्रविद्व-

¹ Read भट्टिनि.

² Read सरफलान्.

³ Read °सं सतपनं व्याप्तं.

⁴ Read °नरपति.

⁵ Read भृत्.

⁶ Could the reading here be दीना° ?

⁷ The *anuvāsa* of वं is in the next line.

⁸ Read विश्वन्जग°.

⁹ Read °संहि.

¹⁰ Read श्लभो.

¹¹ Read पूरे; स्फारे;

- 266 कनतापशब्दः [1*] समस्ताराजा-¹
 267 न्तकभूरि[भि]क्तः² क्षमाधिनाथो³
 268 जगदेकमन्त्रः ॥—[५१*] वंशी-
 269 स्मिन्नरिराजवन्दितपदद्वन्द्वारवि-
 270 न्दक्षमि⁴ राजा [व्याल]भयंकर-⁵
 271 क्षमभवत् — — — रवेः⁶ [1*] दो-
 272 ईण्डाक्षित⁷ खट्खट्खण्डितरिपो-⁸
 273 र्यस्योर्जितश्रीजुषः⁹ को-
 274 पाग्निः¹⁰ द्विषदङ्गनाससलि-¹¹
 275 लैस्त्रातः¹² परं शाम्यति ॥—[५२*] अन्व-
 276 ¹³येन विजयालयनामा सम्ब-
 277 भूव सकलक्षितिनाथः [1*] यत्प-
 278 दाखरुहयुग्ममजसं शिखरीक-
 279 तमशेषमहीपैः ॥—[५३*] निवेश-
 280 [या]सास स चोक्तदेशे नवीनता-¹⁴
 281 शेषगुणप्रवृद्धां [1*] कञ्जास-
 282 नादौरमरैः प्र[गो]तान्तश्चापु-¹⁵
 283 रीक्षाम पुरीं नरेन्द्रः ॥—[५४*] आदित्यवर्मा-¹⁶
 284 भवदस्य पुत्रः कीदृशरामाभि-
 285 धया प्रसिद्धः [1*] उत्पुत्र्य¹⁷ मत्तद्विरदे-
 286 [पु]¹⁸संख्यञ्जवान यः पञ्चवराजमा-¹⁹
 287 जो ॥—[५५*] अस्याभूतनयः पराक्र-
 288 मवतामेकाधिपः क्षाभुजां वोर-
 289 अनिलयः परान्तक इति ख्यातः क्ष-

¹ The secondary ā symbol is in the next line.² Read भक्तः.³ The secondary ē symbol of क्षो is in this line.⁴ Read ° क्षमी.⁵ The reading व्याल is not quite certain ; it might also be क्षरि.⁶ [The traces before this word would admit of the reading क्षमी.]⁷ Read दीर्घाक्षितवृद्ध.⁸ The secondary ē symbol alone is in this line.⁹ Read जुषः.¹⁰ Read °ग्निर्द्विषद°.¹¹ The secondary ai symbol is in this line.¹² [For the existing traces, स्त्रिक्तः would be better.]¹³ The secondary ē symbol of ये is in the previous line.¹⁴ The secondary ā symbol is in the next line.¹⁵ तञ्जा would rhyme better with कञ्जा.¹⁶ The letter मा looks like त्वा.¹⁷ Read उत्पुत्र्य.¹⁸ Read विरदेन्द्र.¹⁹ The secondary ā symbol is in the next line.

- 290 माधीश्वरः [i*] वेलीद्यानविहारि-
 291 [भि]र्मदककैर्यहारणाधीश्वरै-¹
 292 वास्यन्ते मदसिन्धुभिः प्रतिदिशम्
 293 पार्थासि पाथोनिधेः ॥—[५६*] इत्वा
 294 तु पाषाणमखिलेन बलेन सा-
 295 कं इत्वा तदीयमखिलं बहु वीर्यश्र-
 296 [ली i*] भस्मीचकार मधुरां यदधःकृता-

Fifth Pillar : First Side.

- 297 रिर्लेमे² ततस्स मधुरान्त-
 298 कनामधेयम् ॥—[५७*] यज्जिगाय
 299 विजयोपमद्युतिः कृष्णराजमजि-
 300 तन्नराधिपैः [i*] भूरिविक्रम[विब]-
 301 र्चितद्युतिर्वीरचोळ इति ते-
 302 न कोर्यते ॥—[५८*] यत्तोर्णज्ज-
 303 लनिधिसुद्धतैर्बली-
 304 धैःसंयत्तान् समिति जघा[न]
 305 सिंहकेशान् [i*] तत् सर्वत्थिति⁴-
 306 पतिवन्द्यमानपादस्त्रीन्वर्था⁵-
 307 मभजत सिंहकान्तकाख्य[र*]म् ॥—[५९*]
 308 दृष्टान्तः कोस्य राक्षसकलगु-
 309 णनिधे[श्शम्नुयात्]⁶ कोस्य [वक्तु]-
 310 म् 'भूयि[:*]श्चाध्यान् गुणोष्ठा[न् शुधि]
 311 श्रमिति⁷रिपोर्विक्रमैकास्सदस्य [i*]
 312 यो⁸ विह्वहिप्रभोग्याननुपम-
 313 विभवान्वीरनारायणाद्या[नत्य]-
 314 ग्यानप्रहाराख्यधित [विधि]रिव स्व-
 315 र्गमस्तारिवर्गः ॥—[६०] अमुष्य तनयो
 316 भवद्विभुररिन्दमाख्यो नृपः¹⁰

¹ The *ai* symbols are in this line and *r* is in the next line.

² Read 'रिर्लेमे.

³ The secondary *ai* symbols are in the previous line and *ga* in l. 304.

⁴ Read 'वि'.

⁵ The secondary *ai* symbol is in the next line.

⁶ Read 'वक्तुयात्.

⁷ Read 'भूय'.

⁸ Read 'श्रमिन्.

⁹ The *e* symbol alone of the letter *क्ष* is in this line.

¹⁰ The *rise, ga* is in the next line.

- 317 क्षपाकरसमद्युतिः त्वपित¹-
 318 वैरिपक्षोत्तरः [1*] यदीयभुज-
 319 विक्रमश्रवणसंभवत्साध्व-
 320 सैर्नृपैरवनिभृत्गुहा-³
 321 गृहनिवासिभिः[*] स्वीयते ॥—[६१*] अ[य]-
 322 [म*]क्त[त च*] रात्रः[*] स्त्रैरमात्राविधे[या]-
 323 न्यधित विधिसमानस्त्रम्पदं स-
 324 जनानाम् [1*] अतनुत नुतवीर्यो [व्या]-
 325 पदं शात्रवाणामतुल्यदतुल-
 326 श्रीचन्द्रकान्तिं स्वकान्त्याः ॥—[६२*] अस्त्र
 327 सूनुरभ[व*]त् परान्तकस्त्रन्ततक्षपि-
 328 तवैरिभन्ततिः [1*] चिन्तयन्त्यदुदयं स-
 329 साध्वसः पाण्ड्यभूपतिरलंघय-
 330 त्गिरिं ॥[६३*] चकार कारासु रिपूनशे-
 331 धामस्तार⁵ भूरीन्समराम्बु[राश्रीन्] [1*]
 332 जहार तापं बुधसंज्ञतीना[न्त]ता-
 333 [न] सन्तापमसज्जना[ना]म् ॥—[६४*] अखिल-
 334 गुणनिधानात् भूमिपालादसुखा-

Fifth Pillar : Second Side.

- 335 दुदज्जैन नरनाथो राजराजाभि-
 336 धानः [1*] [मदन*]रुचिरदेहः कान्त-
 337 [ने*]त्रो⁶रविन्दो [धनद इति] परं [यथा]-⁷
 338 जराजेन तुष्यः ॥—[६५*] संजहार स-
 339 मरे स पार्थिवानुजहार विप-
 340 दक्ष भूतकात् [*] आजहार च मखान-
 341 नेकशो व्याजहार [च] [स*] स्रुत . . त⁸ ॥—[६६*]
 342 सत्याश्रये स्थिर[त]रे बत राजरा-
 343 जे सत्याश्रयः किल पलायत मन्द-

¹ Read चपित.

² Read मृदुहा.

³ Read नेत्रारविन्दो.

⁴ Could the passage here be read as सूत्रना निरः ?

⁵ One of the secondary ē symbols is in the next line : Read चिपस.

⁶ Read ०द्विरि.

⁷ Read यो राज०.

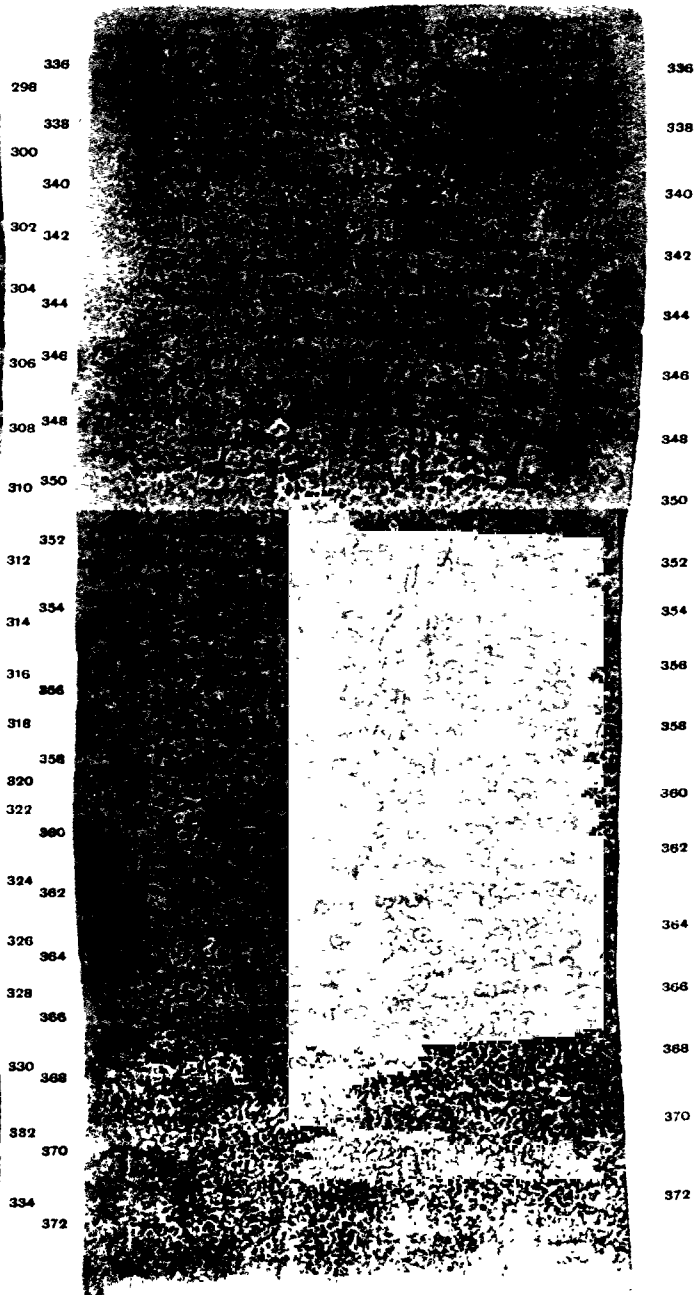
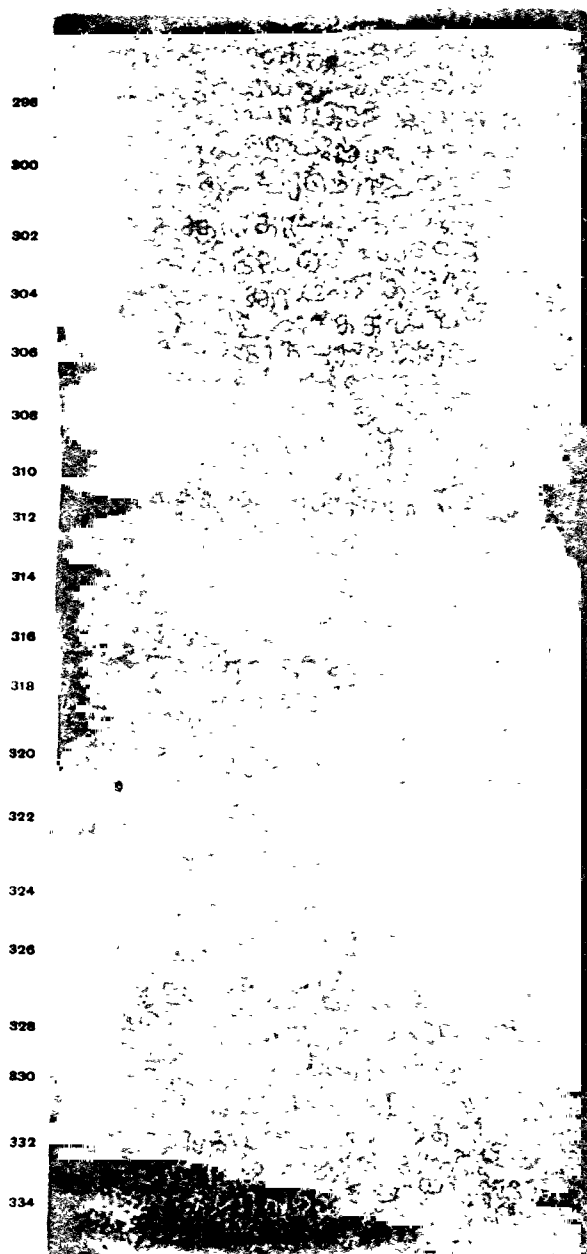
⁸ Read द्वेष्टाहार

⁹ The ē of nē is in the preceding line.

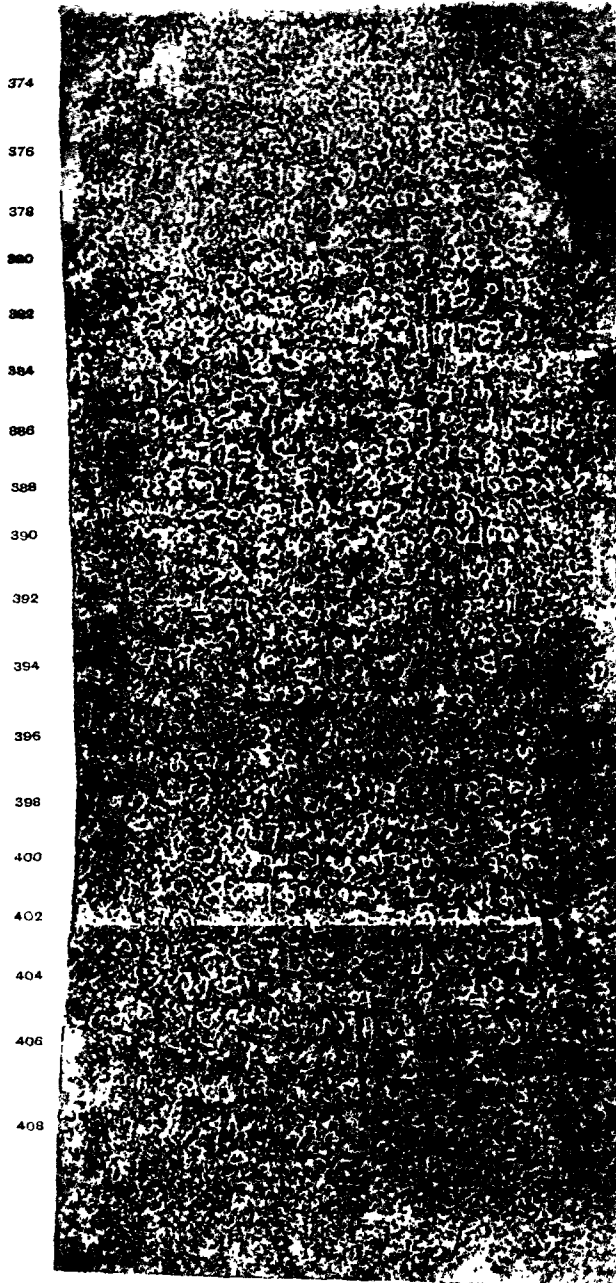
Kanyakumari Inscription of Vira-Rajendra : the 7th year.

Fifth Pillar : Front.

Fifth Pillar : Back.

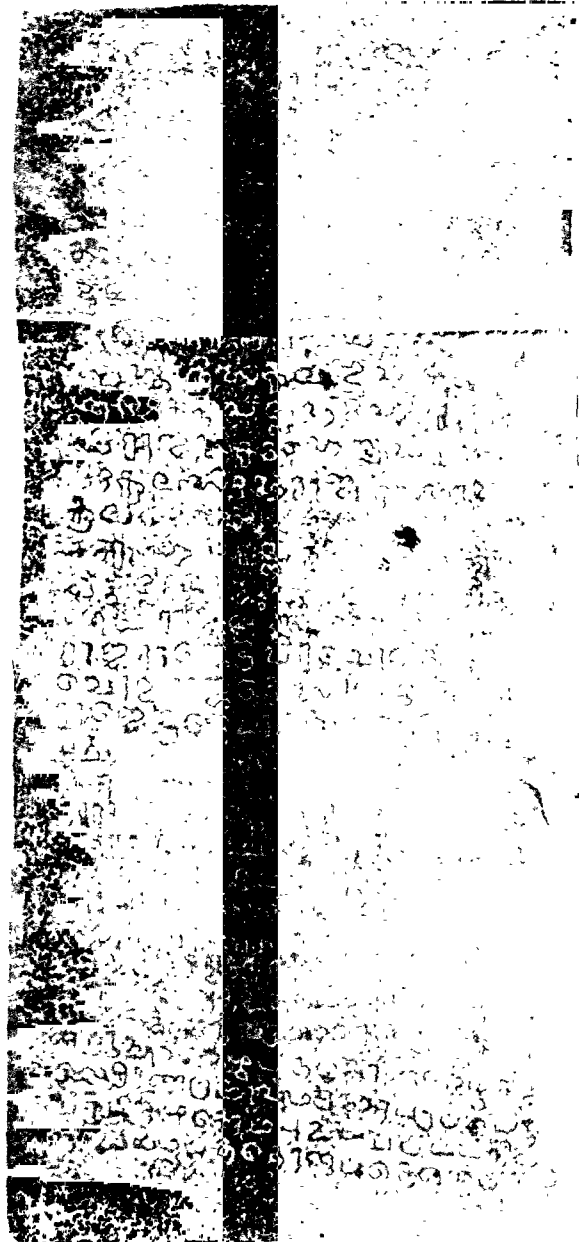


Sixth Pillar · Front.



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374 414
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408 444

Sixth Pillar · Back.



- 344 बुद्धिर्नत्था¹ जयन्ति स[भ]या रिपव-
 345 स्तमाजौ न त्याजयत्ययमसूनरि-
 346 भिश्रियस्ते² ॥—[६७] तस्य सूनुरन[त]-³
 347 स्य शासिता पाकशासन इवारि-
 348 शासनः [*] शंबरारि⁴[इ*]चिराकृतिर्नृप-
 349 स्सम्बभूव मधु[रान्त]काभिधः ॥—[६८*]
 350 अजयदजितवीर्य[*] शाली⁵
 351 विजय इव स[मस्तान्] कुन्तकानामधी-
 352 शान् [*] अहरत स[किरीट] चत्रियाणां चि-
 353 हन्तुः⁶ [जामदग्न्य]-
 354 [स्य] वीर्यात् ॥[६९*] जहार हारन्तुहि-
 355 नांशुका[न्त] तोर्विक्रम-⁷
 356 निर्जितारिः [i*] विहारभूमिं निजसै-⁸
 357 निकानां स चाकरोत् संय-
 358 ति मान्यकेटम् ॥[७०*] स्वसेनाधीशा-
 359 नप्रतिहतकुलूतोत्कलप(ति)-
 360 तिः कलिङ्गाग्निर्यशेस्स[ह]⁹
 361 बहूवोर्यान्विदक्यन् [*] स [गंगा]-
 362 सुतज्ज¹⁰चिजकरिघटापाति[त*]तटाम्¹¹
 363 घटैज्ज¹² भूभृन्मकुटनिहि-
 364 ¹³तैरुद्धृतजलाम् ॥[७१*] उज्ज्विताम्बु-
 365 धिभिश्च[ह]तबाहुवीर्यैर्निर्हृत-
 366 [वैरि]नरनाथ[बल]प्रपञ्चे-
 367 सै[न्यैः*]¹⁴ कटाहमद[ह]यमन्यै¹⁵ राजेन्द्र-

¹ Read बुद्धिः^०.² The letter त is engraved below the line.³ [The missing syllables may be read [वीर्य*] सौन्दर्य.—Ed.]⁴ [The gap after this word may be filled with the syllables प्रमलमिह्वराज^०.]⁵ [The gap contains the syllables जतक.—Ed.]⁶ The ai symbols are in this line and अ in the next line.⁷ [Possibly वनेन्द्रे was meant.—Ed.]⁸ Read सुतज्ज^०. [The correct reading is जत(स)ज्ज^०.—Ed.]¹¹ Read तटम्.¹² Read घटैज्ज^०.¹³ The ai symbols are at the end of the previous line.¹⁴ Read *पञ्चेः[*]सेनैः.¹⁵ Read मदहयदहाज^०.

- 368 चीकनृप[तेः] किमसाध्यमस्य ॥—[७३*]
 369 तस्यासंस्तनया[स्त्र]यस्य^१ इव
 370 ख्याताः [क्रतोर]न्यस्तेषां प्र-
 371 यमः चित्तीयतिलको राजाधिरा-
 372 जो नृपः [१*] [यः*] कल्याणप्रवृत्तः नृप-
 373 ती[चिर्जित्य] तन्नायकानादायाहव-

Sixth Pillar : First Side.

- 374 मल्ल
 375 ॥—[७३] त[स्त्रि]-
 376 न् गते चिदिव[सु*][वृ]तल्लोकयो-
 377 कस्तस्यानुज^२ चितिमिमामस्त्रिणा.^३
 378 मरचत् [१*] राजेन्द्रदेवप्रतिभ
 379 रिपूनशेषान् शेषोपमो^४
 380 नभगभुजः^५ प्रकृत्यं व्यनै-
 381 धीत् ॥—[७४*] तस्मिन्याते^६ चिद्विजयभुज-
 382 [स्तस्य] नस्तेजितारिः प्राण्यं रा-
 383 ण्यं व्यधित^७ विधिवत् वीरराजेन्द्र-
 384 देवः [१*] चत्तुर्भूत^८ समधिकवक्त्रो
 385 राजराजेन्द्रदेवः शत्रुघातं व्य-
 386 जयत जवात्^{१०} बाह्यमाभ्यन्तरस्य ॥—[७५*]
 387 इत्वा कूटलसंगमे चितिभू-
 388 तः मन्नाटवंशीभवान्^{११} सेन्यं
 389 यज्ञभुजां प्रवर्धयति यस्ते^{१२}
 390 ह्वेभूय^{१३} गतेः [१*] येनै-
 391 केन वक्षो निर्हृत्य त-
 392 ष्ठीचितैः [क्र]त्वान्यां सरितं^{१४}

^१ Read °स्यय.

^२ Read °नुजः चिति.

^३ The secondary ā symbol is in the next line.

^४ The secondary ā symbol of the letter क्षी is in the next line.

^५ Read °पमोपयसुजः.

^६ Read त्रि.

^७ Read व्यधित° and वधीर°.

^८ Read लुहृत्.

^{११} Read °मन्नाटवान्. The anusvara of न् is in the next line.

^{१२} The ai symbols of क्षी alone are in this line.

^{१४} The anusvara is in the next line.

^९ Read नि.

^{१०} Read द्.

^{१३} Read °ह्वे.

- 393 समुद्रवनितां संतोषितो
 394 वारि[धिः*] ॥—[७६*] भ्रातृभ्यां समुये-
 395 क्षितं जनपदं वंशक्रमाभ्या-
 396 गतं [क्रा]न्तं वैरिमहेश्वरे-¹
 397 रतिबलैर्वै गोन्कलिङ्गा-
 398 नपि [i*] जित्वा शत्रुपरम्परामतिव-
 399 लां हित्वा च भीतान् बह्वञ्छौमा-
 400 न्वल्लभवत्क्षमक्षितिपतिः
 401 क्षेमेण² तं सोन्वसात्³ ॥—[७७*]
 402 घोरचोळनृपतिः करिकालः का-
 403 ल[य]न् कलिबलं सकलं सः [i*]
 404 धर्मशास[न*]समुच्चयमुच्चं व्या-
 405 तनोति⁵ [हित]सारसमेतम् ॥—[७८*]
 406 देवस्याद्रिमुताधिपस्य म[त][वि]-
 407 [क्षे]लोक्यसाराभिधं श्रीमद्द-
 408 भ्र[सभा]नटस्य मकुटे माणिक्य-
 409 ⁶[का]रोपितम् [i*] मन्त्रे वैरिकुला-

Sixth Pillar : Second Side.

- 410
 411 तम [न्त्र] . . निजवश-
 412 कृतस ⁷क्षानुष्ममारो-
 413 पितः ॥—[७९*] चोळतुण्डीरपा-
 414 न्द्येषु गंगावाटिकुलूतयोः⁸ [i*]
 415 वीरराजेन्द्रना[म्ना*]सौ ब्रह्म-
 416 देयान[क*]अयत् ॥—[८०*] चत्वारिंश-
 417 त्सहस्राणि ब्राह्मणाना-
 418 न्द्रयीविदद⁹ [i*] अतोषयत्¹⁰ भूमि-
 419 दानैरस्त्रापयदतिस्त्रिरम् ॥—[८१*]

¹ Read महेश्वरे⁰; the *as* symbols of *रै* alone are in this line and *r* in the next line.

² The secondary *ē* of *क्षे* is in the previous line.

³ Read सोन्वसात्.

⁴ Read स.

⁵ [The reading appears to be त् सरस.]

⁶ Read सा

⁷ [The reading seems to be भानु.—Ed.]

⁸ The secondary *ā* and the *visarga* of *यै* are in the next line.

⁹ Read ⁰न्ययीविदाम्.

¹⁰ Read अतोषयद्.

- 420 Svasti śri[h ||*] Sakala-bhuvan-āśraya
 421 Śri-mē[di]ni-vallabha¹ mahārājā-
 422 dhirāja saka[la*]mahēnta parama-a-
 423 shta-kula-simha rāja-kula-bhāvaka-
 424 kula[śekha]ra kul[ānta]-
 425 ka Āha[vama]lla . . la Āha-
 426 vamaḥ [di-me]ṇ-ka-
 427 ṇḍa Rājāsēkhara Rājāśraya
 428 Rāja-Rājendra Vira-Chōla Karikāla-
 429 Chōla Rājakesarivanma śri-Vira-
 430 rājendra-dēvarkku yāṇḍu ēlā-
 431 vadu te pat-
 432 tiṇ
 433 Vira-Rājendra
 434 mma rāva Rājarā-
 435 [ja]p-Pāṇḍi-nāt[ṭu] Uttama-Śōla-va-
 436 ṇanātṭup-Puṇattāya-nātṭu Kumari-[k]ka-
 437 ṇṇiyā-piḍāriyārkkku vēṇḍum nityani-
 438 vandaṅgaḷukku Chakkarava[t]ti [śri-Vira-Rā]jē-
 439 ndra-[dēvar] kuḍutta Uttama-Śōla-vaṇanāt-
 440 ṭu Puṇattāya-nātṭu Narirākkuḍi-nila-
 441 ṇ iru-nūṇ-ēḷubatt-ōṇṇē-mukkā-
 442 lē iranḍu māyum in-nātṭu-pPeru-
 443 ṇḍuḍi kiḷkombu uṭpatṭa nila-
 444 ṇ aiyambatt-ōṇbadē-ōṇbadi²

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Line 1. Be it well : Prosperity !

Verse 1. May the moon-crested Bhavānīpati (i.e. Śiva), who is the sportive author of creation, protection and destruction, who is the master of speech, the only abode of omniscience (*sarvajñatā*) and by whose grace his devotees are enabled to cross the dangerous ocean of *samsāra* (metempsychosis), grant you good fortune.

V. 2. May Śambhu, who is full of grace towards moveable and immoveable objects, who holds one with his own body,—which is situated on the mountain (Kailāsa) and which is effulgent with light,—that of the great Māyā, who cheers the Universe, who establishes science and nescience (*jñāna* and *ajñāna*) and who is pleased with the happiness and distressed with the unhappiness of souls (*jīva-ātman*),³—may He save you easily from sin and protect you from downfall.

V. 3. He, who killed with his discus the hordes of the army of Asuras, who drove to the nether regions (*pātāḷa*) the emperor Bali and who is ever the protector of the Dēvas, may that Hari wipe off your sins by protecting the world through you who are so many portions of His own Self existing on earth.

V. 4. The Lord of all (*Sarvēśvara*), with a view to procreate the Universe, first ushered into existence water, which (is the primordial matter and which) is the fittest object for that purpose. Therein He sowed His eternal seed and raised from it the Mundane Egg, which envelops the three worlds. He also created Brahmā for bringing into existence all other things.

¹ [The actual reading is *mēlani*.—Ed.]

² The rest of the inscription cannot be traced.

³ [Who swells with the pleasures and pains of creatures willingly borne.—Ed.]

V. 5. This Brahmā who was thus begotten, having created all the worlds, containing every kind of thing, produced other Brahmās. One among such was Marichi who shone with a light which spread on all sides.

V. 6. Kāśyapa, who, with his omniscience, could perceive the subtlest things (*paśyaka*) was born of Marichi. His great beauty (*Śrī*) was noticed by the eyes of Brahmā. He is reckoned as the first among the men of pre-eminence (*śrēyas-sampatti*). The constant fight among the Dēvas and others born of Kāśyapa, to own Prosperity appeared like the dashing against each other of the waves of the ocean (which bore Lakshmi).

V. 7. From him (Kāśyapa) was born the transcendent Vivasvān,¹ who is the father of time, who by his generous light or power (*prabhāva*) which is capable of affording protection to the world, subordinates the planets, and by the contact with whose rays the lotus issuing from the navel of the Lord of all (Viṣṇu) as also the lotuses, the faces of Brahmā, renounced sleep for the first time.

V. 8. When the rays of the sun began to dispel darkness from every quarter, the shining golden Brahmāṇḍa appeared as though (the gold) was emitting the flaws (*kālimā*) in it; and the disc of the sun looked like the pericarp of the Sky-lotus of which the petals were the directions of the compass, and the filaments the solar rays.

V. 9. The patriarch of all kings (who ruled over the earth later on) was Manu, the son of Vivasvān²; from whose connection the human race received the name Mānava. Manu was worthy of being praised by the world; he created and promulgated laws and made humanity happy. Vivasvān made his son Manu as resplendent as he did his father (Kāśyapa).

V. 10. To Manu was born Ikshvāku³, who had unblemished fame spreading in all quarters and sung by the hosts of Dēvas. The all-pervading prowess of this conquering king, having had no enemies (*amītras*) to conquer, vanquished the sun (Mitra, a word which means also "a friend")

V. 11. Vikukshiśrava of high ideals of justice and of great intelligence was the son of Ikshvāku.⁴ This powerful king afforded protection to this earth. Kings used to acquire wealth by warring against each other, and they have now the easy method to attain it, namely to worship the feet of this king.

V. 12. The son of Vikukshiśrava was Purañjaya who subdued those king who offered him battle.⁵ Having transformed Indra into a bull, he stood on its high hump to conquer the Asuras; the gods in great joy addressed him as Kakutstha (he who stands on the *kakud*, hump of a bull), and this became thenceforth his name.⁶

V. 13. Pṛithu, who was comparable to the great mountains (*kula-parvatas*) and who was respected by all other kings, was born in this family.⁷ During his regime all the people were wise and pleased. There did not exist then trembling (for fear) or beggary.

V. 14. In this great dynasty appeared the king Kavalāśva. He was famous for his powerful horses. This powerful sovereign, in order to afford protection to the world, killed the Asura named Dhundhu, who had taken refuge in the sandy river Sindhu.⁸

V. 15-16. Of astounding greatness, the incarnation of *Asurāri* (Viṣṇu), the king Mān-dhātṛi was born in this race⁹ to remove the distress of humanity residing on this earth.

¹ See *Kalingattupparani*, *Rāja-pārampariyam*, v. 9; *Vikkirama-Śōlan-ulā* ll. 1-6; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XV, p. 59, vv. 6 & 7; *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III, p. 393, v. 4 and *Arch. Survey of South India*, Vol. IV, p. 206.

² See *Kalingattupparani*, v. 10, *Vikkirama-Śōlan-ulā*, ll. 6-8 and *Kulōttuṅga-Śōlan-ulā*, ll. 2-4.

³ *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III, p. 393, v. 5.

⁴ *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III, p. 393, v. 6.

⁵ *Ibid.* v. 7.

⁶ *Ibid.* v. 12.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 394, v. 14.

⁸ *Ibid.* v. 8.

⁹ *Ibid.* v. 14.

He afforded pleasure to the eyes of his subjects (by his personal appearance, perhaps). To drive off unrighteousness (*adharmā*) his discus (*chakra*) travelled as far as the Chakravāla mountain. While this famous monarch ruled the earth, the lion and deer lived together amicably. All objects renounced their mutual hostility (that is, became friends); but *dharma* alone became an exception to this statement, for *adharmā* did not exist (that is, it could not become a friend of *adharmā*).

V. 17. The king Muchukunda of many good qualities was born of this race, which is never exposed to danger and which is ever prospering; this sovereign shone bright like the moon with his fame, which was white (unblemished) as the *kunda* (jasmine) flowers.¹

V. 18. The king made it impossible for even those who fell in battle to enter heaven.

V. 19. In this family was born Hariśchandra, who subdued by his prowess hosts of kings and who delighted in war. Valuing them as a mere straw, he sold his own body and his wife and son to pay the money of Kauśika (Viśvāmitra).

V. 20. In this dynasty was a king named Sagara, who was dreaded by all other kings. When this monarch began to perform a number of *asvamedha-yāgas*, Indra began to tremble (lest his position be lost to Sagara by the virtue which he was going to acquire by his meritorious deeds). Owing to the greatness of the sons of Sagara, the salt oceans obtained the name *sāgara*, and this name began to apply to other seas also.

V. 21. Bhagiratha was born in this race. Having brought down from heaven the river Gaṅgā to raise his ancestors (the sons of Sagara) to heaven from the ashes to which they were reduced by the fire of the anger of the sage Kapila, he caused the celestial river to flow in three regions (that is, heaven, earth and hell) and the men who touched its waters to become immortal.

V. 22. Rītuparna, who was full of kingly virtues and who possessed a fame which was praised by all good men, sprang from this dynasty and protected the earth.

V. 23. In this family was born king Dilipa; he was like a lamp to the universe; he had removed from the world misery and had destroyed the power of his enemies; his anger drew tears from the eyes of the queens of hostile kings (that is, if any hostile king excited his wrath, that king was sure to meet with his death at the hands of Dilipa). He was a famous sovereign whose bow was ever destined to be crowned with success.

V. 24. Seeing that the earth was groaning under the evil deeds of the powerful and wicked Rākshasas, the Lord of the Universe, Bhagavān, became incarnate in four different aspects as Rāma, Lakshmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna. The two first and last pairs of brothers resembled the right and the left pairs of arms of Viṣṇu.

V. 25. This universal Lord taught the world the modes in which a son should conduct himself towards his father, a brother towards his brother, a young man towards his wife, an enemy towards his enemy, kings towards Rishis and relations towards relations.

V. 26. It was not out of anger that he killed the king of the Rākshasas (Rāvaṇa); nor was it out of his (carnal) love for his wife that he rescued her (from her captivity under Rāvaṇa); he only discharged his duty, which as a sovereign he was bound to do. If it were not so, why then should he have killed a Śūdra who was doing penance on the Malaya mountain or soon after (rescue), abandoned his wife, Sitā, of resplendent beauty and rare courage?

V. 27. Śrī-Rāma, of straight (uncrooked) virtues, had a bridge constructed across the sea for the army of monkeys to march over. (By his act of killing Rāvaṇa, a monster having evil ways), he firmly established all *dharma*s (*dharma-sētu*) on the earth. This Rāma, full of good qualities, is praised by men as the *dhūmakētu* (comet) to the misery of the gods (caused by the Rākshasas) and the source of chagrin to the Asuras.

¹ *South-Ind. Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 393, v. 17.

Vv. 28-35. In this race there was a king named **Chōla**.¹ To this king, by whom the world was governed as though it was but his capital city, the forests appeared like so many pleasure-gardens. Once upon a time this king, who was resplendent as Hara, was spending his time in sport within the forests inhabited by hosts of sages. At another time he strayed into other forests, with a band of his army, for the purpose of hunting deer; then was he allured by a **Rākshasa**, who had assumed the shape of a deer, and was beguiled into the southern regions. In the pursuit of this (pseudo-) deer the horse of Chōla took him gradually into another forest thickly studded with trees. The commanders of his rapidly marching army, who were prepared to accompany their sovereign to distant lands, kept pace with his swift horse. Having killed the deer-asura, the king began to march along the bank of the river **Kāvērī**. It seemed from the sweetness of her water that the river **Kāvērī** was carrying the very ambrosia (*amṛita*) which the **Dēvas** churned (with great effort) out of the ocean. After bathing in her water, the king (looked for) **Brāhmaṇas** but found none in that region. Therefore, he brought a large number of **Brāhmaṇas** of superior virtues from the **Āryāvarta** and settled them down there (on the banks of the **Kāvērī**). He cleared the jungle and planted betel-vines and areca trees in large numbers. He created several other kinds of gardens, whereby the country was rendered shady (and cool) and also productive of fruits. People bathe in the river **Gaṅgā** and do penance in order to obtain *svarga*; but the bath in the **Kāvērī** and penance on her bank would take those who do them to regions higher than *svarga*.

V. 36. After him (**Chōla**) his son **Rājakēsari**,² who was bright as the sun and who drove his enemies to the brink of the ocean, ruled the earth.

V. 37. **Rājakēsari**'s son was **Parakēsari**³

V. 38. In this family there shone the king **Mṛityujit**,⁴ who conquered **Mṛityu** (Death). He felled the hosts of his enemies, pleased the **Dēvas** by the *yāgas* performed by him and made his foes tremble.

V. 39. The king **Virasēna**, who removed the sufferings of his subjects, who was resplendent as the sun, who was the abode of all auspicious qualities and who possessed beautiful limbs, was born in this race.

V. 40. There was born in this dynasty a king named **Chitra**,⁵ whose anger would disappear if his enemies prostrated themselves before him. Being terrified in battle by the arrows of this king, **Indra** forthwith made friends with him and adopted **Vyāghrakētu**'s [i.e. **Chitra**'s] banner of tiger.

V. 41. **Pushpakētu**, who by the spell of his prowess playfully drew towards himself the wealth of all other kings, was born in this family to rule the earth as far as the borders of the seas.

V. 42. **Kētumāla**, who shone as bright as the lightning, was born in this race. Having seized the rows of standards (*kētu-mālā*) of other kings he came to be known by the name of **Kētamāla**.

V. 43. In this race was born a king named **Samudrajit**. He made the eastern ocean join the western one and as a prize for it obtained the hand of the daughter of a king in marriage.⁶

V. 44. **Pañchapa**, who delighted in treating guests, belonged to this family.⁷ Having been requested by five **Yakshas**, who came to him as guests, he cut open five arteries in his body

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III, p. 393, v. 28 and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XV, p. 60, v. 12.

² and ³ *Ibid.*, p. 395, v. 30.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 395, v. 36.

⁵ *Ibid.*, v. 37.

⁶ *Kalngattupparani*, V. 18.

⁷ *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III, p. 391, v. 24.



and offered the blood issuing from them with great tenderness to the Yakshas to drink. From this act of hospitality he came to be known as Pañchapa.

V. 45. Surpassing the *dik-pālas* in greatness and similar to the moon in his splendour, king Nṛimṛḍa was a member of this family. This king of undying fame conquered death by the grace of the god Paramēśvara.

V. 46. King Manōratha of unblemished character and of incomparable wealth was born in this dynasty; he was powerful in war; through having been able to destroy the desires of the enemies and fulfil those of his (friends and dependants) he was dubbed Manōratha.

V. 47. Perunatkilli¹ and other kings who surpassed Indra in strength, wealth and reputation, were born in this family. Their fame extended to the very borders of the earth and sea, and reached even the sun and the Brahmāṇḍa and was ever shining.

V. 48—49. Karikāla-Chōla, who was firm as the *kula-parvatas*, who possessed great fame, as white and unblemished as the flowers of the *kāśa* plant and who was Death to the hostile kings who met him in battle-field, was born in this family. Seeing that the river Kāvēri was overflowing its banks and not allowing crops to flourish, this monarch, who curbed the haughtiness of insubordinate kings, caused the embankment of this river to be constructed with the earth carried by (such insubordinate) kings in baskets on their hands, and afforded protection to cultivation.²

V. 50. In this dynasty was born the king Valabha,³ who possessed good qualities, wealth and prowess which compelled other kings to prostrate themselves before his feet; he burnt with the flames of his admirable valour the insects (*śalabha*), his enemies.

V. 51. Jagadēkamalla, who was comparable to Indra, drove off poverty from learned men, and wielded the weapon called the *bhalla* (spear), which was Death to other kings, was born in this family.

V. 52. The king Vyāla (or Vairi?)-bhayaṅkara was born in this family. The hostile kings prostrated themselves before his feet. The fire of the anger of this powerful king, who fought with the sword held in his long arm, could be quenched only by the tears flowing from the eyes of the queens of hostile kings.

V. 53-54. The lord of all the earth, the king Vijayālaya, was born in this family. All kings bowed before his feet. He established in the Chōla country the city of Tañjāpurī, which was praised even by Brahmā and other gods. Being a newly founded town, it flourished with all good qualities.⁴

V. 55. The son of this Vijayālaya was Ādityavarman, better known by the name of Kōḍaṇḍa-Rāma. He fell on the Pallava monarch, who was seated upon a maddened elephant, and killed him in battle.⁵

V. 56-60. To him (Āditya) was born a son named Parāntaka, who was the abode of the goddess of valour (*vīra-śrī*). By the water flowing from the temples of the *maṣṭ* elephants of this king, which were sporting in the gardens adjoining the shores of the seas, the water of the seas became scented. Parāntaka destroyed the Pāṇḍya king with his whole army, took all his

¹ *South-Ind. Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 395, v. 41.

² *Ibid.*, v. 42.

³ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XV, p. 60, v. 18.

⁴ विजयालयदीपनि तदन्वये जयौ विजिताखिलाकनितलो महाबलः ।

प्रबलस्तपेन्द्रमकुटस्थश्चक्रवर्त्यश्चिरश्चिरश्चितपदाञ्जनायः ।

Leiden Grant.

South-Ind. Inscriptions, Vol. III, p. 396, Vv. 47 and 48.

wealth and burnt (his capital) **Madhurā**; for this achievement he received the title of **Madhurāntaka**.¹ This king, who was as bright as Arjuna, conquered in battle the thitherto unconquered king **Krishnarāja**, and thereby augmented his own glory. In recognition of this feat he was entitled **Vira-Chōla**. **Parāntaka**, who is respected by all kings, caused his army to cross the sea and defeat the king of **Simhala**, who was waiting on the shore to give him battle, and thereby received the true surname of **Simhalaṅtaka**.² Who could stand comparison with this king, the abode of all good qualities? Who can describe the traits of this monarch, who conquered his enemies in battle and who was the only residence for prowess? The destroyer of the enemies, **Parāntaka**, brought into existence superior villages of great wealth like **Viranārāyaṇam**,³ just as **Brahmā** created *svarga*, and caused them to be enjoyed by learned **Brāhmaṇas**.

Vv. 61-62. The son of this king (**Parāntaka**) was **Arindama**,⁴ of glory similar to that of the moon. He destroyed the power of his enemies. Many a king, who had heard of the valour of this sovereign, took refuge in mountain caverns. He brought all other kings under his sway; like **Vidhi** (**Brahmā**), he conferred riches upon good men; this king of reputed prowess caused grief to hostile kings. This sovereign of unparalleled beauty made the lustre of the moon comparable to his own splendour.

Vv. 63-64. **Parāntaka**,⁵ who always destroyed the hosts of his enemies, was born to **Arindama**. Taking into consideration the advent of this sovereign, the **Pāṇḍya** king crossed the mountain and fled away. **Parāntaka** imprisoned all his enemies and fought successfully several battles. He satisfied the needs of learned men and was a terror to bad ones.

Vv. 65-67. To this monarch (**Parāntaka**), the abode of all virtues, was born the lord of men, **Rājarāja**.⁶ This king, who had a body as beautiful as that of Cupid and handsome lotus-like eyes, was comparable to **Kuvēra** (otherwise known as **Rājarāja**) only in his munificence.⁷ He killed in battle the enemy kings and rooted out evil from the earth. He celebrated several *yāgas* and was ever veracious. **Satyāśraya**, when he could have obtained strong support in **Rājarāja**, ran away senselessly from the battle-field.⁸ In fact, the terrified enemies of **Rājarāja** win him over in battle by quietly bowing before him; nor will he deprive such suppliants of their life or property.

Vv. 68-72. The king **Madhurāntaka**, who punishes those who do not submit to him, who chastises his enemies and who possesses a body as handsome as that of Cupid himself, was born as the son of **Rājarāja**. This monarch, as powerful as Arjuna, defeated all the kings of **Kuntala** (*Kuntalānām=adhīśān*). This king, who wore a *hāra* on his neck, abstracted the glory of the moon (that is, caused the glory of the moon to wane before his own). Conquering hostile kings by the power of his arms, he made **Mānyakhēta** a sporting ground for his army. He caused the kings of the **Kulūta** and **Utkala** countries to be defeated by his generals; the

¹ & ² His achievements are described in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III, p. 396, Vv. 51-52 & *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 61, V. 21. See also *Kalingattupparani*, *Rājapāram*, Vv. 22 and 23.

³ Compare: यामात्रिवेश विविधान् इतो यशोभिः शशीषकार शरदभूनिर्भेदिगन्तान् ।

Leiden Grant.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XV, p. 61, v. 23.

⁵ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III, p. 396, Vv. 55 and 56.

⁶ He is said to have been born under the asterism, Śadaiyam, to have captured **Udagai** (*Kalingat.* v. 24 and *Kulōtt.* ll. 46-48) and to have taken **Malai-nādu** (*Vikīram.* ll. 33-34).

⁷ King **Rājarāja** was a great giver of wealth (*dhana + da*), and in this respect resembled **Kuvēra**, who bore the name **Dhanada**. But **Kuvēra** was, as his name indicate, ill-shaped in body while king **Rājarāja** was not. One of **Kuvēra**'s eyes was yellow. **Rājarāja**, the king, had none of these drawbacks.

⁸ His conquests of **Maṇṇai**, **Kiḍāram** and **Gaṅgai** are mentioned in the *Kalingat.*, v. 25, *Vikīram.*, l. 34-36 and *Kulōtt.* ll. 49-50.

kings of Kalinga and the Vimsēndra (?)¹ were also vanquished by his generals, who reached the Ganges, whose banks slipped down the river through the battering of his elephant brigade ; the water of the (holy) Gaṅgā was carried in pots on the heads of kings (to his capital city). He made his powerful army, which uprooted several hostile kings, cross the sea and set fire to Kaṭāha,² which it was not possible for other kings to conquer. What act was impossible for this monarch Rājendra-Chōla ?

V. 73. This king had three sons, comparable with the three fires in a *yāga*. Of these, the preeminent Rājādhirāja was his first son. He set fire to Kalyānapura,³ defeated its king [and did something to king Āhavamalla,].

V. 74. When this king went to heaven, his younger brother who removed the sorrow of the world, ascended the throne. Rājendra-dēva, the monarch, who had arms resembling in shape the snake Ādi-Śeṣha, killed all his enemies.

Vv. 75-81. When this sovereign also went to heaven, his younger brother Vira-Rājendra who caused the valour of his enemies to wane, succeeded to the throne with due formality. He conquered not only his outside enemies, but also his own five senses.⁴ He killed the kings of the Maṇṇāṭa family (?) at Kūḍalsāṅgama⁵; these kings augmented the army of the Dēvas (in the celestial world).⁶ The ocean was gratified by this king, who by killing hosts of men in battle-fields created a new river, a river of blood, and made her join her lord, the sea.⁷ The countries of Vēṅgi and Kalinga, which had been in his family for a long time, but, being abandoned by his elder brothers, were then in the occupation of his enemies, were recovered by Vallabhavallabha⁸ by driving off some of those enemies and defeating others by the power of his arms, and were ruled over by him. Vira-Chōla (that is, Vira-Rājendra), also known as Karikāla-Chōla, having deprived the world of the evils of the Kali age, established several *dharma-śāsanas* which afforded succour, were full of substance and were lofty in their aims. To the Lord of Pārvaṭi, who is dancing in Chirrambalam (*Dabhra-sabhā*), he made a gift of the valuable ruby known by the name of *trailōkyasāra* He created several *brahmadēya* villages in the Chōla, the Tuṇḍira, the Pāṇḍya, the Gaṅgavāṭi and the Kulūta countries. He also furnished forty thousand Brāhmaṇas, well-versed in the Vēdas, with gifts of lands.

Ll. 420-445. In the seventh year (of the reign) of Rājākēsarivarman,—who bore the *birudas* and surnames the ‘Asylum of the whole world,’ ‘Lord of the Earth,’ Mahārājādhirāja, Ashtakulasimha, Rājakula (?), [Ra]vikulasēkhara, Pāṇḍyakulāntaka, Āhavamallakula-Kāla, he who defeated Āhavamalla

¹ [See note 9 above, p. 45, Ed.]

² *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III, p. 400, v. 117 :—

विजितेक्षदीयतटमुमिनायकैः सलिलं तदीयमथ पावनं वरम् । निजनायकाय मधुरालकाय तस्मिन्ननियतसपदि दक्षनायकः ॥

³ *Ibid.*, v. 123 :—अवजित्य कटाहमुग्रतैर्निजदस्त्रैर्भिलिङ्गितार्षवेः ।

His conquest of Kalyāṇa and the planting of a pillar of victory are mentioned in the *Kalingattupparani*, v. 26, and *Pikkirama-Śōlan-ulā* ll. 36-38.

⁴ “The outside and the inside enemies” is the expression employed in the text. The senses of sight, smell etc., are always considered the enemies of man, which reside in his own body.

⁵ *Kalingattupparani*, *Rājapāram*, v. 29 and *Vikram*, ll. 42-44.

⁶ It is a belief that one who dies on the battle-field goes to heaven. The number of warrior kings who were despatched to the other world by Vira-Rājendra-dēva being great, the army of the Dēvas must have been greatly strengthened by these new recruits.

⁷ The sea is considered to be the husband of all rivers. Vira-Rājendra caused a river of blood to flow from the multitude of human beings he killed in battles, and gave her in marriage to the sea, which pleased the latter very much.

⁸ So named because he subjugated the Vallabha (Chālukya) king.

five times,¹ Rājasēkhara, Rājāśraya, Rāja-Rājendra, Vira-Chōḷa and Karikāla-Chōḷa,—
 in Purattāya-nāḍu, a sub-division of Uttama-Śōḷa-vaḷanāḍu in Rājārāja-
 Pāṇḍi-nāḍu to the Kanya-bhaṭārakī the land, two hundred and
 seventy-one and three-quarters and two *mī* (in extent) comprised in the village of Naṭṭarāk-
 kuḍi in Purattāya-nāḍu in Uttama-Śōḷa-vaḷanāḍu, together with Peruṅguḍi-Kiḷkombu in
 the same nāḍu, containing fifty-nine and nine *mī* of land by
 the emperor (*chakravartti*) śrī-Rājendra-dēva

No. 5.—NIDUPARU GRANT OF JAYASIMHA I.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

A set of ink-impressions of this inscription was sent to me by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, who had received the original plates for examination² from Mr. M. Ramakrishnakavi, M.A., Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The inscription is engraved on three oblong copper-plates, the second of which bears writing on both sides. The margins of the four inscribed sides are only very slightly raised into rims. The plates measure 2" in height. The two first are 7" in breadth, while the third is cut on the right margin and hence measures only 6 $\frac{2}{3}$ ". The plates are strung on a ring which is 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter, and which is passed through a hole of about $\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter. The two ends of the ring are fixed in the base of a circular seal of about 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter which bears, in relief, the legend *Śrī-Sarvasiddhi*, with a crescent at the top and an expanded lotus-flower of nine petals at the bottom. The weight of the plates, with ring and seal, is 70 tolas.

The writing is in a tolerably good state of preservation; but some *aksharas*, *anuvāras*, and vowel-marks are indistinct, and at the end of the first five lines of the third plate, two or three letters are lost. The alphabet resembles that of other early Eastern Chalukya grants. A final form of *t* occurs in *-vāsakāt* (l. 1) and *vasēt* (l. 24). The syllable *ru* is used in the Telugu proper names *Gaṇḍēru* (ll. 9 f. and 10), *Vannēru* (l. 10), *Niḍuparu* (l. 18 f.) and *Niḍubaru* (l. 11).

The language is Sanskrit prose as far as line 19. The last plate contains four Sanskrit verses. Consonants are not doubled after *r*, except in *-ātti-* (for *-ārtti-*, l. 3), *pravarddha°* (l. 6) *-mantrārthth°* (for *-mantrārththē°*, l. 16), *=āryya-* (l. 19), *°bhir=vasudhā* (l. 22). As the notes on the text will show, the rules of Sandhi are frequently neglected. For *-kalāpa* (l. 8) the sense requires the instrumental *-kalāpēna*.

The inscription records the grant of the village of *Niḍuparu* or *Niḍubaru* to the learned Brāhmaṇa Kāṭīśarman (read Kōṭīśarman?) by Jayasimha (I) Vallabha, son of Vishṇuvardhana (I) and grandson of Kirtivarman (I) of the Chalukya family. Vishṇuvardhana I bore the surname *Makaradhvaḥ*, i.e., Cupid, whom he is stated to have surpassed in beauty (l. 5). The donor, Jayasimha I, had the surname *Sarvasiddhi*,³ by which he is designated on the seals of his two grants.⁴

The king's order was issued from *Asanapura* (l. 1), and the donee's grandfather was an inhabitant of the same town (l. 12).⁵ The village granted was included in *Gaṇḍēruvāṭi* and

¹ [Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar reads in l. 426 *mummaḍi* and translates: 'who saw the back of Āhavaṇalla three times—Ed.]

² See *Ep. Rep.* for 1917, App. A., No. 7 and p. 113.

³ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 97.

⁴ See the first paragraph of this article, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 137.

⁵ The grandfather of the donee of a grant of Vishṇuvardhana II also resided in *Asanapura*; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 192.

was situated on the river Vannēru, north of the Vyāghra river, and two *gavyūtis* east of the royal residence of Gaṇḍēru. The district of Gaṇḍēruvāṭi is evidently the same as Kaṇḍēruvāḍi or Kaṇḍravāḍi in other inscriptions from the Telugu country.¹ Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri has identified Gaṇḍēru, the chief town of this district and the residence of Jayasimha I, with the village of Kantēru in the Guṇṭūr Tāluk of the Guṇṭūr District, and the village granted, Niḍapaṇu or Niḍubaṇu, with the modern Nidamaru 'which is actually about two *gavyūtis* (i.e., eight miles) to the east of Kantēru.'² Mr. Sewell informs me that Kantēru is a few miles N. E. of Guṇṭūr near the main road leading to Bezvāḍa, and that Nidamaru is a few miles N. N. E. of it. He is unable to trace the Vyāghra and Vannēru rivers, and the town of Asanapura.

TEXT.³*First Plate ; Second Side.*

- 1 Svasti [!]* Śrīmad-Asanapura-vāsakāt svāmi-Mahāsēna-pād-ānudhyātānām Hārīti-putrāṇā[m] Mānavya-
- 2 sagōt[r]āṇām Mātri-gaṇa-paripālītānām⁴ aśvamēdha-yājīnām Chalukyānām vi[s]uddha-vaṁ[s]-ōda-
- 3 yagiri-sikhar-ōḍita-kshitipaty-ahimadidhitēḥ sakala-jagad-ā[r*]tti-hara-karmaṇa[h]
- 4 Sri-Kirtivarmanah priya-naptā śaśalāṅchhanasy=ēva sakala-jagan-ma[n]ō-nayan-āna-
- 5 ndana-karasya sva-rūpa-lāvany-āvajita-Makarathva(dhva)jasya Makaradhvaj-āpara-nāmnaḥ śrīmad-aīda[m*]yugīna-
- 6 Viṣṇōḥ⁵ Viṣṇuvardhana-mahārājasya⁶ priya-tanayaḥ pravarddhamān-ōdaya-pratāp-ōpanata-sama-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 7 sta-sāmanta-makūṭa-tata-ghaṭita-maṇi-mayūkha-mañjarī-pumja-pimjarita-charaṇ-āravinda-yugalāḥ(lō) nija-
- 8 guṇa-didhiti-kalāpa⁷ Kaliyuga-dhvāntam nirākarishṇuḥ⁸ Ākhaṇḍala iv=ākhaṇḍita-paura(ru)shaḥ pa-
- 9 rama-brahmaṇyō mātāpitṛ-pāt-ānudhyātāḥ⁹ śrī-Jayasimha-Vallabha-mahārājah(jō) Gaṇḍē-
- 10 ruvāṭya[m] Vyāghra-nadyās=ch=ōttarataḥ(tō) Vannēru-nadyās=cha tirē Gaṇḍēru-rājadhānyāḥ
- 11 pūrva-dig-vibhāgē gavyūta(ti)-dvayē Niḍubaṇu-nāma-grāmam=adhivasataḥ kuḍum(ṭum)binah samavētā-
- 12 n=ājñāpayati [!]* Vīditam=astu vō yath=Āsanapura-sthāna-nivāsinō ghaṭikā-sāmānya-

¹ See above, Vol. VI, p. 148, and Vol. XII, p. 62.

² *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1916-17, p. 115. According to Mr. Sewell's *Lists*, Vol. I, pp. 37 and 39, there is a pair of other villages of the same name (Kantēru and Nidamaru) in the Tanuku and Bhīmavaram Tāluka of the Gōdāvari District. At my request Mr. Sewell has kindly looked up the Tāluk maps in the British Museum, and he quite agrees with Mr. Krishna Sastri's identification, because the village of Kantēru in the Guṇṭūr District 'is a far more important place than the little out-of-the-way village of the same name in the Tanuku Tāluk of the Gōdāvari District,' and because the two villages of Kantēru and Nidamaru in this last district are 'not very close together, and seemingly quite small places.'

³ From the ink-impressions.

⁴ Read *tānām=.

⁵ Read Viṣṇōr=.

⁶ As there was no room for the group *śṣṇu* of Viṣṇu⁶ at the bottom of the plate, the engraver placed a dash (virāma) above *śṣ* and added *ṣu* after it.

⁷ Read -kalāpāma.

⁸ Read *riṣṇu=.

⁹ Read -pād-ānudhyātāḥ.

i.

[illegible]

ii a.

8
 10
 12

iib.

14
16
18

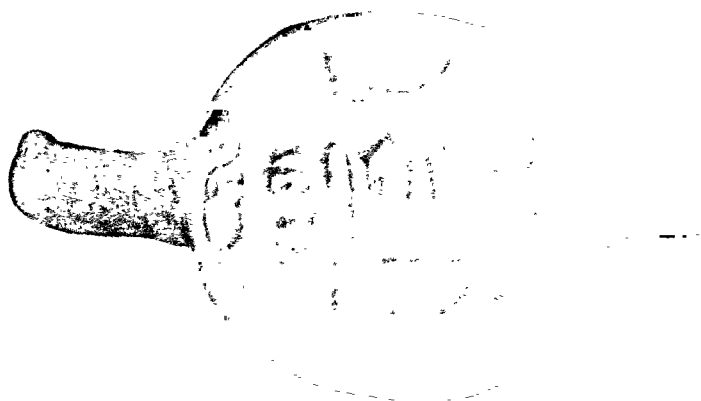
iii.

20
22
24

SEAL OF THE NIDUPARU GRANT OF JAYASIMHA I.



SEAL OF THE KONDANAGURU GRANT OF INDRAVARMAN



Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 13 sya sa-[pa]da-kram-ānukram-ādhitā-vēda-dvayasya sa-kalp-ōpanishat-purāṇ-ētiḥāsa-ānēka-dharmasāstra-
- 14 Vidah(dō) Maṇ[ḍa]śarmanah paṇṭrāya sva-pitur=adhika-guṇa-sāmpad-gaṇ-ā(ō)pārjī'a-nirmala-yaśō-viśē-
- 15 shē[ṇa]¹ [ā]tmanō=nvayam=alam=alamkarishṇōḥ² agnishtōma-yājinaḥ Śivarudrasarmanah[h]
- 16 paṇṭrāya dvi-v[ē]d-ādhyāyinē yajñāgam-ōpanishan-mantrārth-i(ō)tiḥāsa-purāṇa-dharma-
- 17 sāstra-vimalikṛita-vina(nī)ta-matayē Hārīta-sagotrāya Taittiriya-sabrahmachāra(rī)ṇē
Kāṭīśarmanē
- 18 Kārtika-purnamāsyām mātāpitṛōr=ātmanas=cha yaśah-puṇy-ābhivirdhayē³ samprattō=yam Nidupa-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 19 ru-nāma-grāmah [*] N=āsya bādha karāṇīyā [||*] Ājñaptir=atr=āryya-manō-bhīramah śri-vīrya-[m]ā[tsa]
- 20 nāśrayō=yam⁴ [*] bhūpēndra-nti-pravibhāga-dakshah(kshō) [vē]dānga-vit=sarva-kal-āntaraññah(jñah) [|| 1 ||*] Atra Vyāsa-gītāh [||*] [Svaj][dattām pa*]-
- 21 ra-dattām vā yatnād=raksha Yudhisbṛhīa [*] [mahīm mahī][ma*]tām śrēshṭha dānāch=chh[r*]āyō=nu[p]āl-[nam] [|| 2 || Bahu*]-
- 22 bhīr=vvasudhā [da]ttā bahubhīś=ch=ānu[pāli]tā [*] yasya yasya yathā(dā) bhūmi
. . [sya] [tasya*]⁵
- 23 tadā phalam [|| 3 ||*] Shasṭi[ni*] varsha-sahasrāṇi svarga(rgē) mōdati bhūmi-dah [*] ākshēpta ch=ānu[ma][ntā cha*]
- 24 tāny=ē[va] narakē vasēt [|| 4 ||*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Hail! From (his) residence in the prosperous Asanapura (l. 1), Jayasimha-Vallabha-Mahārāja (l. 9),—the dear son of Vishṇuvardhana-Mahārāja (l. 6) whose other name was Makaradhvaja (l. 5), and the dear grandson of Kirtivarmen (l. 4) of the family of the Chalukyas (l. 2),—commands (as follows) the assembled ryots inhabiting the village named Nidubaru (which lay) in (the district of) Gaṇḍēruvātī, north of the Vyāghra river and on the bank of the Vannēru river, at (a distance of) two gavyūtis on the eastern side of the royal residence (rājadhānī) of Gaṇḍēru (ll. 9-12).

'Be it known to you that, on the full-moon (tithi) of Kārtika, (I have) given this village named Niduparu (l. 18 f.) to Kāṭīśarman of the Hārīta gōtra and of the Taittiriya (charuṇa) (l. 17), son of Śivarudrasarman (l. 15), and grandson of Maṇ[ḍa]śarman (l. 14) who resided in the town (sthāna) of Asanapura and was a member of (its) college⁶ (l. 12).' Maṇ[ḍa]śarman is stated to have 'studied two Vēdas together with their Pada, Krama, and Anukrama' and to have 'known many law-books, together with Kalpa, Upanishad, Purāṇa, and Itihāsa;' Śivarudrasarman, to have performed Agnishtōmas; and Kāṭīśarman, to have 'studied two Vēdas' and to have 'purified and trained his mind by sacrificial lore, Upanishad, the meaning of Mantras, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, and Dharmasāstra.'

¹ Read *shēṇ=ātmanō*.² Read *ṛishṇōr=agni*.³ Read *-ābhivirdhayē*.⁴ Read perhaps *tri vīryavān=Sarvajanāśrayō=yam*.⁵ Read *bhūmis=tasya-tasya*.⁶ For *gṛahikā* see above, Vol. VIII, p. 26 and n. 1; *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. II, pp. 502, 510 f.

The executor (*ājñapti*) of this (grant) was who knew royal politics, the *Vādāgas*, and all arts! (verse 1, l. 19 f.). The record ends with three verses 'sung by Vyāsa' (l. 20).

No. 6.—IPUR PLATES OF VISHNUVARDHANA III.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

I am editing the inscription on these plates from a set of ink-impressions supplied to me by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri. The plates were found while digging in an unspecified village of the Kistna District and now belong to the collection of Mr. Brindavanam Gopalachari at Īpūr, a village in the Tenāli Taluk of the Guṇṭūr District.³ These are three oblong copper-plates, the second of which bears writing on both sides. The margins of the four inscribed sides are slightly raised into rims. The three plates have a slight inward curvature in the middle of the long edges and measure $6\frac{1}{2}$ " by $2\frac{1}{4}$ ". They are strung on a ring of about 3" in diameter, which passes through a hole of about $\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter and bears a circular seal of $1\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. The seal bears, on a countersunk surface, the legend *Śrī-Vishamasiddhi* in Telugu characters, with an expanded lotus-flower of seven petals at the bottom and a crescent enclosing a star (or the sun?) at the top. The weight of the plates, with ring and seal, is 35 tolas.

The writing is in a state of good preservation. The alphabet resembles that of other Eastern Chalukya grants of the same period. The language is barbarous Sanskrit prose, and two verses are quoted in lines 21-24 of the last plate. Owing to the dense ignorance of the drafting clerk, orthography,³ Sandhi rules, and grammar are disregarded in every line. Still the inscription is an interesting historical document and can be made out almost completely. It records an order issued in the twenty-third year of his reign by Vishṇuvardhana, son of Vijayasiddhi, and grandson of Vishṇuvardhana of the Chalukya family. As Vijayasiddhi is known to have been a surname of Maṅgi-yuvarāja,⁴ his father has to be identified with Vishṇuvardhana II, and his son with Vishṇuvardhana III. From the seal of the subjoined grant we learn that the latter—like his two ancestors Vishṇuvardhana I and II—bore the surname Vishamasiddhi.

The king's order refers to a grant of a field and of a house-site with a flower-garden to a Brāhmaṇa residing at Kommara. The field granted formed part of the village of Jālayūru in the district of Pōlnāṇḍu and was situated to the west of the Eliyēru river and to the east of Kākaṇḍivāḍa. None of these local names I am able to identify. But the district of Pōlnāṇḍu is evidently the same as Prōlnāṇḍu or Prōlunāṇḍu near Piṭhāpuram.⁵

The grant was made by the daughter of Maghinduvarāja, Pṛithivipōthī, who seems to have been one of the queens of Vishṇuvardhana III. The second member of the queen's name cannot have anything to do with Hindi *pōthī*, 'a book.' Perhaps it is a misspelling of *pōtī*, a feminine derivative of *pōta* which is known to have formed part of the names of Pallava kings.⁶ I hope I am not considered too bold if I further propose to identify the name of Pṛithivipōthī's father, Maghinduvarāja, with Mahēndravarman III, the Pallava king of Kāñchi.⁷

¹ Perhaps he was a Brāhmaṇa minister of the king. His proper name is uncertain because of the break at the end of line 19 of the text. It may have been Sarvajanāśraya.

² See above, Vol. XVII, p. 334 and *Ep. Rep.* for 1920, App. A, No. 10 and pp. 99 ff.

³ Note the spelling *pauṇṭrāya* for *pauṭrāya* (l. 13), and *āy* for *jā* in *āyāpayaṭi* (l. 12) and *āyāpti* (l. 24).

⁴ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 237.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV, p. 230, and Vol. V, p. 74.

⁶ *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. II, p. 341.

⁷ Above, Vol. X, p. 4.

The period of the reign of Vishnuvardhana III (A. D. 709—746)¹ would suit this identification. A close connection between both dynasties might be gathered also from the fact that the panegyric descriptions of kings in the Eastern Chalukya grants remind of those of some Pallava grants.²

TEXT.³

First Plate ; Second Side.

- 1 Svasti [||*] Śrīmatā[m*] sakala-bhuvana-saṁstu(stū)yamāna-Mānavya-sagotrā-
- 2 n[ām*] Hārīti-putrān[ām*] Kauśiki-vara-prasāda-labdha-rājya[ā*]nām Mātri(tri)-gu-
- 3 ṇa-paripālītānā[m*] bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-sa[m*]sādita-
- 4 var[ā*]ha-lāñcha(ñchha)nānā[m*]⁴ aśvamēth(dh)-āvabhri(bhri)tha-snāna-pavi[tri*]-
kri(kri)ta-vapushām
- 5 Chhaḷukhyānā[m*]⁵ kulam=ala[m]karishṇō[h*] śrī-Vishnuvardhana-mahārāja-
- 6 sya sūnōr=anēka-samara-sa[m*]ghaṭṭ-ōpalabdha-yudha(ddha)-vijaya-ya-
- 7 śaḥ-prasu(sū)ty-[ā*]mōda-gandh-ādi(dhi)vāsita-sakala-dig-maṇḍalasya⁶ śrī-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 8 Vijayasiddhi(ddhēh) priya-tanaya[h*] śva-vikram-[ā]krānta-mahi(hi)-maṇḍalasya⁷
ari-
- 9 timīra-pral[a]y[ā]ditya(tyō) yuvati-jana-Makha(ka)radhvaja(jō) vidvaktavi-⁸vipra-
vārdita-⁹pā-
- 10 ṭaka-¹⁰jana-Kāmadhēnuni¹¹ machhchājy-¹²[ā]lasya-naishṭūrjyarishya-¹³paiśū(śu)nya-
- 11 rahita stri-bhā[ā]-¹⁴vri(vri)ddha-buddha-praha[r]shaṇi(ṇi)ya-ru(rū)pa[h*] śrī-Vishnu-
va[r]ddhana-ma-
- 12 hārājasya¹⁵ ē[va]m=āñyā(jñā)payati [||*] Kommara-v[ā*]stavy[ā*]ya¹⁶ Ātri(trē)ya-gō-
- 13 trāya [Hi*]rē(ra)ṇyakeśi-sūtrāya¹⁷ Agniśarmmaṇa[h*] pavutrāya¹⁸ Tālīśa-¹⁹

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 14 rmmaṇa[h*] putrāya Kēśavaśarmmaṇ[ā*] Pōlnāṇḍu-vishayē Jalayūru-n[ā]ma-
- 15 grām[ā] paśchima-diśāyā[m*]²⁰ Eliyēru-nadi(di)-pa[śch]imata[h*] Prabhākara-
kshētra-²¹
- 16 u[ttara]ta[h] Kākaṇḍivāda-kshētra-pū[r*]vāta(tō) valmi[ka]-dakṣiṇata ētat(ch)-cha-
- 17 tur-avadhi vi[m]śa[ti]i-khaṇḍikā-bri(vri)hi-bija-pariprāmāṇa[m*]²² kshē-
- 18 tra[m*] śakraṁti-nimittē²³ o(u)daka-pū[r]v[va][m*] [da]tta[m] grīm(gri)ha-
st[ā](sthā)n[a]m pushpa-vāsi(ṭi)-
- 19 -kā-sahita[m*] sarvva-kara-parihārē[ṇa*] prava[r]ddhamāna-vijaya-rā-

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 99.² Above, Vol. VIII, p. 237.³ From the ink-impressions.⁴ Read °ānām=.⁵ Read Chaḷukyānām.⁶ Cf. Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 105, text line 7 f.⁷ Read -maṇḍalō=ri-.⁸ Read vidvat-kavi-.⁹ Read -candi-.¹⁰ Read -pāṭhaka-.¹¹ Read °dhēnuri-.¹² Read mātsary-.¹³ Read -naishṭhury-āriśha-.¹⁴ Read °rāja.¹⁵ Read °vyāy=Ārya-.¹⁶ Read -sūtrāy=Āgmi-.¹⁷ Read pavutrāya.¹⁸ The syllable śa was corrected by the engraver from rmma.¹⁹ Read -diśāyām= or -diśya.²⁰ Read -kētr-ōttarataḥ.²¹ Read -parimānām.²² Read saṁkrānti-nimitta.

Third Plate; First Side.

- 20 *jya-samvachha(tsa)rē vimśati-trir-varshē¹ śri-Maghimduvarāja-priya-duhit[ā*]*
 21 *śri-Pri(pri)thivi(vi)pōthi-²nāma³ datta[m ||*] Bahubi(bhi)r=vasudā(dhā) dattā*
bahubi(bhi)ś=ch=ānu-
 22 *pālītā [*] yasya-yasya yadā bhūmi⁴ tasya-tasya tadā ba(pha)la[m] [|| 1 ||*]*
Śva-da-
 23 *ttām para-dattā vām⁵ yyō(yō) harēriti⁶ vasundharā[m |*] śashtir=⁷varsha-*
sahasrāṇi viśt[ā](shthā)-
 24 *r[ā][m*] jāyatē kr[ī*]mi[h] [|| 2 ||*] Āñya(jña)pti[h*] kaḍa-eṛeya(yō) Vātātṭa-*
nāma(mā) [|] Tinasya⁸ gri(gri)-*
 25 *ha-stā(sthā)nām datta[m ||*]*

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Vishṇuvardhana-Mahārāja (l. 11 f.),—the dear son of Vijayasiddhi (l. 8), the son of Vishṇuvardhana-Mahārāja who adorned the family of the Chalukyas (l. 5 f.),—orders as follows:—

‘On the occasion of a Samkrānti (l. 18) in the year twenty-three of (my) reign (l. 19 f.), a field (and) a house-site accompanied by a flower-garden were given to Kēśavaśarman of the Ātrēya-gōtra and Hiranyakēśi-sūtra, who resided at Kommara (l. 12) and was a son of Tālīśarman and a grandson of Agniśarman, by Prithivipōthi, the beloved daughter of Maghinduvarāja (l. 20 f.).’ The field granted lay in the western part of the village named Jajayūru in the district (vishaya) of Pīḷnāṇḍu (l. 14 f.). Its four boundaries were to the west of the Elyēru river, to the north of the field of Prabhākara, to the east of the fields of Kāṣaṇḍivāḍa, and to the south of an anthill (ll. 15-17). It required as seed twenty *khaṇḍikās* of paddy⁹ (l. 17).

The executor (*ājñapti*) was the chief of the camp,¹⁰ Vātātṭa (?) by name. By him the house-site was given to the (donee) (l. 24 f.).

No. 7.—VAPPAGHOSHAVATA GRANT OF JAYANAGA.

By LIONEL D. BARNETT.

The record belongs to the Museum of Perth, to the authorities of which I am indebted for permission to edit and reproduce it. It was presented to the Museum some time ago by Mr. J. Greig of Calcutta. The Museum possesses a paper signed by him and containing a copy of a

¹ This curious expression is meant for *trayōvimsē varshē*.

² The *th* of *pōthi* slightly differs in shape from the *th* of *Prithivi* and of *atcamēth(dh)-āvadhri(bhāri)tha-* in no 4; but it cannot be *r*, as it has been read in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1919-20, p. 99 f. Cf. the *r* of *Elyēru-* (l. 15) and *-eṛeya* (l. 24).

Instead of *-duhitā* (l. 20) and *-nāma* we would have expected *-duhitrā* and *-nāmayā*. The next word is a superfluous repetition of *dattam* in line 18.

³ Read *bhāmsa-*.

⁴ Read *śashtim*.

⁵ Cf. above, Vol. V, p. 121, n. 6, and Vol. XII, p. 62, n. 2. In Vol. X, p. 48, text line 8, read *कीद्व* for *कीद्वे*.

⁶ Read *-dattām vā*.

⁷ Read perhaps *Tēn-āśya*.

⁸ Read *harēta*.

⁹ As suggested in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1919-20, p. 100, *kaḍa-eṛeya* is the same as *kaḍaka-rāja*, ‘the chief of the royal camp,’ for which see above, Vol. VII, p. 184 f., and Vol. IX, p. 49 f. According to Kittel’s *Kannada-English Dictionary*, s. v. *ere*, 1, the Kaparese noun *eṛeya* (=Tamil *ēraivan*) is a synonym of the Sanskrit *rāja*.

somewhat unsuccessful attempt to translate and annotate the plate, which bears the subscription: "R. Mitro, Asiatic Society, 6th December 1854," and to which Mr. Greig has prefixed the note "Translation of a Copper Plate found in the Indigo Estate at Mallia¹ by one of Mr. James Smith's villagers, and presented to me by that gentleman in January 1855."

It consists of a single rectangular plate of copper, slightly irregular in shape, about $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. in width and $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height, with a circular seal about 3 in. in diameter soldered on the proper left side. The seal, which is very much worn, shews traces of an upright female figure, apparently Lakshmi, with either one or two elephants performing the *kumbhābhishēka* over her, while in the exeigue below there are the remains of a now illegible inscription. The plate itself, which is inscribed on one side only, is in very good preservation, except for a crack running down it, which has been repaired by a small rivet. Two or three letters at the end of l. 14 and a whole line of writing immediately following the latter have been deliberately erased.—The characters, which have been picked out comparatively recently with white paint, are of a well-formed upright Gupta type, apparently of the latter half of the sixth century, and average in height a little less than $\frac{1}{4}$ in. In most respects they are archaic enough to justify an ascription to the fifth century; but the forms of the initial *i* (*iti*, l. 11) and the bipartite *y* (*passim*), make the latter date more probable. The conjunct nasals and consonants are used in preference to the simple consonants with preceding *anuvāra* (e.g. *-sambhōga*-, l. 3). *V* and *b* are confused (e.g. *-sāmbatsarē*, l. 2, *Audumvarī*[*ka*-], l. 3, but *sa-vrahmachārīṇē*, l. 5, *-vrāhmaṇānām*, l. 8, etc.). Internal *ā* is denoted either by a doubly waving line curving upwards towards the right from the top of the shaft (cf. the 8th and 18th syllables of l. 1), or by a short upward tick at the right corner of the top (cf. the 14th syllable of l. 1), or by a downward loop from the right corner of the top (cf. the 15th syllable of l. 2). Internal *ā* is represented usually by a waving line similar to the first type of *ā* but in the opposite direction (e.g. the 18th syllable of l. 2), rarely by a perpendicular tick on the left corner of the top (*-svāminē*, l. 5). Internal *ō* is made with the waving *ē* combined with either the ticked or the downward, looped *ā*. The curve of internal *i* is sometimes single (e.g. *śrī*, l. 2, *-sīmā*, l. 9), sometimes double (e.g. *grāminā*-, l. 14). The angularity of the base of the *th* (*dāsyath=ēti*, l. 7) is note worthy; so also is the combination of the syllable *ti* with a following *daṇḍa*, in which the curving line denoting *i* is carried around the *t* and upwards to the right of it, terminating there in a small horizontal tick on a level with the top of the *t* (see ll. 4, 7, 13), a peculiarity which seems to have been affected by Eastern scribes, as we find it again even as late as the Tālchēr plates of Gayāḍa-Tuṅgaḍēva (see Nagendranath Vasu's *Archæol. Survey of Mayurabhanja*, plate to face p. 154, and *J. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XII, 1916, No. 6, pl. 4, last line).—The cursive *rya* in *Sūrya*-(l. 3) is also significant. The language is Sanskrit prose, becoming in parts loose and almost dialectal. As already remarked *b* and *v* are confused. Lexically we may note the words *ākshayaṇī-dharman* (l. 6); *gaṅginikā* (l. 9 bis), the modern *gaṅginā*, which possibly may be used here as a common noun meaning "āry river-bed" (see above, Vol. XII, p. 66, n. 3, and p. 78, n. 5), but more probably is the name of a particular river (see below); and *tāmra-paṭṭa* (ll. 8, 11, 13, bis), which here, instead of its primary meaning of "copper-plate" (as above, Vol. VII, pp. 87, 95, 98, Vol. VIII, pp. 152, 157-59), signifies an estate granted under a warrant engraved on a copper-plate.²

The object of the document is to specify the bounds of a certain village named Vappaghoshavāṭa granted to the Brāhmaṇ Bhaṭṭa Brahmavīra Svāmin by the Sāmanta Nārāyaṇa-bhadra, and is dated in the reign (the word qualifying the *samvatsara* is unfortunately effaced)

¹ As I am unable to locate "Mallia" with certainty, I have judged it advisable to designate this charter by the name of the village granted in it.

² Cf. above, Vol. II, p. 333, *grāmaṁ* . . . *tāmraḥ* . . . *lēbhē*. The word *paṭṭa* by itself is sometimes used to denote a piece of land: cf. *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 104 & n.

of king Jayanāga, who was at the time residing in Karnasuvarṇaka, and who, to judge from his title of *Mahārājādhirāja*, must have been a ruler of considerable importance. The document was drawn up in accordance with Narāyaṇabhadra's instructions by his commissioner (*vyavahārin*) Sūryasēna. On the principles of this administrative hierarchy the student may profitably compare the observations of Mr. Radhagovinda Basak in his paper on the Dāmōdarpur Plates (above, Vol. XV, pp. 116 ff.).

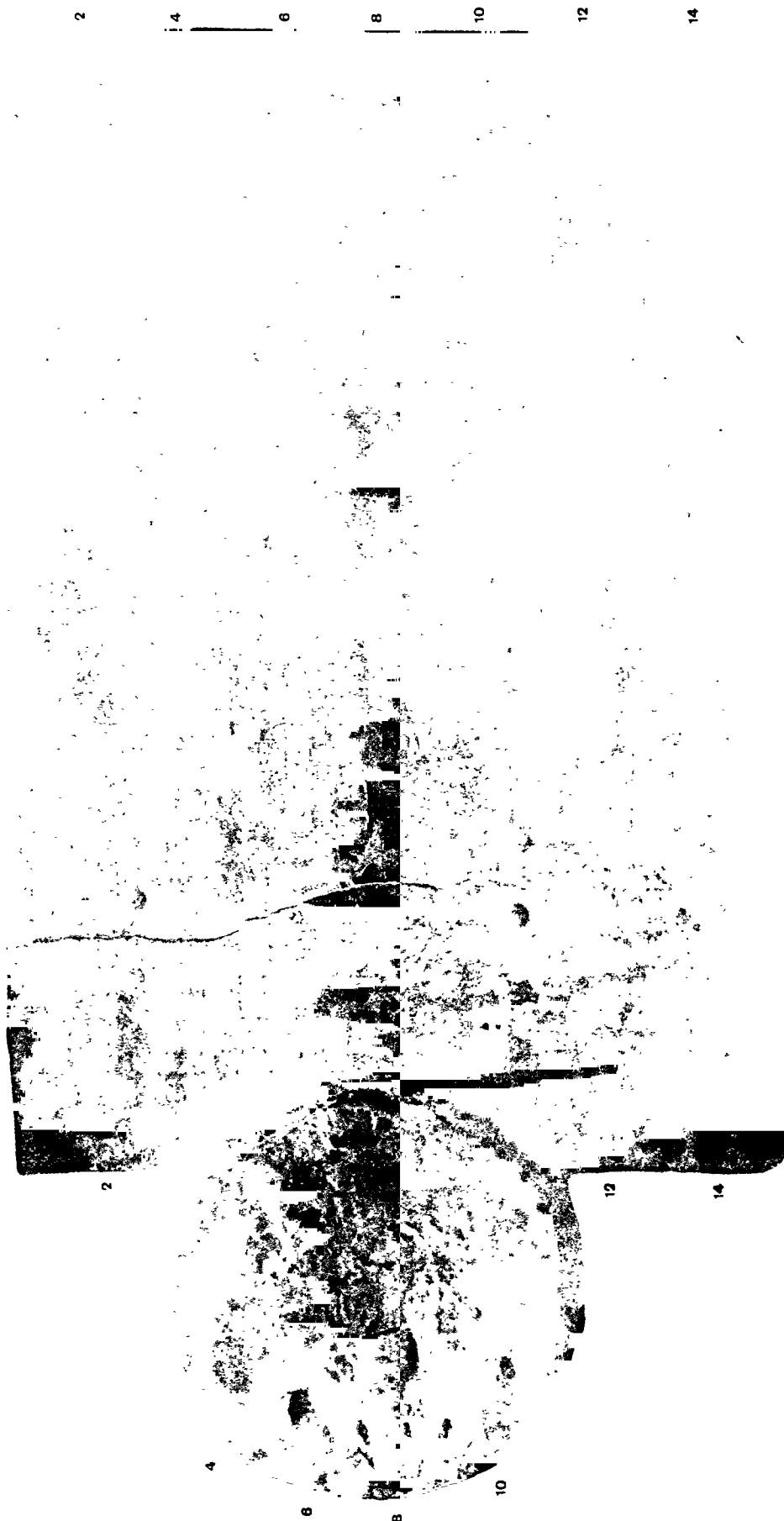
Of Jayanāga we know nothing from other sources. But Mr. John Allan has suggested to me that he may be the same as the king whose coins, described in his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties* (*Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum*), pp. lxi., civ., cvi., cxiii., 150-51, and pl. xxiv, bear on the obverse the abbreviated name *Jaya* and on the reverse a seated Lakṣmī with an elephant sprinkling her. This connection seems highly probable. In any case, the present document furnishes an important fact concerning the early history of Karnasuvarṇa, which, taken in connection with the Nidhanpur grant of Bhāskaravarman (above, Vol. XII, p. 65), supplies material for interesting speculation.

The names of places mentioned, besides Karnasuvarṇaka (l. 1), are the Audumvarika-vishaya (l. 3); the villages of Vappaghōshavāṭa (l. 6), Kutkūṭa-grāma (ll. 8, 14), and Amalapautika-grāma (l. 10); Gaṅginikā (l. 9, bis), literally "river," which here is perhaps used as a proper name; the Śirshapa-yānaka or "mustard-channel" (l. 10); and the pool of Vakhaṭa-Śūmālikā (ll. 13-14). On the geographical position of Karnasuvarṇaka, the ancient capital of the kingdom of the same name, see T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, pp. 191-93, and H. Beveridge, *The Site of Karṇa Suvarṇa*, in *J. A. S. B.*, 1893, pp. 315 ff., the latter of whom identifies it with Rāṅgāmāṭi, near Murshidābād, which is said to have been formerly known as Kāṣṣṇā or Kāṣṣṇā, a name which phonetically corresponds perfectly to *Karnasuvarṇaka*, through an intermediate Prakrit form *Kaṇṇasonṇa*.¹ On the other names I am indebted to Mr. S. K. Chatterji, M. A., D. Lit., for the following observations. The Gaṅginikā seems to be the river Jalāṅgī, a branch of the Ganges or Padmā which unites with the Bhāgirathī near Nadiyā, the classical Navadvīpa. The Bengali poet Bharatachandra Raya (c. 1740 A.D.) in his *Annadā-maṅgala* (pp. 136 and 151 of Muktārāma Vidyāvāgīśa's edition, Calcutta, 1857) speaks of the ancestors of the Rājās of Nadiyā as living in the *pargana* of Bāgwān (Bāgoān) at a village called Ānduliyā: "Gaṅgā herself i.e. the Bhāgirathī to the west, to the east the Gaṅginī; there is the village of Baḍagāchī; opposite to it, on the other side of the river, is Ānduliyā." In the Survey map of the Nadiyā District Bāgwān is a village in the Meherpur sub-division, and close to it, on the two sides of the Jalāṅgī, are the villages of Baḍagāchī ("Burgachee") and Ānduliyā ("Andoollea"), as stated by Bharatachandra. It seems likely that this river Jalāṅgī is the Gaṅginikā of the present record. North of Bāgwān, at some distance from the Jalāṅgī, is an important village named Gāṅgani, which may possibly preserve the name of the Gaṅginikā. Rivers in the plains often change their courses. None of the other place-names can be located. But it may be noted that Vappaghōshavāṭa (*vappa* is the Bengali *bāp*, "father," and *ghōsha-vāṭa* = "dwelling of herdsmen") would be a likely village-name in Southern Murshidābād and Nadiyā, where there was much cattle-breeding. A Ghōshpādā exists in the south, on the Bhāgirathī, and is well known as the home of the founder of the Kartābhajā sect; cf. Gōās (i.e. Gō-vāsa or Gōpa-vāsa) in Nadiyā and Murshidābād, Gōāḍī (i.e. Gōpa-vāṭikā), a suburb of Krishnagar, near Nadiyā town, etc. An extended stem *Vakhaṭaka* is apparently the origin of the Middle Bengali place-name *Bahadā* or *Baharā*, in Modern Bengali *Bay(a)ḍā* or *Bay(a)ṛā*, which is found in the names of e.g. Jōt-Bayṛā,² opposite Kumārkhālī

¹ This identification is not accepted by Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti, *J. A. S. B.*, 1908, p. 280 f. But he admits that in quite recent times a suburb of Murshidābād was named *Karṇasuvarṇa* (see v. 2 of the preface to Rādhākānta's *Śabda-kalpa-druma*).


² Jōt is from *yōktra*, "yoke of oxen," hence a measure of land; but the name is sometimes falsely Sanskritised into the pretentious *Yadū-Bayarā*.—S. K. C.

Vappaghosha-vata Grant of Jayanaga.



in the Kushtiyā sub-division of Nadiā ; Bayṛā on the Kabadāk or Kabatākh, in the Bongong (Vanagrāma) sub-division of Nadiā ; Hāt-Bayṛā (i.e. Haṭṭa-Vakhaṭaka), and elsewhere.

TEXT.¹

- 1  Svasti Karṇṇa[s]uvarṇnak-āvasthitasya mahārāj-ādhirāj(ja)-parama-bhāgavata-
- 2 śrī-Jayanāga-[d]ēvasya . . i . [bh]yudaya-sāmbatsarē² tat-pād-ānuddhyāta-śrī-sāmanta-
- 3 Nārāyaṇabhadraśy=Audumvarika-[visha]ya-sambhōga-kālē cha [ta*]d-vyavahāri-mahā-pratihāra-Sūrya-
- 4 sēnē vyavaharati | tad=asy=ājñā śrī-sāmanta-pādaiḥ pradattāḥ(ttā) Kāśyapa-sagōttrāya Chhā-
- 5 ndōga-savra(bra)hmachāriṇē bhaṭṭa-Vra(bra)hmavira-svāminē mayā mātā-pitrōr=ātma[na]-
- 6 ś=cha puṇy-ābhivṛddhayē Vappaghōshavāṭa-grāma ākshayaṇi-dharmmaṇā pra-dattaḥ visha-
- 7 ya-mudr-ālāṅkri(ṅkri)ta-tāmra-śāsanam sim-āghāṭa-parichchhinna[m*] dāsyath=ēti | attra simā-
- 8 līngāni yattra paśchimasyān=diśi Kutkuṭa-grāmiṇa-vrā(brā)hmaṇānām satka-tāmra-paṭṭa-
- 9 simā utta[ra]syām gaṅginikā . pūrvasyām=iyam=ēva gaṅginikā . tatō nissṛitō
- 10 Āmalapautika-grāma-paśchimā(ma)-simn=ānugatas=Sarshapa-yānakah . tēn=ai[va si]-
- 11 [m]ā [sa]mparichchhinno yāvad=Bhaṭṭ-Ōnmilana-svāmi-tāmra-paṭṭa iti tasmāch=cha dakṣhiṇa-di(g)-bhāgā-
- 12 d=bhūyas=tēn=aiva simnā uttarān=diśam=anuvalamānas=tāvad=āgatō yāva[d*] Bharani-svāmi-
- 13 tāmra-paṭṭa-sim=ēti | tatō=pi praguṇēna Bhaṭṭ-Ōnmilana-svāmi-tāmra-paṭṭa-simni Vakhaṭa-[S]āmā-
- 14 likā-dēva-khātam=praviśya tāva[d*] gatō yāva[t*] sa ēva Kutkuṭa-grāmiṇa-vrā(brā)hmaṇa-sim=ēti . . .
- 15 (Effaced)

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! In the year of the rise . . . of the Great Emperor, the supreme worshipper of the Lord, the fortunate king **Jayanāga**, when he is resident at **Karṇasuvarṇaka**, at the time that the Baron **Nārāyaṇabhadra**, who meditates upon his feet, is in the enjoyment of the **Audumbarika** province, his commissioner the Mahāpratihāra **Sūryasēna** acting as administrator: the command given to him by the noble Baron is as follows : "The village of **Vappaghōshavāṭa** has been given by me to **Bhaṭṭa Brahmavira Svāmin**, a member of the **Kāśyapa gōtra** and colleague of the **Chhāndōgas**, for the increase of the merit of my mother, my father, and myself, as a perpetual endowment³ : you are to give (a deed engraved on) a copper-plate adorned with the seal of the province and specifying the boundaries." The signs of the boundary therein are : on the west, the boundary of the grant belonging to the Brāhmaṇs of **Kutkuṭa-grāma** ; on the north, the river-bed ; on the east, the same river-bed ; issuing thence and running along the western boundary of **Āmalapautika-grāma**, (the boundary) is the **Sarshapa-yānaka** ; it is limited by

¹ From the plate.² Read *sāmbatsarē*.³ Apparently *ākshayaṇi-dharma* denotes the same form of tenure as *ākshaya-nīvi* or *nīvi-dharma*, on which see Mr. Radhagovinda Basak's note above, Vol. XV, p. 131, n. 8.

the same [boundary], as far as **Bhaṭṭa Unmilana-svāmin's** grant; from the south thereof, (*the boundary*), turning along further by the same boundary to the north, proceeds as far as the boundary of **Bhaṭṭa Unmilana-svāmin's** grant, thence in a straight line enters the pond of **Vakhaṭa-Sāmālikā** on the boundary of **Bhaṭṭa Unmilana-svāmin's** grant, and goes as far as the same boundary of the Brāhmins of **Kutkuṭa-grāma**.

No. 8.—NIDUR INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA.

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AYYAR, B.A., OṬTACAMUND.

The subjoined two inscriptions are engraved on the south wall of the Śiva temple at **Niḍūr**, a village situated on the north bank of the **Kāvēri** in the **Mayavaram** taluk of the **Tanjore** district. This temple is one on which the Śaiva saint **Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṇār** of the 8th century has composed hymns. Though the preservation of the records is not good, there are enough traces left in them to make out the inscriptions almost completely. It would have been certainly much better if they had not suffered damage. I am editing the inscriptions from impressions secured during the field season of 1921-22 by Mr. A. S. Ramanathier of the office of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, and registered as Nos. 534 and 535 of Appendix B of the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for that year, where, however, the importance of these metrical records has not been noted.

The two inscriptions are dated in the reign of **Kulōttuṅga-Chōla**. The king bears no distinguishing epithets: but to judge from the characters employed, the records appear to be of the time of **Kulōttuṅga I**, who reigned from A.D. 1070 to 1119. The high regnal years 46 and 38 given to the king in these records also point to the same conclusion. As will be shown below, the inscriptions are of great value to students of Tamil literature as they almost fix the time of one of the most important works on Tamil Prosody.

Inscription A is dated in the 46th year of the reign of **Kulōttuṅga-Chōla** and registers that a certain **Kaṇḍaṇ Mādavaṇ**—called also **Mīlalai-nāṭṭu-Vēl**, **Toṇḍai-Kāvalaṇ**, and chief of **Kuḷattūr** (**Kārigai-Kuḷattūr** in B)—caused to be made of stone the shrine of **Ṣoṇṇavāraṇivār** and constructed a pavilion for expounding the **Purāṇas** in the temple at **Tillai**, i.e. **Chidambaram**. Incidentally reference is made to the Tamil Prosodist **Amudasāgara** and his work **Kārigai** which was begun and completed at **Kuḷattūr** as well as to the construction of the temple at **Niḍūr** with stone, by the same chief, in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of the **Chōla** king (*Nēriyaṇ*).¹

Inscription B, which is dated in the 38th year of the king's reign, states that this same **Kaṇḍaṇ Mādavaṇ**—who receives here also the epithets **Mīlalai-nāṭṭu-Vēl** and **Toṇḍai-Kāvalaṇ**—is stated to have built the excellent stone *vimāna*² at **Niḍūr**. This inscription further tells us that **Kaṇḍaṇ Mādavaṇ** was the *marumaṇ* (i.e. nephew or son-in-law) of an un-named person at whose instance **Amudasāgara-Muṇi** of Tamil fame composed the work called **Kārigai**, and was the chief of **Kārigai-Kuḷattūr** in **Śiṟu-Kuṇṇa-nāḍu** in **Jayaṅḡḇḍa-śōla-maṇḍalam** (i.e. the ancient **Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam**).

The mention of the name of the **Jaina** teacher **Amudasāgara-Muṇi** and of his composing the work **Kārigai**, by which is no doubt meant the well known Tamil work on Prosody **Yāpparaṅgalakkārigai**, is of great interest inasmuch as it enables us to determine the age when that author flourished. The fact that **Amudasāgara** was a contemporary of the uncle or father-in-law of **Kaṇḍaṇ Mādavaṇ** shows that he lived in the 12th century A.D., the date of the subjoined epigraphs.

¹ *Nēriyaṇ*, *Śeṇṇi*, *Poṇṇi-ttūraivaṇ* and *Nēri-verpaṇ* are some of the synonyms of "Chōla," according to the Tamil lexicon *Chūḍāmaṇi-Nigandū*. (See *Makkatpeyar-togudi*, v. 19.)

² By *vimāna* is meant 'the temple' for the other inscription uses the word *kāṇṇalī* in its place.

Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai is generally believed to be a much earlier work. In discussing the date of *Chūlāmaṇi*, one of the five smaller *kāvya*s of Tamil, the late Mr. C. W. Damodaram Pillai wrote the following :¹—

“Several stanzas from the *Chūlāmaṇi* have been cited as examples in the *Yāpparuṅgalavirutti* and in the commentary² written in the interval between Śaka 200 and 300 by Guṇasāgara on the *Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai* of Amudasāgara which was based on *Yāpparuṅgalavirutti*. As it is known from the introductory verse of the *Chūlāmaṇi* that that work was composed during the reign of Vijayarāja who ruled from the city of Kārvēṭinagar in Chōlamanḍalam and as that city was earlier than Uṇḍai, the work must be not less than 1,500 years old.”

It is not possible to ascertain whence Mr. Damodaram Pillai obtained the date “between Śaka 200 and 300” for Guṇasāgara’s commentary and what his authority was for the statement that “Kārvēṭinagar in Śōlamanḍalam was earlier than Uṇḍai (*i.e.* Uraiyūr).” There are literary evidences to show that Uṇḍai in the Trichinopoly district and Kāviriṭṭam-paṭṭiṇam in the Shiyali taluk of the Tanjore district were the capitals of the Chōlas prior to Tanjore. But there is none so far to the effect that Kārvēṭinagar was even a famous city. Neither was this situated in Chōla-manḍalam. Evidences, both literary and epigraphical, would point to Kārvēṭinagar having been included in Toṇḍai-manḍalam. We shall discuss the upper limit of Guṇasāgara’s age after citing the opinion of Paṇḍit M. Raghava Aiyangar on the date of *Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai*. Writing on the age of Maṇḍalapurusha, the author of the Tamil *Nigandhu*, he says that “there are ample reasons that confirm that Amṛitasāgara could not have lived before the 10th century A.D.”³ and it is pretty certain that he must have with him materials to prove his point. These are the only two definite pronouncements that we know of regarding the date of *Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai*, besides the statement of Mr. Narasimhacharya which will be referred to later on.

It is interesting to note here the account preserved in the Tamil literature respecting Amudasāgara and his work. From the invocatory stanza of his work it is learnt that the author was a Jain, for it is addressed to the Arhat under the shade of the Aśoka tree⁴. Guṇasāgara, the Jain commentator on *Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai*, has the following say on the name of the work and the method adopted in its composition :—

“Like the Prākṛit grammar *Pālittiyam* and *Piṅgalam* otherwise called *Chhandōpiṣitam*,⁵ this work (*i.e.* *Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai*) is made of *Kārigai*⁶ verses; and like the *Karnāṭaka Chhandas Guṇakāṅkiya*, each stanza is addressed to a female and is concise. It cites examples like the *Mahēśvara-Yāppu*⁷; like the *Śeyyutturaikkōvai* of Tamil music; like the *Vargakkōvai*⁸ of the Aṣṭakas in the Vēdas and like the *Nītaka-ślōkas* of the *Rūpāvatāra*, it gives the commencing portions of the verses cited as examples. As the *Nirutta*

¹ See his introduction to the work.

² For citations of the *Chūlāmaṇi* stanzas in the *Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai*, see the comment on verse 13 of *Urupaiyal*, v. 13 of *Śeyyūḷiyal* and v. 6 of *Oḷibiyal*.

³ Mythic Society Journal, Vol. XIII, page 490

⁴ *Nandamaḍivēl kōḍi-malar-ppinḍi-kkann-ār-nīlar-kīl*

andam-aḍigul-inaiy-aḍiy-ētti elutt-aḍai sīr

pandam-aḍi toḍai pāv-iṇaṇ-kūruvaṇ pallavattiṇ

sandamaḍiyar-aḍiyāṇ maruṭṭiya tāl-kulālē.

⁵ [Perhaps Chhandōvichiti.—Ed.]

⁶ The word *Kārigai* means beauty, woman, the metre called *Kaṭṭalaikkalitturai* and the work on prosody known as *Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai*. It is here used in the sense of the last. According to the *Amara*, *Kārikā* means *Vṛitti*. In Sanskrit it means the concise statement in verse of any certain doctrine.

⁷ Though this work is not now extant, stray stanzas from it are found quoted by Guṇasāgara himself in his commentary, *e.g.* see his comment on v. 17.

⁸ *Kōrai* is a short verse indicating the commencement or end of a passage; or sometimes the number and order of words or sentences in the Vēdas and Upanishads. It is both an aid to memory and a measure of the contents.

(i.e. *Nirukta*) is to the *Vēdas*, as the *Kārikās* are to the *Vyākaraṇa*, as the *Nāḷaḍi Forty* is to *Aṇipaya's Yāppa*, so is this work a component part of, and a jewel to, the Prosody called *Yāpparūṅgalam*; it is hence called by the name *Yāpparūṅgalakṛīgai*. The author who is stated to have made into *Kārigai* the great ocean of *Āriyam* (Sanskrit Prosody) and rendered it in Tamil, was a saint who bore the name *Amudāsāgara-Āchārya*. The work is divided into three chapters, viz., *Urappiyai*, *Śaṅṇuḷiyai* and *Oḷibiyai*; there are 44 *kārikās*, containing 90 *granthas* and 28 letters,—a *grantha* being equal to 32 letters inclusive of vowels and vocalic consonants, excluding non-vocalic consonants. Of the 44 *Kārigai*, 21 commence with *nēr-asai* (long syllables) and have in each foot 16 letters exclusive of non-vocalic consonants; and the remaining 23 verses begin with *niraiy-asai* (short syllables) and have in each foot 17 letters: thus making in all 2,908 letters (which when divided by 32 give 90 *granthas* and 28 letters).¹

From the extract given above, it will be observed that *Guṇasāgara*, the commentator on *Yāpparūṅgalakṛīgai*, was acquainted with *Pīṅala's Chhandōvichiti*, the *Rūpāvatāra* and the *Guṇakāṅkiya*, a work on Kanarese Prosody. By *Pīṅala*² may be meant either the earlier Sanskrit *Pīṅala* or the *Prākṛit Pīṅala*³ on which was based *Nāgavarma's Chhandas*.⁴ There were more works than one bearing the name *Rūpāvatāra*. The author of one of them was *Dharmakīrti*, who has been identified by Prof. M. Rangacharya with the Buddhist *bhikkhu* of that name who flourished in the court of *Parāskramabāhu I* of Ceylon, and who, as such, belonged to the 13th century A.D. It is worth pointing out that a lithic record found at *Enṇāyiram* in the South Arcot District, detailing a boarding educational institution maintained in the temple at that place, states that as many as forty students were learning the *Rūpāvatāra*⁵ and this must refer to an earlier work bearing that name and cannot refer to *Dharmakīrti's* treatise mentioned above. The best way to take it is that *Rūpāvatāra* was the name of a subject taught and that there were some treatises written bearing the name of the subject, one of which being earlier than the middle of the 11th century A.D. and another belonging to the 13th century A.D. It is not certain which work *Guṇasāgara* alludes to in his commentary. If it is to the latter, he should have lived after the 13th century A.D. As regards *Guṇakāṅkiya*, Mr. R. Narasimhacharya has shown that *Nāgavarma*, called also *Nāḷiga*, the author of the Kannada work *Chhandōmbudhi*, flourished during the reign of the Western Gaṅga kings *Rāchamalla* and his younger brother *Rakkasa-Gaṅga*; and that his patron was *Chāmuṇḍa-Rāja*, his own elder brother. He, therefore, belongs to the end of the 10th century A.D. when also lived *Bhōjarāja* of *Dhārā*, who is said to have made a present of horses admiring the author's other work *Kādambarī*. It appears to me that the most relevant say on the authorship and time of the *Karnāṭaka chhandas Guṇakāṅkiyam* is what has been made by Mr. Narasimhacharya who in his introduction to *Kāvyaśālōka* identifies its author with *Nāgavarma*, the earliest writer on Kanarese Prosody, and the work *Guṇakāṅkiya* with *Chhandōmbudhi*, equating *Guṇakāṅka* (*Guṇagāṅka*) with *Rakkasa-Gaṅga* (Intr., pp. 5 f.). He has also shown from internal evidence that *Nāgavarma* was a resident of *Śaiyāḍi*, a village in the Western Gaṅga territory, though his grandfather is stated to have belonged to a village in the *Vēṅgi* country. It may be noted also that this *chhandas* of *Nāgavarma* bears the description given above by *Guṇasāgara*.

¹ This mode of noting the contents of a work is not common to Tamil writers but is peculiar only to Sanskrit. The commentator's knowledge of Sanskrit and *Prākṛit chhandas* shows that he was a good Sanskrit scholar.

² See *Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. I, p. 376, and the 8th Vol. of Dr. Weber's '*Indische Studien*.'

³ Kittel is of opinion that this work is later than the Sanskrit *Pīṅala* but not later than the 6th century A.D., i.e. the time of *Varāhamihira*.

⁴ See Kittel's introduction to the work.

⁵ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1918*, Part II, pp. 145-6.

In any case, from internal evidence alone, it might be said that Guṇasāgara could not have written his commentary on *Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai* in the interval between Śaka 200 and 300 as stated by the late Mr. C. W. Damodaram Pillai. Now that we have definite information that Amudasāgara wrote his work in the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I (A. D. 1070—1119), it is clear that Guṇasāgara should have commented on it in still later times, i.e. after the beginning of the 12th century A.D. An earlier Guṇasāgara-Bhaṭṭāra, also a Jain by religion, is known from inscriptions. He figures as a contemporary of the Pāṇḍya king Māraṇḍaiyaṇ in two inscriptions¹ of Kaḷugumalai in the Tinnevely district, dated in the 3rd year of the king's reign. This Guṇasāgara,² who flourished long before his namesake—the commentator on the *Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai*—seems to have made a gift of land for meeting the expenses of feeding certain *Vairāgyas* (?) who were required to expound the *Siddhānta*. From palaeographical grounds as well as from references made in these epigraphs to the tank *Viranārāyaṇa-ēri* evidently called after Parāntaka I and the field called *Uttamaśōḷaṇ* it might be inferred that this Māraṇḍaiyaṇ must have been a successor of the Pāṇḍya king Rājasimha III in whose reign the bigger Śiṅṅamaṇṇūr copper-plātes were issued.

Besides settling the date of the Tamil work *Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai*, the extract given above from the commentary of Guṇasāgara enables us to know definitely the authorship of the Sanskrit work *Chhandōvichiti* which is referred to by Daṇḍin in his *Kāvyādarśa* (First Parich. v. 12) and which has been considered by some to be one of Daṇḍin's own works, while others regard it to be an earlier treatise. As Guṇasāgara states that *Chhandōpiṣita* (*Chhandōvichiti*) is otherwise called *Piṅgalam*, it is clear that the latter name must have been derived from the name of its author who must have been no other than Piṅgala and by *Chhandōvichiti* must be meant Piṅgala's *Chhandas-Śāstra*, if there was not a different work of the name *Chhandōvichiti* by the same author.

Of the places mentioned in the two inscriptions, Nidūr, as stated already, is in the Māyavaram Taluk, and is reputed as the birth-place of one of the 63 Śaiva saints called Muṇaiyaḍuvār who gave away all the wealth acquired by him to Śiva temples and Śaiva devotees.³ Tiruvindaḷūr, the district in which Nidūr was situated, is a village near Nidūr. It is very likely that the epithet *Kārigai* was applied to Kuḷattūr in commemoration of the composition of the work at the place or by the fact of its gift to the author. I am not sure if we can identify this place with Kuḷattūr, a village near Nidūr. *Miḷalalai-nāḍu* is stated to be a sub-division of Virudarājabhayaṅkara-vaḷanāḍu in an inscription of Vēppattūr.⁴

Śirukunṇa-nāḍu is perhaps identical with Kunṇattūr-nāḍu, whence Śēkkiḷār, the author of the Tamil *Periyapurāṇam*, hailed.⁵

In connection with the construction of the pavilion at Tillai for expounding the *Purāṇas* it is interesting to note that according to the Tamil *Periyapurāṇam* the thousand-pillared *maṇḍapa* in the temple at Chidambaram was the place where originally that work was first expounded by

¹ Nos. 116 and 117 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1894.

² No. 45 of the same collection refers probably to a female disciple of this Guṇasāgara-Bhaṭṭāra.

³ See the life of Muṇaiyaḍuvār in the *Periyapurāṇam*.

⁴ No. 47 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910.

⁵ Kuḷattir-periyōr pēr-padaḷṭa guṇattir-periyōr koḍai-pperiyōr
śalattir-periyōr-Anapāyaṇ-ṛaḷṭṭa-samugantaṇil-ēri-
ppalattir-peru-paṇḍākkara uḷ-pēḍiyir-Periyapurāṇattai
vaḷattir-kelav-araṅ-ēri-vaḷttār Śōḷa-maṇḍalamē.

v. 76, *Śōḷamaṇḍalaśadagam*.

Viṇṇir-pirakkum puḷal-k-Kunṇa-nāḍaṇ viḷaṅgu-Tamiḷ-ppaṇṇir-pirakkum
Periyapurāṇam pagarndapirāṇ.

v. 19, *Toṇḍaimaṇḍalaśadagam*.

Čṛār-mali-Puliyūr-kkōṭṭa-naṛ-Kunṇattūril-uḷḷa tīrar-vaḷamali-pākkilavōṇ puḷal Chchēkalavon.

v. 66, *Toṇḍaimaṇḍalaśadagam*.

Śekkiḷār in the time of the Chōla king Anapāya,¹ identified with Kulōttuṅga II.² It is very likely that the *maṇḍapa* referred to in A is the same as this thousand-pillared *maṇḍapa*, though we cannot be sure that the *purāṇa* expounded in it was the *Periyapurāṇam*. If the identity of Anapāya with Kulōttuṅga I instead of with Kulōttuṅga II could be conceded, then the *Purāṇa* referred to in our inscriptions might be the *Periyapurāṇam* itself. In this connection it may be pointed out that the titles or surnames *Abhaya* and *Anapāya* are found applied to the Chōla king who was the contemporary of Śekkiḷār.³ We have references to gifts made by the author of the *Periyapurāṇam* and his brother Pālarāvāyar in two inscriptions⁴ which come from Tirukkaḍaiyūr and Kaḷappāl (Mannargudi Taluk), where the full names of the donors are given as Śekkiḷāṇ Ammaiyyappaṇ Parāntakadēvaṇ *alias* Karikāśōḷa-Pallavaraiyaṇ of Kuṇṇattūr in Kuṇṇattūr-nāḍu, a district of Puliyūr-kōttam *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu and Śekkiḷāṇ Pālarāvāyaṇ Kaḷappālārāyaṇ of Kuṇṇattūr in Kuṇṇattūr-nāḍu. The shrine of Śōṇṇavāraṇivār in the temple at Chidambaram referred to in inscription A may have been built in honour of the visit of the Śaiva saint Śēramāṇperumāl-Nāyaṇār who was also called Kaḷarīraṇivār of which Śōṇṇavāraṇivār is only a synonym. It is recorded in the *Periyapurāṇam* that the Chēra king visited Chidambaram, Tiruvārūr and many other Śaiva places in company with Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṇār.⁵ From the Tamil work *Tiruppādirippuliyūr-Kalambagam*, we learn that there was a shrine of Gaṇapati called Śōṇṇavāraṇivār in the Śiva temple at Pādiripuliyūr⁶ (Cuddalore). But there could not be a reference to this shrine in our inscription as the phrase *Tillaiy-ambalattē vaḍakiḷppāl* (i.e. on the north-east side of the temple at Chidambaram) clearly shows that the shrine referred to in our epigraph was situated in the Chidambaram temple.

TEXT OF A.⁷

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] [Kūri]⁸ya[v=u]lag-anaittaiyūn=kuḍai-kkīl-ā-
- 2 [kkiya] Kulōttuṅgaśōḷarkk=āṇḍ=oru-nā[r]patt-ār-adan-iḍai=tillai-ambalat-
- 3 tē⁹ vaḍakiḷ[p*]pāl pōr-iyal-amattadu Śōṇṇavār-arivār-kōyilum purāṇa-nūl-virikkum
- 4 purisai-māḷigaiyum varisaiyāl viḷaṅga=pporuppinaḷ viruppuṇa=chchēdōṇ Nēriyark=āṇ-
- 5 ḍ=ēl-aiñj=u[ḍa]ṇ-mūṇṇiṇil nigar-ilā=kkarāḷi Nidūr-nilāviṇārka=amaitta nilāviṇāp=
- 6 Amudasāgarān=eḍutta . . togutta-Kārigai kKulattūr-Maṇṇavaṇ Toṇḍai-
- 7 kāvalan Śigukunṇa-nāṭṭ . . karpagam Miḷalai-nāṭṭu Vēl-āṇḍava-
- 8 ṇ Kaṇḍaṇ Māḍavanē¹⁰ [||*]

TEXT OF B.¹¹

- 1 Svasti śrī ॐ Eṇ-ḍisai-ulagai oru-kuḍai-nīlarkīl iruttiya Kulōt-
- 2 tuṅgaśōḷark=iyāṇḍ=oru-muppatt-eṭṭiṇir=Chōṇāṭṭ-iṣai
- 3 vaḷar Tiruvindaḷūr-nāṭṭ=un ḍai nīḍiya Nidūr Umaiyo-
- 4 ḍu-nilāviṇa-Perumārka=uvandu lai malai[y*]-eṇa=chchilaiyāl-utta-

¹ See *Periyapurāṇam* where it is stated that it took one full year to read the work in the *maṇḍapa*.

² *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1912, p. 60.

³ Venṇi-ven-kuḍaiy-Anapāyaṇ ſeyya-vēl-Abbayaṇ (*Periyapurāṇam*, *tirumalai-chchirappu*).

⁴ No. 39 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906 from Tirukkaḍaiyūr and No. 445 of the same collection for 1912.

⁵ See the life of Śēramāṇperumāl-Nāyaṇār in the *Periyapurāṇam*.

⁶ See verse 1 of this book where Śōṇṇavāraṇiyum-yānai means the elephant-(faced god called) Śōṇṇavāraṇivār.

⁷ This inscription is registered as No. 535 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1921.

⁸ These two letters are almost completely worn out in the original; but as it ought to rhyme with *pōriya*, *Nēriya* and *Kārigai* and alliterate with *ku*, they have been pretty surely filled in.

⁹ The ē sign is in the previous line.

¹⁰ This is a *viruttam* in fourteen *īr*, the measure being *viḷam-mā-viḷam-mā-viḷam-viḷam-mā* repeated twice in each foot.

¹¹ This inscription is registered as No. 534 of Appendix B of the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for the year 1921-22.

- 5 ma-vimāṇam=ing-amaittāṇ [taṇ-Da¹]miḷ-Amidasāgara-Muniyai Jayaṅgo-
 6 ṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalattu=ttāṇ-Śirukunṇa-[nāṭṭu]³ ttirutti³
 7 nūḷ-Kārigai avaṇār=kaṇḍavaṇ-marumāṇ Kārigai-Kuḷat[tūr]=
 8 kkāval-nilāvināṇ evarkkuṇ=karuṇaiyūn=ti[yāgamuṇ]⁴=kāṭṭiya Miḷa-
 9 lai-nāṭṭu-Vēḷ Kaṇḍaṇ Māḍavaṇē⁵ [||*]

TRANSLATION.

A.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the forty-sixth year (*of the reign*) of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa, who had brought under (his) parasol all the known worlds, Kaṇḍaṇ Māḍavaṇ, the Vēḷ of Miḷalai-nāḍu, and the ruler of Toṇḍai, who had earned fame by constructing in the year seven times five added to three (*i.e.* 38) (*of the reign*) of the Nēriyaṇ (*i.e.* the Chōḷa king), the incomparable stone temple of the resplendent god of Nīḍūr, who was the chief of Kuḷattūr, where Amudasāgara began [and] completed (*his work*) Kārigai, and who was (*as it were*) the kalpaka (wish-giving tree) to the people (?) of Śirukunṇa-nāḍu, was pleased to construct of stone the shrine of Śōṇṇavārariṇvār in the great on the north-eastern side of the hall (*ambalam*) at Tillai and the walled pavilion (*in it*) where works on *Purāṇas* were expounded and which were thus made to appear extensively splendid.

B.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the thirty-eighth year (*of the reign*) of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa, who had brought the world with its eight quarters under the shade of his single (*i.e.* incomparable) parasol, Kaṇḍaṇ Māḍavaṇ the Vēḷ of Miḷalai-nāḍu, who was the nephew (or son-in-law) of him that caused the fine work Kārigai-[Yāppu] (prosody), to be composed by Amudasāgaramuni of Tamiḷ fame, who was the chief of Kārigai-Kuḷattūr Śirukunṇa-nāḍu (a sub-division) of Jayaṅḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam and who showed mercy and generosity to all, was pleased to construct an excellent stone *vimāna* as high as a mountain to the god who was resplendent with (*his consort*) Umā at Nīḍūr of high (mansions) and (situated) in Tiruvindalūr-nāḍu (a sub-division) of Śōṇḍaḍu.

No. 9.—A NOTE ON MANIGRAMATTAR OCCURRING IN TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS.

BY THE LATE MR. T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A.

The word *Maṇigrāmam* was first met with in some copper-plates belonging to the West Coast of the Madras Presidency. It is found, for instance, in the plates of Sthāṇu Ravi and of Vira-Rāghava-Chakravartti preserved in the Seminary at Kōṭṭayam. The meaning of this word was discussed by the Rev. Dr. H. Gundert in his article on the plates mentioned above, in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol. XIII, Part II. In it he takes the word to mean what he believes to be one of the four immigrated merchant tribes and quotes in support of it the following extract from the *Payyanūr-paṭṭōḷa*, an old Malayāḷam poem :—

Chāvālarē-ppōlē nī agala-ppōvūm
 channātam vēṇam perigay=ippōḷ
 Kōvātalachcheṭṭi Añjuvaṇṇam
 kūṭṭam Maṇikkirāmattār-makkaḷ
 nammaḷāl nālu nagarattilum
 nālarē-kkolka-kkuḍikku chērnṇōr.

¹ The letters in brackets are much worn out and the traces would admit the reading given.

² *Nāṭṭu* has been filled in with references to inscription A.

³ This gap may be filled up with the syllables *yāppu*. ⁴ The traces for *yāgamuṇ* are very faint and doubtful.

⁵ *ē* is expletive. The metre is the same as in A.

which he translated thus :—" * * * Strong guards (or companions) are now required (to) take the children of the Gōvatala-Chetti, of Añjuvannam and of the Mañigrāmam people, who, together with ourselves, are the four (classes of) colonists in the four towns."¹ The later view of Dr. Gundert regarding the meaning of the terms Mañigrāmam and Añjuvannam is that they are two different trading communities of foreign merchants. Drs. Gundert and Burnell later on took the persons denoted by the term Añjuvannam as the colony of the Jews and that denoted by Mañigrāmam as that of the Christians. It was Mr. Venkayya who first rejected the idea. But he has not expressed his opinion as regards the religion of the members of the *Mañigrāmam*; nor are we able to infer from his comments on the plate of Vira-Rāghava-Chakravartti whether he took them for Christians or Hindus. Some time after the interpretation given to the term *Mañigrāmam* by Dr. Gundert, the Rev. Peet made the following observation on it :—" *Mañigrāmam* is the name of a class of Christians who relapsed into heathenism through the influence of a sorcerer (Māpikkavāchakar). Some of that class are still found near Quilon. Each individual is called a *mani* (in native books), a jewel, on account of his apostacy and the whole of them constitutes now a sub-division of the Śūdras." On this the Rev. Taylor comments "I venture the conjecture that they were disciples of Mani, a colony of Manichaens, such as the Arabian travellers found in Ceylon."

Some years ago I copied the inscriptions in the rock-cut Śiva temple at Tiruvellaṟai and gave them to the late Pandit S. M. Naṭeśa Śāstri for publication in the *Indian Antiquary*. In one of them belonging to the reign of a Rājakesarivarman the following passage occurs :—

Tiruvellaṟai Tiruvāṇikkal-Perumāṇḍigal-uchcham-bōdu amadu-
seydaruḷumbōdu Vēdam-vallāṇ oru Brāhmaṇanai ūṭṭuvidāga Uṟaiyūr
Mañigrāmattu Nārāyaṇaṇ Aṅchchaṇ ivv-ēr-kkallāl vachcha poṇ
aṇṇaṇṇi-kalaṇṇu [||*] poṇṇiṇ paḷaiyiyāḷ²

Here Nārāyaṇaṇ Aṅchchaṇ is said to belong to the community of Mañigrāmam of Uṟaiyūr.

The next reference to Mañigrāmam is in a stone inscription in Siam; this inscription has been published by Dr. Hultzsch in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for April 1913, and states that (the tank) Śrī-Nāraṇam was placed under the supervision of the Mañigrāmattār and the Śēṇāmukhattār. Thus far are the references in inscriptions to the words *Mañigrāmam* and *Mañigrāmattār*.

The word *vaṇṇiagrāmattār* (a clear mislection of *Mañigrāmattār*) is given, as an instance of *kuḷuvuṇ pevar* (the name denoting a community), by Nachchiṇārkkkiyār in his commentary on the *Tolkāppiyam* (sūtra 11, *Peyariyal*)

In mediæval Tamil literature, the word *Mañigrāmattār* occurs in the grammar called *Nōminādam*. In the commentary on verse 31 of that work we find the words *vaṇṇiagattār*, *attikōṣattār* and *mañigrāmattār*³ given as instances of *kuṇṇiyārpēr*, that is, of the common appellation of groups of men or communities. This grammar was composed in the reign of the king Tribhuvanadēva,⁴ that is, Kuḷōttuṅga-Chōḷa III (A. D. 1178 to 1216).

¹ I would prefer to translate the passage thus: "You are going a long distance like the *sārāḷar* and you (therefore) necessarily want escort; the chief Chetti of Kōva, Añjuvannam-kūṭṭam, the children of Mañigrāmam and ourselves—we of the four *nagaram*—are the only four communities esteemed as Kō-kkuṇi (families held in high estimate by the king)."

² Nārāyaṇaṇ Aṅchchaṇ, a member of the Mañigrāma community of Uṟaiyūr, gave (to the temple) fifty *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold for feeding a Brāhmaṇa versed in the Vēdas at the time the god of the Tiruvāṇikkal is offered the mid-day offerings; the gold was weighed by the standard stone of the town of Tiruvellaṟai in which the temple is situated.

³ These are the very examples given also by Nachchiṇārkkkiyār in his commentary on the *Tolkāppiyam*.

⁴ [We know of Tribhuvanavīra-dēva—another name for Kuḷōttuṅga III—but not of Tribhuvanadēva.—Ed.]

From the above extracts the chief points to be noted are :—

1. That the *Payyanār paṭṭōla* does not name the four communities mentioned in it as professing Christianity or any other religion; it simply implies that there resided four communities closely allied to each other by similarity of interests, namely, trade, etc.

2. That the *Maṇigrāmam* community is not peculiar to the Malabar Coast alone and that it was found in the interior also, as evidenced by the *Tiruvellārai* inscription.

3. That Hindu institutions were placed under their protection, which would not be possible if they belonged to the Christian community¹; and

4. That it is simply the name of a certain corporation or community, perhaps engaged in trading, like the *Valaṅgiyars*, as Mr. Venkayya suggested.

The Rev. Mr. Peet opined, as already referred to, that the *Maṇigrāmakkārs* were originally Christians and that a sorcerer, *Māṇikkavāchakar*, converted them to Hinduism. It is hard to believe that the conservative Hindus, who in these days of free thought refuse to take back even converted Hindus into Hinduism, would in those ancient times have consented to take wholesale communities of entirely alien religionists into their fold. Again, it is well known, that *Māṇikkavāchakar* never visited the Malabar Coast; the religious discussion in which he took part was with the *Bauddhas* of Ceylon, and that was at *Chidambaram*, according to the *Vāḍaṇṇa-purāṇam*.

If *Maṇigrāmattār* in the *Tiruvellārai* inscription, were to be taken as the name of a Christian trading community of the Malabar Coast, how was it possible for *Nārāyaṇa Āchchan*, who, from his name, may certainly be taken to be a Hindu and not at all a Christian, to belong to the Christian community of traders of the Malabar Coast, but living then in *Uṇaiyūr*? Again, how could the tank mentioned in the *Siam* inscription bearing the distinctly *Vaiṣṇava* name of *Śrī-Nāraṇam*, meant evidently for the use of the Hindus, be placed under the protection of the Christian traders of Malabar then residing in *Siam*?

In dealing incidentally with the *Siam* inscription I beg to differ from the interpretation of Dr. Hultzsch, and offer the following fresh reading of it as I am able to make out from the impression reproduced by Dr. Hultzsch in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

1. [ya]varmatku [y]

2. . . . [m]ān tēn naṅ[gu] rayai

3. . . [t]toṭṭa kuḷam [||*] pēr Śrī-

4. *Nāraṇam* [||*] *Maṇikkirāmattār*-

5. [k*]kum Śāṇmugattārkkum

6. [ku]la[t*]tārkkum aḍaikkalam [||*]

Dr. Hultzsch's remark, that the remnant of the Sanskrit name *ravarmaṇ* in the first line of the record might perhaps be that of *Bhāskaravarman*, is evidently due to his conviction that the *Maṇigrāmattār* were members of a trading community belonging to the Malabar Coast of the time of the Malabar king *Bhāskara Ravivarman*. That this notion of his was the cause of the mistake is corroborated by the following extract from his paper: "*Maṇigrāmam* occurs in *Tamil* inscriptions of the Malabar Coast; as shown by *Rai Bahadur Venkayya*, it is the designation of a trading corporation." Later on he adds: "We may thus conclude that in the eighth or ninth century there existed in distant *Siam* a colony of traders from the Western Coast of Southern India, who had built themselves a temple of *Vishṇu*." Again, he remarks: "If the words which I have given are correct, they would imply that at the beginning of the inscription a lengthy passage is lost, which, if it had been preserved, might have completed and explained

¹ [The fact that some persons or a body of men were required to protect a certain gift or charity made to an institution of a particular nationality cannot by itself argue that the men belonged to that nationality. If this wrong premise is allowed to stand, *Maṇigrāmattār* can well be said to be Christians because they were required to protect the gift made to the Christian church of *Taruṣappōḷi* in the *Sthāṇu Bavi plates*.—Ed.]

the remaining portion." This statement appears to me to be doubtful, for the inscription, as in the case of many others, begins with the name and regnal year of the king, and at the most, a few words such as *svasti śrī* and *yāṇḍu* and the numeral expressing the regnal year and the first portion of the name of the benefactor, the capitalist who dug the tank, all amounting to about five or six words could be supposed to have been lost. Dr. Hultzsch interprets *Sēnāmukha* according to Winslow's Tamil Dictionary by (1) 'the front of an army', and (2) 'a division of an army'. Its meaning may be settled, however, from the following quotations, to be the name of a military cantonment. The *Mayamata* says:—

सर्वजनैस्सङ्कीर्णं नृपभवनयुतं तदेव तथा ।

बहुरक्षोपेतं यत् सेनामुखमुच्यते तज्ज्ञे ॥

And the *Kāṁikāgama* defines it thus:—

राजवेश्मसमायुक्तं सर्वजातिसमन्वितम् ।

गुह्यप्रदेशसंयुक्तं सेनामुखमिहोच्यते ॥

Consequently, the place where the tank was dug was perhaps a military cantonment, consisting of a large Hindu population, and this latter was exhorted to protect the charitable institution, *viz.*, the tank *Śrī-Nāraṇam*. Dr. Hultzsch says that "*Nāraṇam* is a neuter formed of *Nāraṇa*, a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *Nārāyaṇa*, and means 'a temple of Viṣṇu'", but *Śrī-Nāraṇam* is distinctly stated to be a tank and not a Viṣṇu temple.

The translation of the record must be "(The year) of (the reign of the king) yavarman ; man dug a tank in our Its name is *Śrī-Nāraṇam*. This is placed under the protection of the *Maṇigrāmattār*, the *Sēpāmugattār* and (his own) descendents".

We thus see that there is no ground for taking the *Maṇigrāmattār* to be exclusively the merchants of the West Coast of Southern India; they were found wherever trade flourished. Nor were they Christian, since Hindu institutions were placed under their protection.

From the foregoing discussion, we arrive at the conclusion that *Maṇigrāmam* never meant or implied a community of immigrated Christian merchants who were received and settled by a Malabar king in his country and that they were peculiar only to the Malabar Coast.

Regarding the *Maṇigrāmattār* Mr. Vincent A. Smith, collecting facts from the articles of a number of writers on the subject, adds an appendix (M) to chapter IX of his *Early History of India*. In it he summarises his opinion on the word thus:—

"Historical traditions of India and Ceylon, when read together, seem to carry the evidence for the existence of the Church in Malabar back to the third century. We learn from the Ceylonese chronicle the *Mahāvamsā* (ch. xxxvi), composed about the beginning of the sixth century, that in the reign of king Gōthakābhaya or Mēghavarṇābhaya whom Geiger places in A. D. 302-15, a learned Tamil heretic overcame an orthodox Buddhist theologian in controversy and gained the favour of the king, who placed his son under his tuition. The *Mahāvamsā* represents the victor in the disputation as being a monk named Saṅghamitra, 'versed in the teachings concerning the exorcism of spirits and so forth'. Mr. K. G. Sessa Ayyar interprets this statement as meaning really that the successful controversialist was a Hindu, and identifies him with the famous Śaiva saint Māṇikka (or Maṇi-) Vāsagar.¹ The Tamil account of that personage affirms that the saint actually converted the king of Ceylon towards the end of his career. That king may be identified with Gōthakābhaya, and it is possible that the author of the *Mahāvamsā* may have misrepresented the Śaiva Hindu Māṇikkavāsagar as Saṅghamitra, a Buddhist heretic.

¹ *Tamilian Antiquary*, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 54. The writer does not cite the statement in the *Mahāvamsā* correctly. The Tamil legend is given *ibid*, p. 66, and in Pope, *Tiruvāśagam*, p. xxxi.

"However little credit we may be disposed to give to the story about the conversion of the king of Ceylon, or to the identification of that king with the Gōthakābhaya of the *Mahāvamsā*, I see no reason for hesitating to believe the Indian tradition that Māṇikkavāśagar visited Malabar and reconverted two families of Christians to Hinduism. The descendents of those families, who are still known as Maṇigrāmākārs, are not admitted to full privileges as caste Hindus. Some traditions place the reconversion as having occurred about A. D. 270. If that date be at all nearly correct, the Malabar Church must be considerably older. So far as I can appreciate the value of the arguments from the history of Tamil literature, there seem to be good independent reasons for believing that Māṇikkavāśagar may have lived in the third century. Some authors even place him about the beginning of the second century.¹ If he really lived so early, his relation with the Church in Malabar would confirm the belief in its apostolic origin."

Evidently the name Saṅghamitra, occurring in the *Mahāvamsā*, could not belong to the Jain or Hindu community; but since he is called a Tamil heretic therein, we must take him to be a Mahāyānist, who, to the Hinayānist, is a heretic. There is nothing against his being a Tamil Buddhist, but it is impossible to identify him with a Tamil Hindu, as was attempted by Mr. K. G. Sessa Ayyar. The description of Saṅghamitra as "versed in the teachings concerning the exorcism of spirits and so forth" clearly evidences his mastery of the Bauddha Tāntrism and never points to a Hindu. Māṇikkavāśakar refers to Varaguṇa-Pāṇḍya twice in his *Tiruchchirāmbala-kkōvai* and this Varaguṇa is the same as the Varaguṇa-Mahārāja who was crowned in A. D. 862; and I have long ago arrived at the conclusion that Māṇikkavāśakar lived in the first half of the 10th century.²

No Tamil work dealing with the life of Māṇikkavāśakar states that he went to the West Coast of the Madras Presidency. They are uniform in asserting that he went to Tirupperundurai, or the modern Āṇḍaiyārkōyil, in the eastern part of the Presidency. He must have gone to purchase horses brought down from Pegu and other places in the east—places which were familiar to the Tamils. It is only when the Arabs came to the West Coast in mediaeval times that horses were imported from Arabia. Till then the chief sources of the supply of horses must have been the Eastern Archipelago and Burma.

No. 10.—INSCRIBED BUDDHIST IMAGE FROM GOPALPUR.

BY THE LATE PANDIT V. NATESA AIYAR, B.A., M.R.A.S.

The village of Gōpālpur is situated some three miles to the south-east of Bherāghāt popularly known as 'The Marble Rocks,' in the Jubbulpore District; it lies on the right bank of the Narmadā. The village contains only a few scattered houses: owing to its secluded position the place is seldom visited by travellers or tourists. Sir Alexander Cunningham, the pioneer archaeologist, however, seems to have visited the spot in the winter of 1874; for in one of his reports he gives an account of an inscribed stone tablet of the Chēdi dynasty which, he says, was discovered there previously by Professor Hall.³ It was this fact alone which induced me to explore the place while I was encamped at Bherāghāt some eight years ago. Although, unfortunately, the inscription in question could no longer be traced, I was lucky enough to discover within a fortified enclosure, which, I learnt, was then in the occupation of a certain *sādhu*, named Vindhya-sūri, five elegantly carved stone images of the mediæval period. At

¹ *Ibid* pp. 73--79., and pp. 53--55; and Mackenzie, p. 138. The late Dr. Pope, shortly before his death, expressed his acceptance of the opinion that Māṇikkavāśagar lived not later than the fourth century (*Tam. Ant.*, *ut. supra*, p. 54).

² See my article on the "Age of Māṇikkavāśakar" in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* for 1906.

³ *A. S. E.*, Vol. IX, p. 99.

the time when I noticed these images they were almost completely buried under the ground. However, sufficient remained visible to prove that they possessed great archæological value and were worth acquiring for the Central Museum at Nagpur, which contained scarcely any Buddhist specimens of this period. I, therefore, had them extricated from the earth and carefully cleaned. And my trouble was more than repaid by the discovery of dedicatory records on three of them.

Four of these images represent the **Bōdhisattva Avalōkitēśvara**, while the fifth is that of his consort **Tārā**. They all wear elaborate ornaments and are seated in an easy posture under a richly decorated canopy, consisting of seven umbrellas rising one above the other like the familiar *hū* on Buddhist stūpas. Numerous attendant figures are ranged on all sides and portrayed as paying devotion to the main deity in the centre. From their technique and the scheme of decoration it appears that they are products of the "Magadha school."

As I have already remarked, only three of the sculptures bear dedicatory inscriptions, and of these latter, two contain barely the Buddhist formula "*ye dharmā hēduprabhavā*," etc. The remaining one is more detailed and, therefore, more important. The characters are **Nāgarī** and belong to the 11th or 12th century A.D. Subjoined are a transcript and translation of this record.

TEXT.

- Line 1 Yē dharmā hēduprabhavā hētu[m] tēshām Tathā[ga]tō hy-avadat [*]
tēshā[m] cha yō niro[dha*] ēva[m] vādi Mahāśrava(ma)[ṇa]h ||
[Dē]yadha[r]mōyam pravara-mahājānujāyi[naḥ]¹
2 param-opāsaka-kāyastha-śrī-Subhaktā[śya]suta-śrī-Satka(ka)-dauvā(dauvā)rikā(ka)
Dēnuvāyā [Ya*]d=atta(ttra) puṇyam [ta]d=bhavatv=ā[ch]āry-opā[dhyā]ya-
mātāpitri(ṭri)-pūrvva[ṅga]maṁ [kṛi]-
3 tvā sakala-satva-rā[sér]=anu[tta]ra-jñā[n-ā*]vāpta[yē-stu]²

TRANSLATION.

Line 1. Whichever phenomena are cause-born, of them the cause the **Tathāgata** (Buddha) alone has said, and what annihilation also there is of them. Such is the lore of the **Great Śramaṇa** (Buddha).

Ll. 1-3. This [is] the pious gift of the follower of the renowned **Mahāyāna** school, the gate-keeper **Dēnuvā**, devoted to the illustrious **Satka**³, son of the great lay-worshipper, the famous **Subhaktā**, a *kāyastha*. Whatever merit there is herein, let it be for the attainment of supreme wisdom by all classes of sentient beings, particularly, beginning with my spiritual guide, my preceptor and my parents.

No.11.—THE GHUGRAHATI COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SAMACHARA-DEVA.

By NALINIKANTA BHATTASALI, M.A., CURATOR, DACCA MUSEUM.

An article on this plate by Mr. B. D. Banerji, under the title 'Kotwālipārā spurious grant of Samāchāra-Dēva', with a prefatory note from Mr. H. E. Stapleton, appeared with a facsimile plate in the August, 1910 number of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, wherein Mr. Banerji upheld Dr. Bloch's opinion (*Arch. Surv. Rep.* for 1907-8, p. 255) that the plate was a forgery.

¹ Read *yan-anugāyinaḥ*.

² One of the two verbs *astu* or *bhavaṭu* (l. 3) must be cancelled.

³ Possibly **Satka** or **Śrī-Satka** was the name of the master under whom **Dēnuvā** served as a gate-keeper.

Three other copper-plates¹ of a similar nature had, however, been found in the Faridpur district in 1891 and 1892 and been purchased for the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Dr. Hoernle. These, after various vicissitudes, were taken in hand by Mr. Pargiter and published in the *Indian Antiquary* of July, 1910, in a very able and critical article. The publication of these plates necessitated reconsideration of Mr. Banerji's propositions, which he did in an article published in the *J. A. S. B.*, June, 1911. Shortly afterwards, Mr. Pargiter published an article in the August, 1911 number of the *J. A. S. B.*, which was based on the first article of Mr. Banerji and was evidently written before Mr. Pargiter had occasion to see Mr. Banerji's second article. In it, Mr. Pargiter very ably defended the genuineness of the Faridpur plates and published a revised reading of the **Ghugrahāti** plate, which went a long way towards clearing it from the aspersion of ambiguity and unintelligibility cast on it by Mr. Banerji. Mr. Pargiter also showed, by discussing the palæography of the grant, that it was not spurious, but a perfectly genuine one. Mr. Banerji answered this article in his paper entitled "Four forged grants from Faridpur" in *J. A. S. B.*, Dec., 1914, but had no better success than before in maintaining his ground. The recent discovery of five plates from the village of Damodarpur in the Dinajpur district of Bengal, and their publication by Prof. R. G. Basak in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, must perhaps induce Mr. Banerji now to reconsider his decision, as these plates bear close family resemblance to the Faridpur plates both as regards palæography and documentary form. In this article I shall not only try to furnish additional reasons, if any are at all required, for the recognition of the Faridpur plates as genuine, but also hope to identify the Mahārājādhirāja Samāchāra-dēva as one of the kings who took the place of the Guptas in Eastern India towards the end of the 6th Century A. D. It will be seen that in the presentation of the text and translation also, I have been able to improve upon Mr. Pargiter's reading of the plate in several important points.

I refrain from giving the usual description of the plates, its orthography, etc., since these have been completely dealt with by Messrs. Banerji and Pargiter, but proceed at once to give the text which I have read from the original plate, now in the Dacca Museum. Before doing so, I give, in brief, the contents of the inscription. It refers itself to the 14th year of the reign of a hitherto unknown emperor **Samāchāra-dēva** who is styled **Mahārājādhirāja**. In that year, **Jivadatta** was the viceroy or governor in **Navyāvākāśikā**, which appears to have been the Divisional head-quarters. The District Officer in the district of **Vāraka-maṇḍala** approved by **Jivadatta** was **Pavitraka**. The latter was assisted in his administration by a **District Court** presided over by the **Judge Dāmuka**. The affairs of the village or locality to which this refers, were in the joint care of a number of Elders (*Vishaya-Mahattarāḥ*), of whom six are mentioned as in the second plate of **Dharmāditya** (*Ind. Ant.*, July, 1910 p. 200). Other men of experience in the village had also a say in village affairs. These represented the villagers and like the Panchayets of the present day, transacted the ordinary civil and criminal affairs of the village.

Supratika Svānī, a Brahman, approached the District Court presided over by **Dāmuka** as well as the Elders² and men of experience of the locality and applied for a piece of waste land of that locality for settling himself on it. The Elders and the men of experience decided to give him the piece of land free of any consideration, and after authorising **Kēśava**, **Nayanāga** and

¹ All my attempts at determining the exact find-spot of these three plates have hitherto been unavailing. Dr. Christie, Honorary Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in his letter No. 2234 of the 26th September, 1919, informed me that the plates had originally belonged to one **Kohiluddin** and were purchased from **Abdul Kak Abid**, but he could not tell me in which particular village the plates were found.

² It deserves to be noted, as already noted by Mr. Pargiter, that the name-endings of these Elders were **Kuṇḍa**, **Pālita**, **Ghōṣa**, **Datta** and **Dāsa**, all of which are to be met with in the surnames of the present day *Kāyasthas* and *Nayastāḥas* of Bengal.

others to mature the transaction on their behalf gave the piece of land to Supratika Svāmī. The transaction was ratified by the District Court by the issue of a copper-plate deed. The measurement of the land, which was situated in the village of Vyāghrachōraka, is not given; but it included the whole of that place, minus three *kulyavāpas*, which had already been granted to some one else and which were, therefore, separated before the present grant was made.

TEXT.¹

Obverse.

- 1 ९ स्वस्वस्वामृषियव्यामप्रतिरये नृगनहुषययात्वस्वरीषसम-
- 2 धृतो महाराजाधिराजश्रीसमाचारदेवे प्रतपत्येत्तच्चरणकरल-²
- 3 युगलाराधनोपात्तनव्यावकाशिकायां सुवर्ण³वो⁴ व्याधिकृतान्तर-
- 4 ⁵उपरिकर्जोवदत्तस्तदनुमोदितक[.]* वारकमण्डले विषय-
- 5 पति[.]* पवित्रको यतोस्व व्यवहरतः सुप्रतीकस्वामिना ज्येष्ठाधि-
- 6 करणिकदामुकप्रमुखमधिकरणम्⁶षयमहत्तरवत्स-
- 7 कुण्डमहत्तरशुचिपालितमहत्तरविहितघोषग्रद[त्त*]-⁷
- 8 महत्तरप्रियदा⁸ स्तमहत्तरजनाईनकुण्डादयः अन्ये च
- 9 वहवः प्रधाना व्यवहाणश्च⁹ विद्वासा इच्छाम्यहं भवता¹⁰ प्रसा-¹¹
- 10 दाश्चिरो¹²वसवखिलभूखण्डलकं वलिचरसत्प्रवर्त्तनाय¹³
- 11 ब्राह्मणोपयोगाय च ताम्रपट्टीकृत्य तदर्हय प्रसादकत्तु¹⁴-
- 12 मिति यत ¹⁵एनदभ्यर्थनमुपलभ्य ग्रंथो¹⁶परिलिखिता-

¹ From the original plate.

² Read *kamala*.

³ The second *na* looks like a *ta* and is probably a sign for doubling.

⁴ Mr. Pargiter read *vithyā*, but on a comparison with the other *ō* and *ī* marks used in this inscription, it would appear that the correct reading is *vithyā*.

⁵ Read ^०उपरिक

⁶ [Read ^०करण विषय. ^०—Ed]

⁷ The omission of the adjective *maṣattara* before the name *Sūra-Datta*, is probably due to carelessness. The *ā* mark is indicated by the sign for *u* accompanied by a short horizontal stroke or dot below, to the right. Here, the left limb of the *u* mark is curtailed for want of space, and of the two dots to the right, one is probably a natural depression.

⁸ The engraver originally inscribed *Priyadāsa*, which was subsequently emended to *Priyadatta*, with the result that the word now appears like *Priyadāsta*.

⁹ Read *vyavahāriṇascha vijñāptā*. [Rather, we must read *vijñāpitā* as in the Damodarpur Plate—Ed.]

¹⁰ Read *tām*.

¹¹ Only the left half of the letter *sā* is seen. The other half was not engraved on the plate for want of space.

¹² Read *rā*.

¹³ The letter *nā* at first sight appears to be *na*, but it is in reality *nā* as it should be. Compare the other long letters in the inscription, especially *syā* in l. 1.

¹⁴ Read प्रसादं कर्तुं^०

¹⁵ Read *śtad*. [This correction is unnecessary—Ed.]

¹⁶ Mr. Pargiter had much trouble with this word which cannot be anything else than *gr̥thā*. The left loop of *ya* is clearly visible in the original plate, but is incised much shallower than the other letters.

Reverse.

- 13 शैव्यवहारिभिः सञ्चत्य¹ सावटा² स्थापदैर्जुष्टा राजोधन्य³ निष्कला
 14 या तु⁴ भोग्योक्तता भूमिर्नृपस्वैवार्थधर्मक⁵ तदक्षौ ब्राह्मणादायतामि-
 15 त्यवष्टुत्थ करणिकनयनागकेशवादीन्कुलवारान्मन्त्रव्य प्राक्ताम्पट्टी-
 16 क्तत्वेचकुलवापत्रयंमपास्व⁶ व्याघ्रचोरको⁷ यच्छेषं तच्चतुःसीमा-
 17 लिङ्गा⁸ निर्दिष्टं कृत्वास्व सुप्रतीकस्त्रामिनः ताम्पट्टीकृत्य प्रतिपादित¹⁰
 18 सीमालिङ्गानि चाक्षः¹¹ पूर्वस्यां पिशाचपकंटी दक्षिणेन विद्या-
 19 धरजोटिका पश्चिमायां चन्द्रवन्म¹² कोटकोणः¹³ उत्तरेन¹⁴ गो-
 20 पेन्द्रचोरकग्रामसीमाचेति ॥ भवन्ति चाक्ष श्लोकाः पट्टिस्वर्षसङ्-¹⁵
 21 स्त्राणि स्वर्गे भोदति भूमिदः आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता वा तान्येव नरके वसेत् ।
 22 खदता¹⁶ म्परदत्ताम्वा यो हरत वसु¹⁷ स्वरं खविष्ठाया¹⁸ कृमिभूत्वा¹⁹ पितृभि²⁰
 23 सह पचते ॥ सप्तवत् १० ४ कार्ति दि २²¹ ॥

¹ The word, as Mr. Pargiter very reasonably brought out, is undoubtedly *samsmṛtya*, but the projection of the perpendicular stroke of *sa* upwards, cannot be taken as an *anusvāra* as the other *sa*'s in this inscription have also this peculiarity. The *anusvāra* over *sa* seems to have been left out through the engraver's mistakes. [The reading is सञ्चत्य and not सञ्चत्य. I do not see the ण=sign of ण on the impression—Ed.]

² Mr. Pargiter's suggestion of *śhaṭā* here as the irregular instrumental case of the numeral *śhaṣṭ* is inadmissible, as it would give *śhaṣṭā*. The second letter of the word looks like *ba*, but it has also a very close resemblance to *pa*, occurring in the same line. If it is a *ba* which has in no other place been used in this plate, it is an incorrect use, as the word *avaṭa*, meaning hole, is spelt with *v* and not *b*. The letter may, however, be either *p* or *śh* and should be emended to *v*.

³ Read *dharmaṁārīka*. The *ā* mark is left out. Mr. Pargiter's suggestion that the word is *śhaṭvārīka* cannot stand. The letters clearly read *dharmaṁārīka*, the doubling of *m* being indicated by a peculiar stroke (*vide* *śvaṣṭa* in 1, 3). The tube which makes the double *m* is broken. It is not the sign which is used in doubling *ṣa*; for in other cases of double *m* in the inscription it is not seen.—Ed.)

⁴ The second letter on this line is clearly *tu*. The first letter has certainly been ill-formed and the simplest and the most probable emendation is *yā*.

⁵ Read *kṛittā*.

⁶ Read *Brāhmaṇāya diyatām*.

⁷ Read *ṭṛaṣṭamapāśya*.

⁸ Read *chōrakā*.

⁹ Read *liṅganirddishṭam*.

¹⁰ Read *taṁ* [1st].

¹¹ Omit *ā*.

¹² Read *garvma*. *Mma* is not *mpa*, as Mr. Pargiter takes it to be. Cf. *dharmaṁ* on line 14.

¹³ The word is *kōṣaḥ* and not *kēṣaḥ*. The right stroke of *ō* over *k* is represented by a series of short shallow strokes, which are clearly visible on the original plate. Neither Mr. Banerji nor Mr. Pargiter observed these strokes, and thus missed some very important historical information furnished by the plate.

¹⁴ Read *utārāṣa*.

¹⁵ Read *śhaṣṭīm varṣa*.

¹⁶ Read *svadattām paradattām vā*.

¹⁷ Mr. Pargiter read *sū*, but there is no justification for it. The right horizontal stroke in the middle, which makes *ū*, is absent.

¹⁸ Read *yām*.

¹⁹ Read *rāṣā*.

²⁰ Read *śhaṣṭāka*.

²¹ The figure is 2 and not 1. Both Mr. Banerji and Mr. Pargiter have overlooked that there is a symbol like a comma [Possibly it is not intentional—Ed.] below the usual mark for 1 which makes the figure 2.

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 5.) May success attend.¹ May welfare accrue.² While the Mahārājādhīrāja (the supreme lord of kings), Sāmāchāra-dēva, who is without a rival on this earth and who is equal in prowess to Nṛiga, Nahusha, Yayāti and Ambarīsha,—is (ruling) in splendour, Jivadatta, of the intimate class of servants (of his Majesty), master of the bullion market,³ (flourished as governor) in Navyāvakāśikā⁴ through paying court to the twin lotus-like feet of that monarch (Sāmāchāra-dēva) and the district officer in (the district of) Vāraka-maṇḍala,⁵ approved of him (Jiva-datta), (was) Pavitruka.

(Lines 5 to 11.) While he (Pavitruka) was administering, whereas his District Court presided over by the Chief Judge (*Jyēṣṭhādhikarāṇika*) Dāmuka, as well as the Elder⁶ Vatsa-Kuṇḍa, the Elder Śuchi-Pālita, the Elder Vihiṭa Ghōṣha, (the Elder) Śūra-Da[ttā], the Elder Priya-Datta, the Elder Janārddana-Kuṇḍa and others in charge of affairs⁷ (of the village in question), and many other leading gentlemen (of the village) skilled in Law⁸ were apprised by Supratika Svāmī (thus):—I wish through your honours' favour for a piece of waste land which has long lain neglected, for the establishment of *Bali*, *Charu* and *Sattra*⁹, (thus) getting it to be of use to a Brāhmaṇa; do ye favour me (with it) by issuing a copper-plate deed.

¹ For this explanation of the symbol at the beginning see my remarks, above, Vol. XVII, p. 352.

² This phrase expresses the force of the word *svasti* better than the usual 'Hail'.

³ *Supratikādhikṛita* is in all probability a title, honorary or otherwise. *Vithi* means a market, a stall a shop in the market; and hence I have translated the phrase literally as above. The real title, however, may have been 'Master of the Mint or Treasury'.

⁴ *Navyāvakāśikā* was, without doubt, the Divisional head-quarters.

⁵ The name of the district was Vāraka-maṇḍala. The expressions such as *Vāraka-maṇḍalē vishayapati-Pavitrukah*, *Vārakamaṇḍalavishayādhikarāṇasya* suggest that the name of the *vishaya* itself was Vāraka-maṇḍala. From a study of the Bengal plates, it appears that *bhukti* was the largest territorial division of a kingdom; it was divided into a number of *vishayas* or districts. These were again divided into *maṇḍalas* or *ojras*, which were again sometimes sub-divided into *kāṇḍalas* or parts.

⁶ *Mahattara* is a title, something like the 'Honourable' of the present day. It is of frequent use in the epigraphs of this period and survives in the term *Māhāto* applied to village Elders down to the present day. It carries with it the idea of dignity and superior worth and may adequately be translated by the term Elder. [In Tamil Chōla inscriptions of the 11th Century, we have the corresponding title *perundanam* or *perundaram* conferred on officers and other private persons (*S. I. Inscr.*) Vol. II, p. 98, 141, etc.—Ed.]

⁷ *Vishaya-Mahattara* has nothing to do with the territorial division *Vishaya*. *Vishaya* here means affairs.

Compare the phraseology of this part of the present deed with the second plate of Dharmāditya, viz. *Jyēṣṭha-kāyastha-Nayasēnapramukhamadhikarāṇam Mahattara Sōmaghōṣa-puraḥsarās=cha Vishayānām Mahattarā vijñāptāḥ*. These deeds were the issues of a District Court, namely that of the district of Vāraka-maṇḍala, and the Mahattaras cannot reasonably be supposed to have jurisdiction in districts other than the district of Vāraka-maṇḍala as *vishayānām*, used in the plural number, would indicate, if, *vishaya* were to mean,—'a district', here. Thus *vishaya*—here becomes a plain word meaning 'affairs'. [In the first plate of Dharmāditya a very large number of *vishaya-mahattaras* 'the leading men of the district' are mentioned in connection with a grant in the very same Vāraka-maṇḍala. Perhaps *vishaya-mahattara* like *mahattara* was a title without any particular reference to a function. In our inscription Vatsa-Kuṇḍa may have been a District Elder (*Vishaya-Mahattara*) in this sense, while the others were only ordinary Mahattaras (Elders) that formed a *sabhā* for the occasion, being the 'leading men' of the village, they were not necessarily men of law (*vyavahārīṇaḥ*).—Ed.]

⁸ The technical term *vyavahāra* is ordinarily used to mean law, and *Vyavahārins* are those who are experts in law and legal procedure.

⁹ *Manu* (Chap. III, verses 67ff.) enjoins on all householders the performance of the five great sacrifices (*Pañcha-mahā-yajñas*), viz.:—(i) Study and teaching, which together is called *Brahmayajña* or *Rishiyajña*; (ii) offering oblations to departed ancestors = *Pitriyajña*; (iii) giving food to all creatures = *Bali* or *Bhūtajajña* (ie, entertaining guests = *Nṛiyajña*; (iv) *Hōma* or sacrifice = *Dēvayajña*. Of these, the 2nd, 3rd and 4th (which are equivalent to *Charu*, *Bali* and *Sattra*) appear to have been the most important, and the term *Bali-Charu-Sattra-pravarṇanam* (i.e. establishment of *Bali*, *Charu* and *Sattra*) came to mean the establishment of a householder.

(Lines 12—17.) Wherefore, the above-enumerated Elders and others who were skilled in Law, receiving this petition and calling to mind (the following *śloka*):—‘The land which is full of pits and which is infested with wild beasts, is unprofitable to the king both as regards revenue and religious merit. That land, if made capable of being used, does bring revenue and merit to the king himself’;—and having decided—‘Let it be given to this Brāhmaṇa’—and having recognised (*i.e.* constituted) the Karaṇikas Naya-Nāga, Kēśava and others as the representatives of the public¹ and having separated the three *kulya* sowing areas² of land previously granted away by a copper-plate, (the aforesaid gentlemen) established the land that remained in Vyāghra-chōraka by the issue of a copper-plate, after the demarcation of boundaries, as being (henceforward) in the possession of this Supratika Svāmī.

(Lines 18—20.) And the boundary indications are these:—On the east, the goblin haunted Parkkaṭṭi tree; on the south, the Vidyādhara Joṭikā³; on the west, the corner of Chandra-varmman’s fort; on the north, the boundary of the village Gōpēndra-chōraka.

(Lines 20—23.) And here apply the verses:—The grantor of land delights in heaven for sixty thousand years. The confiscator or one who approves of confiscation resides in hell for an equal number of years. Whoever takes away land granted by himself or others becomes worm in his own ordure and rots there along with his ancestors.

The year 14, the 2nd day of Kārttika.

Now, I propose to discuss the various issues raised by the inscription. The first point is the determination of the identity of Samāchāra-dēva.

Mr. Pargiter has pointed out that even if the grant were spurious, no forger would be so foolish as to date it in the reign of a king who never existed (*J. A. S. B.*, August, 1911, p. 499). We can adduce stronger proofs of his existence. I refer to the two gold coins, described as ‘Uncertain’ on pp. 120 and 122 of the *Catalogue of Coins*, I. M. C., Vol. I, and illustrated as Nos. 11 and 13 on Plate XVI. They are both of gold (considerably alloyed with silver). One of them, of the Rājāilā type, was found near Muhammadpur in the Jessore district of Bengal along with a gold coin of Śaśāṅka, and another gold coin of the light-weight ‘Imitation Gupta’ type, as well as silver coins of Chandra-Gupta, Skanda-Gupta and Kumāra-Gupta (Allan, *Catalogue of Gupta Coins*, Intro., Sec. 171, and *J. A. S. B.*, 1852, Plate XII). The provenance of the other coin is unknown. It is of the common Archer Type of Gupta coins. The king’s name occurs below the right arm of the king. A letter occurs between the feet of the king which Dr. Smith recognised as *Cha*. The reverse legend is recognised as Narēndra-Vinata with some hesitation. Of the Rājāilā coin, he read the name of the king on the obverse as *Yamadha* written in characters of the close of the sixth century A. D. and the reverse legend as Narēndrāditya. Mr. Allan, in his *Catalogue of Gupta Coins*, attributes the ‘Archer Type’ coin to a period earlier than that of Śaśāṅka (Intro., p. LXI), and, from the supplanting of the Garuda Standard of the Guptas by the Bull Standard on this coin, surmises that the coin was of a devout Śaiva. The

¹ Mr. Pargiter explains *kularārāṇa* as referees or arbitrators. The word is composed of two sections, *kula* and *ārā*; the former means the chief, the head; and the latter means the common populace, the public. Hence the meaning ‘the chief men of the people’.

² As much land as could be sown by a *kulā* (winnowing basket) full of seed. The term *Kudard*, equivalent to Bigha, the most current land-measure in Bengal, appears to be a corruption of the term *kulyarāpa*. The name survives in the form of *Kularāya* (কুলারায়), the name of the standard land-measure in the Sylhet District.

³ Mr. Pargiter explains *Joṭikā* as equivalent to Bengali *Joṭ*, meaning cultivating tenure. This is hardly defensible, though the word is a derivative from *Joṭa*. *Joṭ* is most likely derived from the Sanskrit word *paritakṣ*, which means, one’s exclusive private property, any property in general. The word *Joṭa* is derived from the root *Juṭ*=to come together. *Joṭa* is still a very common word in Bengali, meaning union or coming together. The term *joṭikā*, with the shortened form *joṭa*, occurs also in the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapālādēva (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 249, text ll. 36 ff.). Reference is to the corrected reading of the plate in *Gaudalēkhamālā* by Mr. A. K. Maitreya,

king's, name he reads hesitatingly (Sec. 165) as *Saka* or *Samācha* or *Yamācha*, and thus wants to connect it with the Rājātilā coin on which he reads the king's name as *Yamācha*. The reverse legend he reads on both the coins as *Narēndrāditya*.

In the *Archæological Survey Report* for 1913-14, Mr. R. D. Banerji discusses these two coins again. He observes that the name of the king on the obverse of both the coins is the same, viz. *Yamā*. The reverse legend is read as *Narēndravinata*.

A careful study of the two coins will convince any scholar that the name of the king is the same on both the coins and it cannot be read as anything else than *Samāchā* (समाचा) and the reading is confirmed when we come to know of a contemporary king *Samāchāra-dēva* by name, whose copper-plate inscription was discovered not far from the find-spot of one of these coins (the Rājātilā coin) and the lettering of whose name, as written on his copper-plate, closely agrees to the lettering on these coins. The coins may therefore be assigned to *Samāchāra-dēva* of the Ghugrahāti plate and they furnish proofs, hitherto wanting, of his existence and reign and of the genuineness of the Ghugrahāti plate. These coins may be described thus:—

No. 1. Coin of *Samāchāra dēva*; alloyed gold; provenance unknown; wt. 148·2 gr. Diameter '9 in.

Obv.:—The king, in traditional Gupta dress, standing in the *Tribhāṅga* pose with a halo round the head, to the left of which curls are shown. He has a necklace of pearls. A bow is shown in the left hand, while the right hand is offering incense at an altar. Below the left hand, in characters of the close of the sixth century A. D., is found *Samā*; between the feet is *chā*, and above the Bull of the Standard, probably *ra*. The *ā* in *mā* is a superscript angular stroke and the *ā* in *chā* is a short perpendicular stroke to the proper left, exactly as found on the Ghugrahāti plate of *Samāchāra-dēva*; but in this plate *chā* has the angular stroke and *mā* the perpendicular one. These methods of marking *ā* appear to be indiscriminate.

To the right of the king appears a standard surmounted by a bull. The Bull Standard would indicate that the king was a devout Śaiva and belonged to a line different from the Gupta line so long predominant.

Reverse:—A goddess, nimbate, seated on a full-blown lotus with a lotus bud in her left hand and a noose in the right. To the right of the head of the goddess is seen what appears to be an indistinct monogram and on the left margin occurs the legend *Narēndravinata*.

No. 2. Coin of *Samāchāra-dēva*; alloyed gold; slightly purer than No. 1; wt. 149 gr. Diameter '8 in.

Obv.:—The king, nimbate, sitting on a couch in (for coins) a unique Rājātilā pose, and looking to his right. His left hand is raised as if to fondle the female figure standing to the left by touching her chin. The right hand is placed on the hip. Above the left hand occur *Sa mā*, below the couch *chā* and beneath the feet of the female figure to the right of the king, *ra*.

Reverse:—Goddess *Sarasvatī*,¹ nimbate, standing on a lotus bud in *Tribhāṅga* pose and looking to her right; the left hand rests on a lotus, while the goddess draws another lotus towards her face with her right hand. A lotus bud is on a stalk below the bend of the right hand, below which again is a *Hamsa* (swan) with neck stretched upwards. On the left margin occurs the legend *Narēndravinata*. The reverse type is also unique.

Some conclusions force themselves upon the careful observer of these two coins:—

(1) The king was certainly not of the Gupta lineage, though he may well have been a successor of the Guptas in the dominions where the Guptas had once held sway.


¹ Allan calls the figure *Lakshmi*, but *Hamsa* (swan) is ordinarily associated only with the goddess of learning, *Sarasvatī*.

(2) Samāchāra must, on palaeographic grounds, be placed earlier than Śaśāṅka in chronology; also because there is no place for Samāchāra in chronology after Śaśāṅka whose immediate successors in Eastern India were first Harsha and then Aditya-Sena and his descendants.

(3) He was a devout Śaiva. The continuance of the Bull Symbol by Śaśāṅka, as well as the facts (a) that the Rājāilā coin was found with a coin of Śaśāṅka, (b) that Śaśāṅka's lineage and parentage have never yet been satisfactorily established, make it almost certain that Samāchāra was a predecessor of Śaśāṅka in the kingdom of Gauḍa and of the same lineage, perhaps his father.

(4) The Rājāilā coin may be later than the other coin, as it shows a distinctly greater change from the almost conventional type of the latter.

Two other kings stand connected with Samāchāra-dēva, viz. Mahārājadhīrāja Dharmāditya and Mahārājadhīrāja Gōpa-Chandra of the Faridpur plates published by Mr. Pargiter. In order, therefore, to locate the position of these kings in the chronology of the country, it is necessary to clear up, if possible, some doubtful points in the chronology of the Gupta kings and their successors during the sixth century A.D. The publication by Prof. Basak of the five plates of the Gupta kings Kumāra-Gupta, Budha-Gupta and Bhānu (?) -Gupta (Above, Vol. XV., No. 7) has given all students interested, the opportunity of rediscussing the matter.

The evidence of the Bharsar hoard (Allan, *Gupta Coins*, Intro. li), in which coins of Samudra-Gupta, Chandra-Gupta II, Kumāra-Gupta I, Skanda-Gupta and Prakāśāditya were found buried together, made possible the natural deduction that Prakāśāditya succeeded Skanda-Gupta and the hoard was buried in Prakāśāditya's reign. No one has yet succeeded in solving the problem who this Prakāśāditya was, and the purity of gold in his gold coins has been a puzzle. It may be now accepted that Kumāra-Gupta II was the son and successor of Skanda-Gupta and so we must see if he can be connected with the coins bearing the legend Prakāśāditya. These coins are all of the 'horseman' type and the letter which signifies the king's name on the obverse has been taken to be an otherwise inexplicable *Ru* (Allan, pp. 135-36, Plate XXII, Nos. 1-6). I think, however, that this reading will have to be revised. The letter on coin No. 1 is almost certainly *Ku*, the *mātrā* or the top horizontal line being very prominent, though unfortunately mixed up with a band hanging from the saddle of the horse. On coins Nos. 3 and 4, this letter is indistinct, while on coins 2 and 6 the letter certainly looks like *ru*. The letter on coin No. 5 has been made in one stroke, thus  and it is hardly possible to read it as *ru*. This, I think, will have to be taken as *Ku*, and the letters on Nos. 2 and 6 also as *Ku*, executed as badly as the horse and the horseman on the coins are.

Several scholars have attempted to identify this Kumāra-Gupta with Kumāra-Gupta, the son and successor of Narasimha-Gupta, and to thrust in the reigns of Nara and Pura between G.E. 148=467 A.D., the last known date of Skanda-Gupta, and G.E. 154=473 A.D., the first known date of Kumāra-Gupta. By this arrangement, Budha and Bhānu are to be placed after Pura, Nara and Kumāra. This is a rather risky proposal. There is no certainty that 467 A.D. is the last date of Skanda. Similarly 473 A.D. may not be the first date of Kumāra. If these two dates approach each other by even one year, Pura and Nara have barely four years left between them. The find of coins, which presupposes their currency in a locality, is more or less a sure measure of the importance and duration of the reign of kings represented by them and the extent of their kingdom. The *British Museum Catalogue* describes 12 coins and the *Indian Museum Catalogue* 6 coins of Nara; 4 and 3 coins respectively of Pura are described in the *British Museum Catalogue* and in the *Lucknow Museum Catalogue*. I have seen a number of coins of Nara in the Nāhār Collections of Calcutta and in the collection of the Vaṅgiya Śāhitya Parishat of Calcutta. Some more coins of Nara are to be found in the possession of Rai Mṛityuñjay Choudhuri Bahadur of Rangpur. To ascribe a reign of only two or three years

to a king of such widely distributed currency is not reasonable. The next king, Kumāra, who is sought to be thrust in between the years 473 and 477 A.D., has also 18 coins described in the B. M. C. and three in that of the Indian Museum.

Pura and Nara were undoubtedly successors to the Gupta throne, at a time which we have yet to determine, with very much diminished power and territory. Their coins have been found exclusively in Eastern India and it is hardly reasonable to place a real emperor like Budha after Pura and Nara who were perhaps only kings of Eastern India.

Narasimha-Gupta Bālāditya is generally credited with standing against Mihirakula in Magadha. The claims of no other Bālāditya have yet been substantiated. Mihirakula cannot be put earlier than the beginning of the sixth century A.D. and the proposition to put Bālāditya between *circa* 470 and 473 A.D. makes him precede Mihirakula by half-a-century.

From the Haraha inscription (Above, Vol. XIV, No. 5), Śarvvavarmman and his son Avantivarmman's date can be put as 560 A.D. onwards. In the Deo-Barnark inscription of Jivita-Gupta, the *Paramēśvara* Bālāditya is spoken of as preceding Śarvvavarmman and Avantivarmman. Śarvvavarmman, the father of Avantivarmman, was the immediate predecessor of the latter, and the presumption is that Bālāditya also preceded Śarvvavarmman closely, say, by not more than a generation. This fits in well if Bālāditya's date is *circa* 530 A.D. But Bālāditya becomes too far off from Śarvvavarmman if he is put at 470 A.D.

Again, the history of the founding of the Nālanda monastery, as recorded by Yuan Chwang is evidently rather confused. But the mention of Budha-Gupta as a predecessor of Bālāditya is significant, and is, in my opinion, in true chronological order.

Kumāra-Gupta II was succeeded on the imperial throne by Budha-Gupta probably about G.E. 157=476 A.D., as the Sārnāth inscription of Budha-Gupta is dated G.E. 158=477 A.D. Here, again, his relationship with his predecessor is not known, but until evidence is produced to the contrary, we may take him as Kumāra-Gupta II's son.

The latest date on the silver coins of Budha Gupta is G. E. 175=494 A.D. (Allan, No. 617).

The next king, Bhānu-Gupta, who from his name (Bhānu and Budha are both names of planets)¹ appears to have been a brother of Budha-Gupta, may be tentatively taken to have come to the throne in G.E. 177=495 A.D.

The Huns under Tōramāna were by this time preparing to contest with the Guptas, the sovereignty of India. In G.E. 165=484 A.D. the two brothers Mātri-Vishṇu and Dhanya-Vishṇu, who were local rulers of Eran, had acknowledged the suzerainty of Budha-Gupta (Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 88). But in the Eran Boar inscription of Dhanya-Vishṇu the interval between which and the pillar inscription cannot very well be more than 25 years, the suzerain acknowledged is Tōramāna in whose first year² the Boar was installed. Tōramāna must have ousted the Guptas from these parts in the course of these 25 or 26 years.

The memorial Eran inscription of Gōparāja of G.E. 191=510 A.D. gives a clue to the situation. The inscription mentions that Gōparāja was killed at Eran while fighting a great battle,—probably with the Huns under Tōramāna, in the company of the brave Bhānu-Gupta and allies.

¹ [This inference based on the names of planets is not satisfactory.—Ed.]

² The exact year of Tōramāna's accession to the kingship of the Indian dominions of the White Huns is not known, but it was unquestionably later than 484 A.D., the date of the Eran inscription of Budha-Gupta which mentions Mātri Vishṇu as the local king reigning, while Dhanya-Vishṇu was his younger brother. In the Eran Boar inscription of the first year of Tōramāna, Dhanya-Vishṇu is the local king and his elder brother Mātri-Vishṇu is said to have gone to heaven. If Tōramāna ascended the throne immediately after 484 A.D., the battle of Eran in 510 A.D., in which Gōparāja was killed, will have to be taken as Bhānu-Gupta's attempt to regain the former possessions of the Guptas from the grasp of Tōramāna or of his son Mihirakula.

From the acknowledgment about the same time of the suzerainty of the Guptas in the eastern parts of the country (modern Central Provinces) by the Parikrājaka Mahārājas and Mahārājas of Uchchakalpa, Prof. Basak has been led to suppose (*Ep. Ind.*, XV, 7, p. 125) that Bhānu-Gupta was the victor in the battle in which Gōparāja was killed. But I do not think that the supposition is reasonable. The following facts should be considered :—

(i) Gōparāja who appears to have been a powerful ally of Bhānu-Gupta was killed in the battle.

(ii) If Bhānu-Gupta were victorious, the fact would certainly have been mentioned. Victory lay on the other side, hence the silence and the consolation of some high-sounding adjectives.

(iii) Bhānu-Gupta had evidently lost his former power; for, had he still been the suzerain, the fact would have been mentioned; and the loss of power can only result from defeat in battle in such a situation.

(iv) The suzerainty of Tōramāṇa is acknowledged by Dhanya-Vishṇu, king of Eraṇ, while some years previously he and his elder brother Mātri-Vishṇu had acknowledged Budha-Gupta as the suzerain.¹

From these it appears to be clear that the contest between Bhānu-Gupta and the aggressive Tōramāṇa took place in Eraṇ about 191 G.E.=510 A.D., and that the battle resulted in the Gupta Emperor being worsted and having to cede Malwa to the invader. Bhānu-Gupta was probably killed in action, as was his faithful ally Gōparāja, and also perhaps Mātri Vishṇu; or, if Bhānu-Gupta survived, he is not likely to have survived long.

Thus from Skanda-Gupta to Bhānu-Gupta we have an unbroken line of succession. Where, then, is the place for Pura-Gupta of the Bhitari seal and his line? Mr. Allan and others have assumed that during the latter days of Skanda-Gupta, Pura-Gupta, his brother or half-brother, revolted and established an independent principality (Allan, *Intro.*, Sec. 62). But where was this principality? We find Budha-Gupta implicitly obeyed from Mālwa to Paṇḍra-vardhana. Where is the place in which Pura-Gupta or his successors were obeyed?

Prof. Basak wrote (*Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 120): "But with our present stock of knowledge, it is not very easy to indicate the place where the branch line headed by Pura-Gupta may have ruled; It may be believed that the rulers of the stronger branch may, by courtesy and in good-will, have suffered the other branch to rule somewhere in the eastern portion of the Gupta empire, perhaps in south Bihār."

Such courtesy to a branch whose origin was in revolt would be, to say the least, impolitic. The truth seems to be that Pura-Gupta was a child of four or five¹ when Kumara-Gupta I died and Skanda-Gupta succeeded him on the throne, and that the child was brought up in the harem,² as his name signifies. When the last king Bhānu-Gupta of the main line died, possibly without leaving any successor, this Gupta prince, the grand-uncle of the last two kings, who must now have reached an age of at least 60 years, was called to fill the vacant throne. If subsequent researches prove my inference to be correct, a tragedy like the crowning of Pura-Gupta has seldom happened in history.

Pura-Gupta cannot have reigned for more than a few years and the accession of his son Narasimha-Gupta Bālāditya may be dated in 196 G.E.=515 A.D. Mihirakula may have succeeded his father at Sākala about this time.

We know from Yuan Chwang that Mihirakula invaded the kingdom of Bālāditya, who is called king of Magadha. In the war that ensued Mihirakula seems to have been taken

¹ [These reasons are not quite convincing.—Ed.]

² [This does not appear to be a reasonable inference. The author is evidently led to it by Pura, meaning a harem.—Ed.]

prisoner and condemned to death, but was saved from death by the intervention of the mother of Bālāditya (Vatsadēvi). This contest may be dated about 525-530 A.D.¹

I leave out of discussion the position of Yaśodharman and Vishṇu-vardhana in chronology as it has hardly any bearing on the present scheme.

Narasimha-Gupta Bālāditya did not probably long survive his victory over Mihirakula, and the accession of the next king Kumāra-Gupta III may be dated in G.E. 213=532 A.D. The last Damodarpur plate is dated in 214 G.E. and it was issued during the reign of a Gupta whose name has been broken away. I have reasons to think that he was Kumāra-Gupta III. Prof. Basak supposes that only two letters have been broken away and lost; but the letter *ra*, the last letter of Kumāra, which is simply a perpendicular stroke, does not occupy much space, and further discoveries will, I think, show that the Gupta king ruling in the East in 214 G.E.=533 A.D. was Kumāra-Gupta III, son of Bālāditya.

On the testimony of the Kalighat hoard² which contained coins of Bālāditya, Kumāra-Gupta III, Chandra-Gupta III and Vishṇu(Gupta?)-Chandrāditya, we may take the successor of Kumāra-Gupta III as Chandra-Gupta III, who appears to have been succeeded by one whose name began with Vishṇu and whose title was Chandrāditya.³ We cannot say definitely who this Vishṇu was. But there cannot be any doubt that he was of the imperial Gupta line, as the Garuḍa standard on his coins would signify.

For the remaining period, until the first established date of Śaśāṅka in 606 A.D., Eastern India was ruled, as Mr. Pargiter has demonstrated, by the emperors Dharmāditya, Gōpa-Chandra and Samāchāra. It has been already pointed out that Samāchāra was a devotee of Śiva; and it does not seem an impossible conjecture that all these kings were related to one another and formed a dynasty that took the place of the Guptas in Eastern India.

TOPOGRAPHY.

As already pointed out, Vāraka-maṇḍala was the name of the district.

About the position of Vāraka-maṇḍala I am in substantial agreement with Mr. Pargiter and I think that he is right in thinking that Varendra or Varendri is derived from the same root. The word *Vāraka* means obstructing, opposing; *maṇḍala* means a collection of small areas. So the word *Vāraka-maṇḍala* should be taken to mean, an area of land consisting of smaller areas lying between and separating rivers; *Vāraka* may also be taken in the sense of 'the deltaic land that obstructs and alters the current of a river'; *Vāraka-maṇḍala* would then be a group of deltaic areas. Anyway, *Vāraka-maṇḍala* would be the district round Koṭālipāḍa in the present district of Faridpur, almost in the heart of what was anciently known as Vaṅga.

Koṭālipāḍa is at present a *Parganāh* in the district of Faridpur. The old settlement was in and about the old mud fort there, in the vicinity of which the Ghugrahāti plate of Samāchāra-dēva was found. A number of gold coins of the Gupta emperors have been found outside the western *par* or embankment of the fort.

¹ Prof. H. Roychandhuri's objections to identify Narasimha-Gupta Bālāditya with the conqueror of Mihirakula do not appear to be very sound (*J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVII, p. 315). Even allowing that Yuan Chwang's statements regarding Bālāditya's predecessors are historically accurate, Tathāgata is not stated to be the father of Bālāditya nor Budhe of Tathāgata, and there is no mention of immediate succession. Bālāditya's son is Kumāra-Gupta. Yuan Chwang gives his name as Vajra; but evidently this is a pet name or a family name, and not the royal name.

² See Allan, Intro., Sec. 166-169 and pages 137-146.

³ A sun as well as a moon. A sun of scorching rays to his enemies and a moon of pleasing and cool rays to his friends.

Koṭālipādā is at present surrounded on all sides by big marshes; it is inconceivable that any sane man could think of a royal settlement in such a water-logged area. But the big fort is there, and brick constructions very often come up unexpectedly from low water-logged places. As correctly surmised by some scholars, the low level of Koṭālipādā appears to be the effect of subsidence due to earthquake. We find a new town Navyāvakāśikā springing up during the reign of Dharmāditya which does not seem to have existed in the third year of the same king. The presumption is that, about the fifth or sixth year of the reign of Dharmāditya, owing to an earthquake, marshes began to form round Koṭālipādā which had been a flourishing royal settlement for the past two centuries and a half, and necessity was felt for shifting the gubernatorial head-quarters to some new and safer site on more settled land. Koṭālipādā continued as a district head-quarters, but the value of its land decreased so much that we find almost a whole village, which is described as having long lain fallow, given away to a Brahmin for no consideration.

Where was Navyāvakāśikā the new Divisional head-quarters? Nāgadēva had his head-quarters at Navyāvakāśikā, which from the very name appears to have been a recently founded town during the reign of Dharmāditya, in the interval between the plates A and B published by Mr. Pargiter.

Arakāśa means an opening, an aperture, and its derivative *avakāśikā* may very well mean a *khāl*, a canal, and the whole name *Navyāvakāśikā* would mean, the place provided with a new canal. There is a place called Sābhār in the Dacca district which contains imposing ruins of a traditional king called Hariśchandra. Numerous gold coins of the 'Imitation Gupta' type have been found exclusively from Sābhār. The Dacca Museum cabinet possesses eight such coins from Sābhār. The place contains a fort, 250 yards by 190 yards in area. A water course breaks off from the river Baṅgsai about two miles above the place where the fort stands and after running through the eastern part of the site of the old town, turns to the west and re-enters the river just below the southern face of the fort. The canal, which is undoubtedly in part artificial, is locally called Kāṭāgāngā—'the dug-out river'. The ruins of the royal palaces and temples are situated on the south-east corner of this enclosure, outside the Kāṭāgāngā. This old site appears to answer to the name Navyāvakāśikā very well. The discovery of 'Imitation Gupta' gold coins throughout this site distinguishes it from any other old site in Eastern Bengal and also shows that its foundation goes back to the time we are discussing.

It would thus appear that the ruins at Sābhār may be identified with Navyāvakāśikā. The word *Sābhār*, a corruption of *Sambhāra*, means fullness, wealth, affluence. A visit to the site will convince anyone that it was a well-planned city of very great affluence surrounded by an artificial water-course. The latter might have been the cause of its name Navyāvakāśikā, while its subsequent opulence and splendour earned for it the name of Sambhāra—"Wealth and plenty materialised."

It is easy to prove that Koṭālipādā is the older of the two ancient sites. Below we shall show that the fort at Koṭālipādā dates from a period previous to the Guptas, but the discovery of the gold coins of the Gupta emperors exclusively from this site and only coins of the 'Imitation Gupta' type, which were undoubtedly much later currency, from Sābhār tends to show that the former site is the more ancient of the two. It is needless to notice in detail the gold coins discovered at Koṭālipādā or the 'Imitation Gupta' coins from Sābhār. This is done in a separate article in the Numismatic Supplement to the *J. A. S. B.* It may only be stated here

that gold coins of Chandra-Gupta II and Skanda-Gupta and silver coins with the figure of peacocks on them have been found in and about the ramparts of the fort there.

The land granted by the Ghugrāhāti plate was in a village called Vyāghra-chōraka. Three *hulya*-sowing areas of land were taken away from it and the rest of the hamlet was given to the donee. The boundary indications of the land granted are thus given:—On the east, the goblin-haunted Pankkatī tree; on the south, Vidyādhara Jotikā; on the west, a corner of Chandravarmman's fort; on the north, the boundary of the village Gōpēndra-chōraka. Chandravarmman's fort cannot be any other place than the big fort at Koṭālipādā.

About half a mile to the north-west from the north-east corner of this fort, there is a forsaken homestead with a tank, which is called Jaṭiābādi or Jaṭiā's house. It is traditionally remembered to have been the residence of one Vidyādhara and his wife Jaṭiā Būdi. The place is supposed to be haunted. By the north bank of the tank at Jaṭiābādi, there run, east-west, two curious parallel embanked roads. The one was, they say, meant for the king and his officers and the other for the common people. This double road appears to have been denoted by the term Jotikā or two roads placed together. The village of Govindapur begins a little north of this place and this was no doubt the Gōpēndra-chōraka of the plate, the words Gōvinda and Gōpēndra¹ being synonymous.

Who is this Chandravarmman, who was still remembered in his handiwork—the fort at Koṭālipādā—even in the time of Samāchāra-dēva? This fort, which measures $2\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, is the biggest ancient earthwork known in Bengal, the next in size being that at Mahāsthān (the ancient Pāṇḍravardhana) which is only 1,000 yards \times 1,500 yards. He must have been a powerful king who could construct so large a fort, in this low-lying tract, and the discovery of the gold coins of Gupta emperors from the vicinity show that the founder was at least as old as the Guptas. We are at once reminded of the Chandra of the Meherauli pillar inscription who “when warring in the Vaṅga countries, kneaded and turned back with his breast the enemies who uniting together came against him and thus wrote fame on his arms by his sword.” (Fleet, *C. I. I.* p. 141.) Fleet emphasised the early character of the palæography of this inscription which is not dated, and Allan, with his usual insight, rejected the identification of this Chandra with Chandra-Gupta II. Finally M. M. Haraprasad Sastri has identified this Chandra with Chandravarmman—son of Simhavarman of Pushkaraṇḍ, of the Śusuniā Hill inscription,—who was finally overthrown by Samudra-Gupta about the third decade of the fourth century A.D. When we see that a most impressive monument in the shape of a great fort, to which Chandravarmman's name is applied even in the sixth century A. D. turns up in Koṭālipādā near the heart of old Vaṅga, we are finally convinced that these scholars, and particularly M. M. Sastri, are right in identifying the Chandra of the Meherauli pillar inscription,² who came and warred in Vaṅga, as Chandravarmman, of whose advent in Bengal we have now a tangible proof in the shape of the great fort known after him. Chandravarmman's campaigns in Bengal and the foundation of the fortified settlement at Koṭālipādā³ may be approximately dated about 315 A.D.

¹ [The identification is not convincing.—Ed.]

² In an attempt to identify Chandra with Chandra-Gupta I, Prof. Basak writes: “Where is the evidence that Bengal had ever been in the possession of Chandravarmman? We have as yet got no such historical evidence nor can we expect to get it in future.” (*Ind. Ant.*, June, 1919, p. 191.) This last statement only proves the necessity of caution in our prediction as to what future may bring up.

³ Koṭālipādā means the *pādā* or hamlet founded on the *ālī* or ramparts of the *koṭ* or fort.

No. 12.—JODHPUR INSCRIPTION OF PRATIHARA BAUKA ; V. S. 894.

By R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D., DACCA.

This inscription was first edited, without any translation and facsimile, by Munshi Deviprasad of Jodhpur in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1894, pp. 1 ff. I re-edit it at the suggestion of, and from an estampage kindly supplied to me by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar. The stone which bears this inscription was discovered about 1892, in the wall surrounding the city of Jodhpur, but, as Professor Bhandarkar suggests, it was probably brought there from Mandor, five miles to the north of the city.¹

The inscription consists of twenty-two lines of writing which cover a space of about 2'-10" broad by 2'-1½" high. It is generally in a good state of preservation, although some letters have peeled off here and there. The engraving is remarkably excellent. The size of the letters is between ⅝" and ¾". The characters are of the type used in the inscriptions of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty, but the following peculiarities may be noted : —

The triangle at the right lower end of *kh* is represented by a simple wedge. Both the forms of *n* illustrated in Bühler's Chart (V. 24. II, III,) are used. *N* is formed by a distinct loop, as in the Dighwā-Dubauli plate². The forms of *bh* and *s* resemble those of the Pehoa Prasasti³ and are different from those used in the Gwalior inscription of Bhōja I⁴.

The language is Sanskrit ; and excepting the benedictory formula "*Om namō Viṣṇave*" at the beginning, and the date and the engraver's name at the end, the inscription is written in verse. As Munshi Deviprasad remarks, "the language offers some serious blunders." Thus we have *dhimān* and *vaśajān* in v. 3, where the *anusvāra* stands for the final *n*. Similar errors also occur in v. 27. *Tyajya* for *tyaktvā*, *stambhya* for *stambhitvā*, and *prahatvā* for *prahatya* occur in ll. 17 and 15, respectively. Other instances will be noticed in their proper places ; but it appears that the writer was influenced by the idioms of the Prakṛit language, which, as the Ghatiyālā inscription of Kakkuka⁵ shows, was also used in official documents, about this period. As regards orthography we have to notice (1) the regular use of the proper sign for the letter *b* ; (2) the use of *upadhmanīya* before *p* (e.g. in *vaḥ-pāyād* in l. 1) ; (3) the doubling of *s* in place of *visarga* (e.g. in *yatas=sarga* in l. 1) ; (4) the use of the guttural nasal instead of *anusvāra* before *ś* (e.g. in *-vaśaś* in l. 2) ; (5) doubling of *k* and *t* in conjunction with a following *r* (e.g. in *-vikkrāmānitān* and *-bhrāttrā* in l. 2) ; (6) the doubling of consonants after *r* (e.g. in *sarggā*, l. 1) ; but note the use of single *v* and *y* after *r* (e.g. in *prātthāryam* in l. 3 and *r=virachitām* in l. 19) ; and (7) the use of *°ttri* for *tri* (in *kshattriya* in ll. 3 and 4).

The inscription records in the last five verses (27 to 31) the military exploits of a Pratihāra chief called Bāuka and gives in vv. 4 to 26 an account of the dynasty to which he belonged. The eulogy of Bāuka as described in the record seems to suggest that Bāuka must have been away on a career of conquest when his kingdom was attacked by a confederacy of kings. His own partisans were unable to stand the fight and broke into disorder, when Bāuka suddenly appeared on the scene, rallied his men and gained a complete victory. This heroic feat that saved the country from a great disaster is the main theme of the inscription.

¹ *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, 1906-7*, p. 30

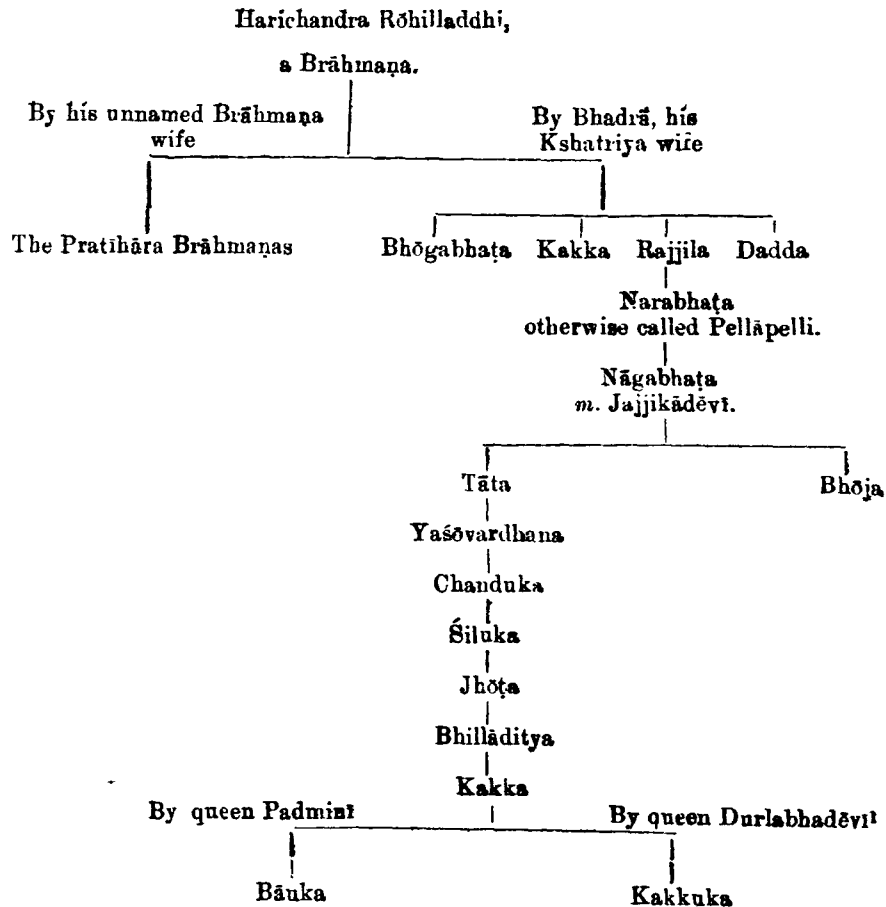
² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV, p. 112.

³ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 244.

⁴ Published below as No. 13.

⁵ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 277 ff.

The inscription supplies us with the following genealogy of Bāuka.



The Ghaṭiyālā Inscriptions of the Pratihāra Kakkuka, dated in the Vikrama year 918,² confirm the above genealogy, although in two cases the names are slightly modified such as Śilluka for Śiluka, and Bhilluka for Bhillāditya. As these inscriptions trace only the direct line of descent, they omit the names of the three brothers of Rajjila and of the brother of Tāta but add a new name to the dynastic list, viz., that of Kakkuka, the son of Kakka and Durlabhadēvi. Kakkuka was thus a step-brother of Bāuka.

The foundation of the dynasty is thus ascribed to a *Brāhmaṇa* who married two wives from two different castes. This is very interesting from a social point of view.³ His sons are credited with the conquest of Māṇḍavyapura (modern Mandor) where, as already observed the stone must have been originally put up. The grandson of one of them fixed his capital at the city of Meḍantaka, which, as Munshi Deviprasad remarks, is possibly represented by the town Merta in Mārwar⁴. Shortly after this the military ardour of the family gives way to a

¹ The names Durlabhadēvi and Kakkuka are taken from the Ghaṭiyālā inscriptions.

² *J. R. A. S.* 1895, p. 513 ff; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX, pp. 277 ff.

³ [*Manusmṛiti* (III. 13) allows a Brāhmaṇa to marry non-Brāhmaṇa women--Ed.]

⁴ *J. R. A. S.* 1894, p. 3.

religious one, and the next king **Tāta** spent his last days in a hermitage. His three successors seem, no doubt, to have been powerful rulers, but his example was followed by the next two kings who spent the last part of their lives on the banks of the Ganges. **Kakka**, the successor of the last of them, is described to have fought with the people of Bengal (*Gauḍa*) in distant *Monghyr*, and the full significance of this will be explained later on. His successor, **Bauka** who is the hero of the inscription, defeated a king named **Mayūra**.

The date of the inscription has given rise to much discussion. Munshi Deviprasad who originally edited the inscription read the figures as 940 but Kielhorn held that there is only one numeral figure, which is 4 and read the whole as *Samvat* 4.¹ Professor D. R. Bhandarkar² reads the date as *Sam* 894. He reads the letter following *Sam* as *vra* and takes it to be a sign for 8.

As regards Kielhorn's view I entirely agree with Professor D. R. Bhandarkar that what the former reads as *vra* is more like *vra* and that the sign which he reads as *t* denotes the cipher for 9. There is also undoubtedly much force in the learned Professor's contention "that there can be no question that *vra* also is a sign for some integer and that it may be taken as equivalent to 8," although as he himself admits, *vra* has never been so far found to represent the integer 8. Apart from the arguments advanced by him, there is one consideration which is decidedly in favour of his view, and seems to me to be fatal to Munshi Deviprasad's contention. If the date of the record be 940 *Samvat*, as the latter holds, **Bauka** must be looked upon as a younger brother and successor of **Kakkuka**. It is, therefore, inconceivable that his name should have been omitted from the dynastic list of our inscription which retains the names of collateral kings of earlier generations. On the other hand, as **Kakkuka**'s inscriptions do not refer to any collateral king at all, it cannot be a matter of surprise that **Bauka**'s name is not mentioned therein. On the whole, therefore, I am inclined to think that **Bauka** was the earlier prince and that the date of the inscription is *Samvat* 894 or 837 A.D. as read by Professor Bhandarkar.

The historical importance of the inscription is very great. It gives us a line of chiefs extending over twelve generations. Taking twenty-five years as average for each generation the total reign-period of the dynasty would be about 300 years.³

As the dates of **Kakkuka** and **Bauka**, representing the twelfth generation of kings, are respectively 861 and 837 A. D., **Harichandra**, the founder of the dynasty may be placed at about 550 A. D. The Imperial *Pratihāra* dynasty, however, cannot be traced back beyond the beginning of the eighth century A. D.⁴ So far, therefore, as the available evidence goes, **Harichandra** must be looked upon as the earliest *Pratihāra* chief. The verse 5 of our inscrip-

¹ *J. R. A. S.* 1894, p. 9.

² *Progress Report Arch. Surv. W. Circle*, 1906-07, p. 30.

³ Dr. Hoernle remarks:—"The two half-brothers **Kakkuka** and **Bauka** formed the twelfth generation of the *Parihar* dynasty. This fact, at the usual rate of twenty years for a reign, will place **Harichandra**, the founder of the dynasty, at about 640 A. D." (*J. R. A. S.* 1905, p. 28). Dr. Hoernle here overlooks the difference between reign and generation. A consideration of the duration of the well known historical dynasties would show that the average duration of a generation may be fairly taken to be at least 25 years. Thus—

- (i) Eight generations of *Pāla* kings from **Dharmapāla** to **Mahipāla** I ruled for considerably more than 200 years.
- (ii) Seven generations of *Chālukya* kings from **Kirttivarman** I to **Kirttivarman** II ruled for more than 180 years.
- (iii) Nine generations of *Rāshtrakūta* kings from **Dantidurga** to **Indrarāja** IV ruled for more than 229 years.
- (iv) Nine generations of *Pratihāra* kings from **Vatṣarāja** to **Trilōchanapāla** ruled for more than 244 years.

These give 27, 26, 25, and 27 years respectively for the average duration of a generation.

⁴ *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XXI, p. 421.

tion says that the sons that were born of Harichandra and Bhadrā were known as Pratihāras and were wine-drinkers. This might imply a common origin of all the Pratihāra ruling clans, and it is not impossible that the Imperial Pratihāras of Kanauj also branched off from this family. The two following grounds may be urged in support of this view, although the question cannot be finally settled till fresh evidence is available:—

(1) The common mythical tradition about the origin of the name Pratihāra, both tracing it to Lakshmaṇa, the brother and door-keeper of Rāma.¹

(2) The community of names in the two families, such as those of Kakkuka, Nāgabhaṭa and Bhōja.

It is not easy to determine the status of the chiefs mentioned in the inscription. Their names are not preceded by titles like *mahārājādhirāja*, *parama-bhaṭṭāraka*, etc., which often accompany the names of independent and paramount sovereigns in inscriptions. But no conclusions can be based on the absence of these titles in the present instance, for we know that in some inscriptions the Imperial Pratihāras are mentioned without any of those pompous titles, which are, however, preserved in other inscriptions. Professor Bhandarkar has dealt with this point in detail² and his arguments have been fully endorsed by V. A. Smith³; and I believe it is impossible to avoid the conclusion, that so far at least as this period is concerned, 'titular formulas, in reality, are of extremely slight significance.'

Our inscription applies the term '*rājāi*' to Bhadrā, the queen of Harichandra, the first chief, and to Jajjikādēvi, the queen of Nāgabhaṭa, and the term *Mahārājāi* to Padmini the queen of Kakka. It refers to the "*rājadhānī*" of Nāgabhaṭa and the "*rājya*" of Tāta, Jhōṭa and Bhillāditya. The sons of Harichandra are called '*Bhū-dharaṇa-kṣamāḥ*'; Kakka is styled '*Bhūpati*' and Bāuka is called *Nṛsiṃha*. These are the only references, direct or indirect, to the royal power exercised by these chiefs. In this respect it bears a close resemblance to the Gwalior inscription of Bhōja I published below. The latter adds no royal epithet to Nāgabhaṭa, the first chief; calls the second and fourth kings respectively as '*Kṣmābhṛiddī*' and '*Kṣmāpāla*' while Nāgabhaṭa and Bhōja I, two of the greatest kings of the dynasty are introduced without any royal epithet. Whatever might be the reasons, the close parallel between these two contemporary epigraphic records would preclude any conclusion regarding the subordinate rank of the chiefs of our inscription, on the basis of the absence of high sounding royal epithets.⁴

As we have seen before, the first chief Harichandra must be placed at the beginning of the latter half of the 6th century A. D. This is in full accordance with the fact that the earliest reference to the Gurjaras, to which race the Pratihāras belonged,⁵ is carried back to the same period by the reference, in the *Harsha-Charita*, to the wars of Prabhākaravardhana against them. The province of Gurjaratrā, which was named after them and must, therefore, be looked upon as the province where they gained a firm footing and established themselves,⁶ was under the sway of this dynasty. This is quite evident not only from the find-spots

¹ Cf. verse 4 with verse 8 of the Gwalior inscription of Bhōja published below. (also *Arch. Surv. of India*, 1903-04, p. 280 ff.)

² *J. R. B. R. A. S.* Vol. XXI, pp. 409-10.

³ *J. R. A. S.* 1909, pp. 248-249.

⁴ Cf. Dr. Haernle's remarks in *J. R. A. S.* 1905, pp. 27 ff.

The above discussion shows the inaccuracy of his statement that the *Prastāsis* of the Jodhpur Pratihāras "give them no territorial titles whatsoever, not even *rāja*". His other contention that the term *Mahārājāi* applied to Padmini denotes her father's rank rather than that of her husband does not commend itself to me.

⁵ *J. R. B. R. A. S.* Vol. XXI, p. 421.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 414-15.

of inscriptions of this dynasty which have all been found within its area,¹ but also from the express mention in the Ghatiyālā inscriptions, that Kakkuka ruled over Gurjaratrā² (v. 16). The inscription also throws some light as to the period when this province was being gradually occupied by the dynasty. ||Verses 9 and 10 tell us that the four sons of Harichandra built a huge rampart round the fort of Māṇḍavyapura which was gained by their own prowess (*nija-bhuj-ārjjitē*). Māṇḍavyapura is evidently Mandor, the ancient capital of Mār-wār, near Jodhpur.³ It is evident, therefore, that the Gurjaras under Harichandra and his sons had occupied the province, known after them, and proceeded up to Mandor, before the end of the sixth century A. D.

The period was indeed a suitable one for such conquest. After the downfall of the short-lived empires of Mihirakula and Yaśōdharman, northern India must have presented a favourable field for the struggle of nations. The Gurjaras, who probably entered India along with or shortly after the Hūṇas, found a favourable opportunity to press forward till they advanced as far as the Jodhpur state. Their further advance was checked by the prowess of Prabhākara-vardhana and his son, and they were therefore obliged to establish themselves in the province which was subsequently named after them. Harichandra must have been the leader, or at least one of the principal leaders, of this advanced section of the Gurjaras; in any case his dynasty was ultimately able to establish its supremacy over the entire clan. This seems to be the only reasonable inference from the circumstances stated above, and I do not know of anything which contradicts this view.

Inscriptions testify to the existence of a line of feudatory Gurjara chiefs ruling at Broach.⁴ The earliest date of the third chief of this dynasty is 629 A. D. Allowing fifty years for the two generations that preceded him, we get the date c. 580 A. D. for the *Sāmanta* Dadda, who founded the line. The date corresponds so very well with that of Dadda, the youngest son of Harichandra, that the identity of the two may be at once presumed. It has been already suggested, on general grounds, that the Broach line was feudatory to the main line of the Gurjaras further north,⁵ but no link, connecting the two, has been hitherto obtained. The proposed identification would not only supply such a link but would also explain why the Gurjara inscriptions record that Dadda I was of the race of Gurjara Kings (*Gurjara-nṛpa-vamśa*) although he and his descendants are referred to as *Sāmantas* or feudatories. It further closely fits in with the theory of the Gurjara invasion dealt with above. It would appear that after Harichandra had carved a principality for himself in Gurjaratrā and the neighbouring country, the nomadic habits of the tribe led them further south till they conquered a fair portion of Lāṭa. The necessity of preserving their own against the rising power of the Chālūkyas probably led to the foundation of a feudatory state in the southern province under Dadda, the younger brother of the ruling king Rajjila. Instances like these are furnished by the history of the Chālukyas and the Rāshtrakūṭas.

The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang visited a Gurjara kingdom which was about 300 miles north of Valabhi or Surath.⁶ It is a noticeable fact that Gurjaratrā or the country round about Mandor exactly answers to this description. As Harichandra's dynasty was certainly ruling in the locality at the time of the pilgrim's visit, we are justified in identifying

¹ For the extent of Gurjaratrā as deduced from epigraphical references see *Ibid.*, p. 415.

² Gujjaratta is Skr. Gurjjaratrā, not Gujerāt as supposed by the Translator (*J. R. A. S.* 1895, p. 520).

³ *J. R. A. S.* 1894, p. 3.

⁴ For a detailed account of them, see *Dynasties of the Kinnarese Districts*, pp. 312 ff.

⁵ Thus Bühler infers from the title of *Sāmanta* used by these chiefs that "it is not unlikely that they were vassals of the Gurjaras of Bhīlānāla" (*Ind. Ant.* xvii. p. 194).

⁶ *Watter's Yuan-Chwang II*, p. 249.

their kingdom with the one described by Hiuen Tsiang. Nay, I believe that we are even able to identify the king whose court was visited by the pilgrim. "The king" says he "is of the Kshatriya caste. He is just 20 years old. He is distinguished for wisdom, and he is courageous. He is a deep believer in the law of Buddha and highly honours men of distinguished ability." Now, as the pilgrim visited the kingdom about hundred years after the foundation of the dynasty we may reasonably expect four generations of kings to have passed away during that period and the young king may be looked upon as belonging to the fifth. On referring to the dynastic list we find king Tāta occupying this position. Verses 14-15 inform us that king Tāta, considering the life to be evanescent as lightning, abdicated in favour of his younger brother and himself retired to a hermitage, practising there the rites of true religion. The curious confirmation about the religious fervour of the king, who may be held on other grounds to have been contemporary with the pilgrim, gives rise to a strong presumption about the correctness of our identification.¹

The Gurjaras, after their settlement in Rājputānā and Broach, had to fight for their supremacy with Prabhākara-vardhana of Thaneswar who seems to have headed the native resistance against the invading hordes of the Hūṇas and the Gurjaras. We have already referred to the wars of Prabhākara-vardhana against the Gurjaras. The poetical language of Bāṇabhaṭṭa may be taken to imply that the further advance of the Gurjaras was stayed in the north. The struggle was not, however, a decisive one, and seems to have been continued till the time of Harshavardhana. The feudatory Dadda II of Broach is said to have protected a lord of Valabhi against the Kanauj Emperor, and surprise has justly been expressed how a small state like Broach could withstand the force of the mighty emperor. Every thing however appears quite clear if we admit Broach to have been a feudatory state of the dynasty of Harichandra and remember its hereditary enmity with the royal house of Thaneswar. That the Gurjaras were not worsted in their struggle with the kings of Thaneswar appears quite clearly from the fact that they retained their independence, as Hiuen Tsiang informs us, till at least a late period in the reign of Harshavardhana. The struggle between Dadda-II and the rulers of Kanauj incidentally referred to in inscriptions, may thus be looked upon as part and parcel of the great and long-drawn battle between the two powers.

The extension of the Gurjara power to the south brought it into conflict with the rising power of the Chālukyas. It is recorded in the Aihole Inscription² that the Chālukya hero Pulakēśi II (611 to 640 A.D.) defeated the Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gurjaras. The Gurjaras here must be taken to refer to the Pratihāra dynasty under consideration, for it cannot denote the feudatory line founded by Dadda as it is included under the Lāṭas. The mention of the Gurjaras along with the Lāṭas and the Mālavas clearly shows that they occupied a territory contiguous to these two provinces and the kingdom of the Pratihāra line under consideration exactly corresponds to this. The struggle between the two powers must have been of long duration; for during the reign of the successor of Pulakēśi, a branch of the Chālukya dynasty was founded in southern Gujarāt, and this was evidently to keep in check the powerful Gurjaras in the north.

¹ It has been urged by Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII, p. 192) and V. A. Smith (*J. R. A. S.* 1907, p. 923) that the kingdom visited by Hiuen Tsiang was that of Bhīllamāla, ruled over by the Chāpa dynasty. Professor D. R. Bhandarkar has pointed out several drawbacks in this explanation (*J. B. Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XXI, p. 417). It will suffice here to point out that the identification of Pi-lo-mo-lo with Bhīllamāla is far from satisfactory, in view of its distance from Valabhi as given by Hiuen Tsiang. Again, the Chāpōkēṭas or the Chāpas are clearly distinguished from the Gurjaras in the Nausāri grant of the Gujarāt Chālukya Pulakēśirāja (Kielhorn's *Northern List* No. 404) and the Chāpa kingdom cannot, therefore, be identified with the Gurjara kingdom visited by Hiuen Tsiang.

² *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI, p. 6.

The Gurjara Pratihāra line founded by Harichandra thus established itself in Rājputānā and fought successfully against the royal houses of Thaneshwar and Bādāmi. For about two hundred years they ruled in splendour over the greater part of Rājputānā but the Arab invasion of about 725 A.D. brought about a decline. The Nausārī plates of the Gujarāt Chālukya Pulakēśirāja, dated in October, A.D. 738, tell us that the Gurjaras were destroyed by an invasion of the Tājikas or Arabs, apparently shortly before that time.¹

It seems very likely that the Arab invasions referred to in the Nausārī plates were those undertaken by the officers of Junaid, the general of Khalif Hasham (724-743 A.D.). Bilāduri gives a short account of these expeditions and mentions, among other things, that Junaid sent his officers to Marmad Mandal, Barus and other places and conquered Bailaman and Jurz.² There can be no doubt that Marmad is the same as Maru-māḍa which is referred to in the Ghaṭiyālā inscription of Kakkuka and includes Jaisalmer and part of Jodhpur State.³ Barus is undoubtedly Broach and Mandal probably denotes Mandor. It is now a well-known fact that Jurz was the Arabic corruption of Gurjara, and Bailaman probably refers to the circle of states mentioned in our inscription as Valla-maṇḍala. It would thus appear that the Arab army under Junaid conquered the main Gurjara states in the north as well as the feudatory state of Broach in the south.

This catastrophe must have taken place at the beginning of the second quarter of the eighth century A.D. According to Bilāduri the Arab expeditions were arranged by Junaid during the Caliphate of Hasham who ruled from 724 to 743 A.D. According to Elliot Junaid was succeeded by Tamin about 726 A.D.⁴ Evidently this last date is far from being definitely known and we may therefore conclude that the expeditions were undertaken shortly after 724 A.D. The Nausārī plates show, however, that the expeditions referred to in them took place between 731 and 738 A.D. For, according to the Balsar plates,⁵ Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśirāja did not come to the throne till the year 731 A.D., and as he himself takes the credit of having repelled the Arabs from Nausārī, the event must be dated after that year.

The Chālukya prince Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśirāja, who successfully resisted the Arabs, probably took advantage of this opportunity to wrest the Lāṭa province from the Gurjara kingdom. The decline of the Gurjara power thus brought about by the Arab invasion in the north and the Chālukya aggression in the south favoured the growth of a rival Pratihāra dynasty which was ultimately destined to play the imperial role in India. The origin of this dynasty is described in verses 4 and 7 of the Gwalior *prashasti* of Bhōja published below. It records that Nāgabhaṭa, the first king, defeated the Mlēcchhas, and after him ruled his two nephews Kakkuka and Dēvarāja. Vatsarāja, the son of the latter, became a very powerful king and wrested the empire from the famous Bhaṇḍi clan. Now, our inscription tells us that Śiluka who was the protector of Valla-maṇḍala (a circle of kingdoms) defeated Bhaṭṭika Dēvarāja (v. 19). As Dēvarāja of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty was the father of Vatsarāja whose known date is 783-4 A.D., he probably flourished about the middle of the eighth century A.D. Śiluka, according to our scheme of chronology must also have been ruling about the same time and the identity of the two kings called Dēvarāja may be at once presumed. A careful study of the two inscriptions seems to show that Nāgabhaṭa, the founder of the Imperial Pratihāras, successfully resisted the Arab invasions which proved so disastrous to the other Pratihāra line. His successors were not slow to take advantage of this favourable situation, and Dēvarāja entered into a contest for supremacy with Śiluka. He was defeated by the latter.

¹ *Transactions of the Vienna Oriental Congress*, Arian Section, p. 231.

² *Elliot-History of India*, Vol. I, p. 126.

³ Above, Vol. IX, p. 278.

⁴ *Elliot-History of India*, Vol. I, p. 442.

⁵ Referred to in *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 5; and above, Vol. VIII, p. 231.

but his son Vatsarāja pursued his policy with signal success and wrested the empire from the family of Harichandra.

All these successive changes in the fortune of the dynasty are reflected in our inscription. According to our scheme of chronology Chanduka was on the throne when the Arab invasion took place. It becomes therefore a significant fact that whereas he is passed over with mere conventional praises, tribute is paid to the prowess and heroism of his successor Śiluka. Then, again, the two successors of Śiluka are said to have taken to religious life and not a single act of martial glory is attributed to any of them. This was apparently the time when their rivals gradually established themselves in the position of recognised suzerainty over the entire confederate clans which was so long enjoyed by them. The subsequent kings of the line of Harichandra retained possession of their own kingdom, although they lost their supreme position, and gradually seem to have reconciled themselves to their new situation. Kakka, the great grandson of Śiluka appears to have accompanied the new suzerain power in its wars of conquest. For we are told in verse 24 that he fought with the Gaṇḍas at Mudgagiri or Monghyr. Apparently he fought as a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa II one of whose known dates is 815 A.D., and who is said in the Gwalior inscription of Bhōja (below) to have defeated the king of Vaṅga.

There was, however, a temporary revival of the Pratihāra power in the middle of the ninth century A.D. The Daulatpurā copper plate of Bhōja, dated in the year 843 A.D., records the grant of a piece of land situated in Gurjaratrā, but the Ghaṭiyālā inscription of Kakkuka refers to the province as being held by that king. As this inscription is dated in 861 A.D. Bhōja must have lost this province between these dates. In fact a close study of the Daulatpurā plate seems to indicate that the province was held by Vatsarāja and Nāgabhaṭa but lost by Rāmabhadra and regained by Bhōja before 843 A.D. For it speaks of the original grant by the first, its continuation by the second and renewal by the fourth king, leading to the evident conclusion that there was a break in the possession of the territory during the reign of the third. This view entirely agrees with what we know of the rival Pratihāra dynasty; for Nāgabhaṭa II was crushed by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Govinda III and Rāmabhadra's reign was an inglorious one. The difficulty of the rivals must have presented the requisite opportunity to the Jodhpur Pratihāras to regain the power that they had lost. Thus whereas the two successors of Śiluka are described as practising austerities—an unmistakable indication of their political and military inanity—Kakka, the third king after Śiluka is described as a great fighter and his queen consort is called a *mahārājāñī*. Their son Bāuka was also a great hero and his military exploits are described at great length in our inscription. According to the Ghaṭiyālā inscriptions Kakkuka also ruled over a vast dominion. Nothing is at present known about his successors but it is likely that with the revival of the Imperial Pratihāras under Bhōja during the latter part of Bhōja's reign, their territory was finally annexed by the latter.

A few words may be said regarding the geographical names contained in the inscription. *Māṇḍavya-pura* and *Mēḍantaka-pura* (l. 7) most probably denote the cities of Mandor and Merta. Line 11 contains the names of *Stravaṇī* and *Valla-dēśa*, two provinces, close to each other. As Śiluka is said in the same line to have been '*Vallamaṇḍala-pālaka*', Valla must denote the region over which these Pratihāra chiefs ruled. As Śiluka is also said in verse 18 to have fixed the boundary between *Stravaṇī* and *Valla*, the former would appear to have denoted a neighbouring kingdom. *Stravaṇī* is probably the same as *Tamani* of the Ghaṭiyālā inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka as the latter occurs along with *Valla* in a list of contiguous countries. The locality of this *Stravaṇī* or *Tamani* has not been established so far. It seems to me, however, that it is to be identified with the kingdom of Taban referred to by the Arab geographers of the ninth century A.D. A comparison of the various references to this kingdom

by Arab writers¹ seems to show that it consisted of a part of the Panjāb just to the north-west of Rājputānā. Reference is twice made (vv. 27, 29) to Mayūra, a king defeated by Bāuka. We know of no such king, but Hiuen Tsiang refers to a city called Mo-Yu-lo (or Mayūra) situated near Gangādvāra² mentioned in v. 23. Mayūra of our inscription may refer to the king of the locality.

Trētā-tīrtha (v. 20) and **Bhūakūpa** (v. 27) cannot be identified. But Gangā-dvāra (v. 23) and Mudgagiri (v. 24) are well known names denoting respectively Haridvār and Monghyr.

TEXT.

[Metres used: vv. 1 to 26, *Anushtubh*; vv. 27-28, *Sragdharā*; v. 29, *Āryā*; v. 30, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; v. 31, *Mālinī*.]

- 1 Ōm namō Viṣṇavē || Ya[smin=viśa]nti bhūtāni yatas=sargga-sthiti matē ; sa
vaḥ=pāyād=Dhṛiṣṭikēśo nirgguṇas=saguṇas=cha yaḥ || [1*] Guṇāḥ=pūrvvām
pu(pū)rushāpām ki[rttyantē] tēna³
- 2 paṇḍitaiḥ | guṇa-kīrttir=anaśyanti svargga-vāsa-karī yataḥ || [2*]⁴ Ataḥ śrī-
Bāukō dhimām⁵ sva-Pratihāra=vaṇśajām⁶ | praśastau lēkhayāmāsa śrī-yaśō-
vikkram-ānvitān || [3*] Sva-bhrāttrā Rā-
- 3 -mabhadrasya prātihāryam kṛitam yataḥ | śrī-Pratihāra⁷=vaṇśō=yam=ataś=ch=
ōnnatim=āpnuyat⁸ | [4*] Viprah śrī-Harichandr=ākhyah=patni Bhadrā cha
kshattriya⁹ | tābhyān=tu [yē su]tā jātāḥ [Pratihā]rāmś=cha tēn=vi-
- 4 duḥ | [5*] Babbhūva Rōhilladdhyānko Vēda-sāstr-ārttha-pāragah | dvijah śrī-
Harichandr-ākhyah Prajāpati-samō guruḥ || [6*] Tēna śrī-Harichandrēna
pariṇtā dvij-ātmajā | [dvi]tiyā kshattri-
- 5 yā⁹ Bhadrā mahā-kula-guṇ-ānvitā [17*] Pratihārā dvijā bhūtā Brāhmaṇyām
yē=bhavam¹⁰=sūtāḥ | rājñi Bhadrā cha yānt=sūtē tē bhūtā madhu-pāyinaḥ |
[8*] Chatvāra[s]=ch=ātmajās=tasyām jātā bhū-dharaṇa-ksha-
- 6 māḥ | śrīmān=Bhōgabhaṭah Kakkō Rajjilō Dadḍa ēva cha | [9*] Māṇḍavya-
pura-durggē=sminn=ēbhīr=nnija-bhuj-ārjijitē | prākārah kāritas=tuṅgō vidviṣhām
bhīti-varddhanaḥ | [10*] Amishām Rajjilāj=jātāḥ
- 7 śrīmān=Narabhaṭah sutaḥ | Pēllāpēll=iti nām=ābhūd=dvi[tīyam] tasya vikkramaiḥ
[11*] Tasmān=[Narabha]tāj-jātāḥ śrīmān=Nāgabhaṭah¹¹ sūtah [1*] rājadhāni
sthirā yasya mahan=Mēḍantakam puram || [12*] Rājñyām śrī-
- 8 Jajjikā-dēvyās¹²=tato jātāu mahā-guṇau | dvau sutau Tāta-Bhōj-ākhyau sau-¹³
daryau ripu-marddanau || [13*] Tātēna tēna lōkasya vidyuch-chamchala-
jīvitam | budhvā¹⁴ rājyam laghōr=bhrātu¹⁵ śrī-Bhōja-

¹ Elliot-History of India, Vol. I, pp. 4, 5, 13, 21, 25.

² Watters Yuan Chwang I. 328-9.

³ The letter *na* looks like *ni*.

⁴ The Ślōka-metre here employed is faulty—the sixth syllable in the first *pāda* being short against rule.

⁵ Read *dhimān*.

⁶ Read *vaṇśajām*.

⁷ The doubling of *t* in *pratihāra* is apparently due to the exigencies of the metre. Read *vaṇśō*=

⁸ Read *āpnuyāt*.

⁹ Read *Kshattriya*.

¹⁰ Read भवन्मुताः and यान्मुते in the same line, as per *sūtra* नय (V.11-3-30) of Pāṇini.

¹¹ Read *su*.

¹² Read *-dēvyāś*=

¹³ Read *sō*.

¹⁴ Read *budhvā*.

¹⁵ Read *bhrātuḥ*.

- 9 sya samarpitām¹ || [14*] Svayamñ¹=cha samsthitas=Tāta[h*] śuddham dharmama-
[m*] samācharan | Māṇḍavyasya=āśramē punyē nadī-nirjjhara-śobhitē || [15*]
Śrī-Yaśōvarddhanaś=tasmāt=puttrō vikhyāta-pauruṣaḥ | bhūtō ni[ja]-
- 10 bhūja-khyātīḥ samast-ōddhṛita-kaṇṭakaḥ || [16*] Tasmāch=cha Chāndukah
śīmān=puttrō=bhūt=prithu-vikkramaḥ | tējasvi tyāga-śīlaś=cha vidvishām yudhi
durdharaḥ || [17*] Tataḥ śrī-Śilukō jātaḥ puttrō dhrvvara-vikkramaḥ
[] yēna
- 11 śīmā kriṣā nityā Stravaṇi-Valla-dēśayōḥ || [18*] Bhṛṅgikam Dēvarājam yō
V lla-maṇḍala-pālaka[m]h | ni[pā]tya ta[tksha]ṇam bhūmau prāptavān
chchhatta-chibhukam[h]² || [19*] Pushkarīṇi kārītā yēna Ttrētā-ttṛthē cha
pattanam | Si-
- 12 ddhēśvarō Mahādēyah kārītaś=tuṅga-mamdirah³ || [20*] Tataḥ śrī-Śilukaj=jātaḥ
śīmān-Jhōṭō varah sutaḥ | yēna rājya-sukham bhutva⁴ Bhāgtra-thyām
kpiā gatiḥ | [21*] Babhūva satvavān=tasmāt=Bhīlādityas=tapō-ma-
- 13 tiḥ | yūnā rājyam lṛitam yēna punaḥ puttrāya dattava(vā)u || [22*] Gaṅgā-
dvāram tatō gatvā varshāpy=ashṭādaśa sthitah | antē ch=ānaśanam kṛtvā
svaṅga-lōkam samāgataḥ || [23*] Tatō=pi śrī-yutaḥ Kakkaḥ
- 14 puttrō jāto mahimatīḥ | yaśō Mudgagirau labdham yēna Gaudai⁵ samam
raṇ⁶ [24*] [Chbandō] Vyākaraṇam Tarkkō Jyōtiḥ-sāstram kal-ānvitam
sarva-lbhāśā-kavitvaḥ=cha vijñātām su-vilakṣaṇam | [25*] Bhṛṅgi(?)=va-
- 15 śāśa-viśuddhāyām⁷ tad=asmāt=Kakka-bhūpatōḥ | śrīmat-Padminyāḥ mahārājnyā⁸
jātaḥ śrī-Bāuka suta itī⁹ || [26*] Nandāvallam prahatvā¹⁰ ripu-balam=
atulaḥ Bāukap¹¹=prayātām dṛiṣṭvā bha-
- 16 gnām¹¹ sva-pakṣh[ā]m dvija-nṛpa-kulajām sat-Pratihārabhūpām | dhig-bhūt-
arkēna ta-min=prakṛita-yaśasā śrīmatā Bāukēna¹² sphūrjan=hatvā¹³ Mayūram
tad=anu nara-nrigā ghātītā hē-
- 17 [] [27] Kasy=anyasya prabhagnaḥ¹⁴ sa-sachivam=anujam tyajya¹⁵
rānasu tāttrah () kōn=aikōn=āti-bhītē daśa-diśi tu val¹⁶ stambhya¹⁶ ch=
ātūānam=skūn | dhuryā[n=m]uktva=āśva-prisṭham kṣhiti-ga-

¹ There is a redundant *anusvāra* after *ya* which may be cancelled.

² The syllable *ka* has both the *anusvāra* and the *visarga* added to it as in *pālakaḥ* in the same line. Cancel the *anusvāra* in the latter and the *visarga* in the former.

³ The first *pāda* of this *śloka* contains one syllable too many.

⁴ Read *bhūtvā*.

⁵ Read *Gaudai*.

⁶ Read *raṇam*.

⁷ Read *viśuddhāyām*.

⁸ Cancel *mat* and read *Padminyām mahārājnyām*.

⁹ Read *śrī-Bāukas=utah itī*. Cancel *itī*. [Perhaps here ended the *prastāvi* which was caused to be written by Bāuka as mentioned in verse 3 above; the indclinable *itī* indicates it.—Ed.]

¹⁰ Read *prahatya*. [Read *प्रहृष्ट* which would suit the metre better than *प्रहृष्ट*—Ed.]

¹¹ Read *bhagnān sva-pakṣhān dvija-nṛpa-kulajām sat-Pratihāra-bhūpām*.

¹² Cancel the unnecessary punctuation.

¹³ *Sphūrjan* is an adjective qualifying *Bāukēna* and must therefore be corrected into *sphūrjatā*, though this renders the metre incorrect.

¹⁴ Read *prabhagnam*.

¹⁵ Read *tyajtvā rānasu tāmttrah*, though this offends against the metre.

¹⁶ Correctly *stambhagatiḥ*.

22

- 18 -ta-charaṇēn=āsi-hastēna śattruṃ
 chhitvā¹ bhitvā² śmaśānam kṛitam=ati-[bha]yadam Bāuk-āyēna tasmin |
 [28*] Nava-maṇḍala-nava-nichayē bhagnē hatyā Mayūram=ati-gaṇaṇ | tad=
 annu
- 19 bhṛit-āsi-taraṅgā śrī-mad-Bāuka-nṛi-siṁghēna³ || [29*] Sārdh-ārdhahī=praga[la]d-
 bhirakta⁴-sushirair=bbā[h]-ūru-pād-āṅgakau=ētraś⁵=ch-ōpari-lamṛi(bi)tair=virachitam⁶
 śava-grīham phētkāra⁷-satv-ākulaṃ |
- 20 yach=chhri-Bāuka-maṇḍa[l]āgra-rachitam prāk=chhatru-saṁgh-ākulē tat=samsṛitya
 na kasya samprati bhavēt=trās-ōdgamaś=chētasi | [30*] Nanu sama[ra*]-
 dharāyām Bāukē nṛityamānē śava-tanu-
- 21 śakal-āntīśhv=ēva vinyasta-pādē | śamam=iva hi gatās=tē tishṭha-tishṭh=ēti
 gītād=bhaya-gata-nṛi-k[u]raṅgās=chittram=ētat=tadā=st || [31*] Sam 894
 Chaittra śu di 5⁹
- 22 Utkirṇā cha hēma-kāra-Vishṇuravi-s[ū]nanā Kṛishṇēśvarēṇa ||

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1). Om ! Salutation to Vishṇu !

(Verse 1). May Hṛishikēśa, in whom all elements enter and from whom creation and protection are supposed (to proceed), who is both *nirguṇa* and *saguṇa* (i.e., with and without attribute) protect you.

(Verse 2). The glories of ancestors are first sung by wise men because perpetual recitation of glories (has for its effect) the dwelling in heaven.

(Verse 3). Hence the illustrious wise Bāuka caused (the glories of his ancestors), belonging to his own Pratihāra clan, and possessed of wealth, fame and prowess, to be written in (this) *prasaśti*.

(Verse 4). Inasmuch as the very brother of Rāmabhadra performed the duty of door-keeper, (*pratihāra*), this illustrious clan came to be known as Pratihāra.¹⁰ May it prosper.

(Verse 5). (There was) an illustrious Brāhmaṇa named Harichandra and his wife (was) Bhadrā, a Kshatriyā. The sons born of them are known as Pratihāras.

(Verse 6). There was an illustrious Brāhmaṇa named Harichandra Rōhilladdhi, who was versed in the meaning of the Vēdas and the *śāstras* and who was a preceptor like Prajāpati.¹¹

(Verse 7). That illustrious Harichandra married (first) the daughter of a Brāhmaṇa, and, (as) second (wife), the Kshatriyā Bhadrā, belonging to a noble family and possessed of good qualities.

¹ Read *chhitvā*.

² Read *bhitvā*.

³ Read ° *siṁghēna*. Some such phrase as *sēnā hitā* has to be supplied in order to complete the sense.

⁴ Read *pragabud-virakta*. If *bhi* is retained, we should, grammatically have expected *pragabudbhī* (Pāṇini, VI. 3, 111).

⁵ Read =*āntīśhv*.

⁶ The word *virachitam* is redundant since later on occurs also the word *richitam*. It may be omitted in order also to set the metre right.

⁷ Read *phētkāri* ° Read *ic-mvi(bi)tair=Śava-*

⁸ There is the figure of a 'wheel' after this word.

⁹ There is the figure of a 'couch' after this word.

¹⁰ The word *Pratihāra* is variously written as *Pratihāra* (l. 2) and *Pratihāra* (l. 3). I have adopted the first form throughout the translation.

¹¹ The meaning of the word 'Rōhilladdhiyāka' in this verse is uncertain. [Harichandra's surname or *virāḍa* may have been Rōhilladdhi though it sounds rather outlandish.—E.L.]

(Verse 8). Those sons who were born of the Brāhmaṇa wife became Pratihāra Brāhmaṇas. Those who were born of queen Bhadrā became 'drinkers of wine'.¹

(Verse 9). Four sons, fit to hold the earth, were born to her, viz., the illustrious Bhōgabhaṭa, Kakka, Rajjila and Dadda.

(Verse 10). In this fort of Māṇḍavyapura, conquered by their own arms, they erected a high rampart, (which was) calculated to increase the fear of the enemies.

(Verse 11). From Rajjila among them was born the illustrious son Narabhaṭa. On account of his prowess his second name was 'Pēllāpelli.'

(Verse 12). From Narabhaṭa was born a son, the illustrious Nāgabhaṭa, who had his permanent capital at the great city of Mēḍantaka.

(Verse 13). From him, begotten on Jajjikādēvi, were born the two uterine accomplished sons named Tāta and Bhōja, who were oppressors of enemies.

(Verse 14). By Tāta, who realised that the world was evanescent as lightning, the kingdom was conferred on his younger brother, the illustrious Bhōja.

(Verse 15). Tāta himself retired to the pious hermitage of Māṇḍavya, adorned with streams and rivers, and practised there the rites of pure religion.

(Verse 16). From him (Tāta) was born the son, the illustrious Yaśōvardhana renowned for his prowess, (who earned) fame by his own arms and rooted out all the thorns (i.e. enemies).

(Verse 17). From him was born the son, the illustrious Chanduka of great valour, (who was) full of splendour, of charitable disposition and invincible to enemies in war.

(Verse 18). From him was born the son, the illustrious Śiluka of irrepressible prowess, who fixed a perpetual boundary between the provinces of Stravaṇi and Valla.

(Verse 19). Who, the protector of Vallamaṇḍala, having knocked down Bhaṭṭika Dēvarāja on the ground, at once obtained from him the ensign of the umbrella.

(Verse 20). Who had a tank excavated, a city established, and the lofty temple of Siddhēśvara Mahādēva constructed, at the holy place called Trētā.

(Verse 21). From the illustrious Śiluka was born the excellent son, the illustrious Jhōṭa, who proceeded to the Bhāgīrathī (Ganges) after enjoying the bliss of kingdom.

(Verse 22). From him was born Bhillāditya, possessed of *satva* quality and disposed to austerities (*tapas*); he governed the kingdom, while young, and then bestowed it on his son.

(Verse 23). Then proceeding to Gaṅgā-dvāra he stayed for eighteen years and finally went to heaven by practising fast (i.e., dying by abstinence from food).

(Verse 24). From him, too, was born the noble son, the illustrious Kakka, who gained reputation by fighting with the Gaudas at Mudgagiri.

(Verse 25). (Whose) knowledge of Prosody, Grammar, Logic, Astronomy, with attendant arts, and Poetry in all languages was extraordinary.

(Verse 26). From king Kakka, begotten on the pure illustrious great queen Padminī, of the Bhaṭṭi clan, was born the illustrious son Bāuka.

(Verse 27). Having found the matchless enemy gone to Bhūakūpa after killing Nandavalla, while the good Pratihāra princes, born in the family of the Brāhmaṇa king and belonging to his party, had broken in disorder, the illustrious Bāuka, a single man despised by the enemy, suddenly burst forth and killed, with his weapons, first Mayūra and then his men who were like deer, and thus was his glory manifest.

¹ It is curious to note that the Arab travellers of the ninth century A. D. have also laid it down as a distinct characteristic of the Brāhmaṇas, that they abstain from wine. (Elliot's History of India, Vol. I, p. 9.)

(Verse 28). What other king but Bāuka, while his authority over other kings was destroyed, his own younger brothers and ministers had left him and his army on all sides was seized with terror, could, unaided, stand firm like a pillar, and, leaving the horse-back and standing on the ground unperturbed, sword in hand, pierce the enemy through and through, causing thereby a terrible burial ground in that battlefield?

(Verse 29). After having dispersed the recent gathering of the newly formed confederation, and killed Mayūra, Bāuka, the lion among men, killed the army which was supporting waves of swords.

(Verse 30). Whose mind would not now be filled with terror on remembering the house of dead made by Bāuka's sword, which ere long was put in confusion by the enemy's host—the house of dead which was made by the arms, thighs, legs and other limbs, rent in twain, with oozing as well as bloodless cavities, together with the entrails hung above, and which was full of jackals?

(Verse 31). Verily, when Bāuka was dancing in the battle-field, placing his feet on the very entrails and other parts of the dead bodies, the frightened men (enemies) who were like deer, became quiet as it were with strain *tishṭha*, *tishṭha*¹. This indeed was very strange!

(L. 21). The year 894, (the month of) Chaitra, the fifth day of the bright fortnight.

(L. 22). Engraved by Kṛishṇēśvara, son of the gold-smith Viṣṇuravi.

No. 13.—THE GWALIOR PRASASTI OF THE GURJARA-PRATIHARA KING BHOJA.

By R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D.; DACCA.

The stone which bears this inscription was discovered in 1896, about half a mile west of Gwalior town, at Sāgar Tāl in the Gird-Gwalior district. It contains 17 lines of writing covering a space of about 3' 4½" broad by 1' 2" high. The first twelve lines are incised with great care and neatness and the letters are so distinct and beautiful that they can be read without hesitation even from a distance. The remaining lines, for some unaccountable reasons, are not so distinctly engraved, but can be read, without any great difficulty, especially from the reverse side of the estampage. The whole inscription is thus clearly legible except two letters at the end of line 5 where the stone surface is damaged.

It was first edited by Pandit Hirananda in the *Arch. Surv. Report* for 1903-4 (pp. 277-285), with a facsimile Plate. Then, in March 1905 Dr. Kielhorn gave a short account of the inscription in *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (pp. 300-304) without any reference to the first edition. I re-edit the inscription from fresh impressions kindly procured for me by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A. My excuse in taking up the subject again, is that, in my opinion, the great historical importance of the record requires further scrutiny and comment. I follow the previous Editors as far as possible but give my independent opinion only in cases where I feel it necessary to do so.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and except the benedictory formula *om namō Viṣṇavē* at the beginning, it is throughout composed in metrical form. The author shows himself to be well versed in the best form of the Kāvya style, and his chaste dignified verses make one sincerely regret that no further production from his able pen has been preserved for us. Special attention may be drawn to the ease with which *ślēshas* and *dhvanis* have been frequently introduced into this historical poem.

¹ [The word *tishṭha* is onomatopoeic. As one plunges his leg in miry ground and lifts them up with force, the steps are likely to make the noise *tishṭha*, *tishṭha* — Ed.]

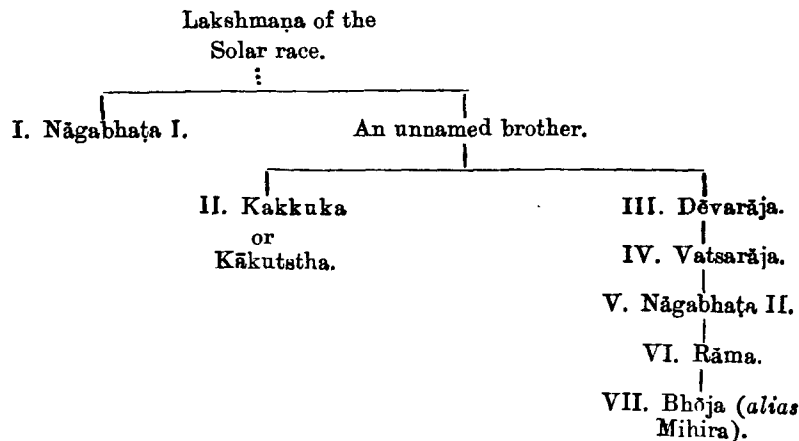
The important points to note in the matter of orthography have been already mentioned by Pandit Hirananda in A. S. R. for 1903-04 pp. 277 ff.

The use of dental nasals instead of *anusvāra*, e.g. in *hinśraṁ* (v. 3), and in *vanśē* (v. 4); the different spellings of the same proper name as in *Pratihāra* (v. 3) and *Pratihāra* (v. 4); and the change of the *visarga* followed by *s* into that letter, e.g. in *yasy=aitās=sampadaś=cha* (v. 6), *°stais=samuchita-charitaiḥ* (v. 12), and *upāyais=sampadām* (v. 13) may be noticed.

The characters of the inscription are of the **Nāgarī** type current in Northern and Western India during the ninth century A.D. Pandit Hirananda remarks that they resemble most closely those of the Pehevā grant of Mahendra-Pāla. But a close examination of the two records shows that the letters *i*, *t*, *n*, *th*, *dh*, *n*, *m*, *l*, and *ś* of our inscription are different from those employed in the Pehevā grant.¹ As a matter of fact, the only published inscription to which our record shows the closest resemblance is the Gwalior inscription of Bhōja of the year 933.² The only noticeable difference between the two records is to be found in the new forms of *bh* and *ś* used in the latter, in addition to those employed in our inscription. The close resemblance between these two records is only quite natural as both come from the same locality and belong to the same reign.

It may be noted that the new forms of *bh* and *ś* which we find in the Gwalior inscription of the year 933 along with those in our record, have alone been used in all the later inscriptions of the dynasty, of which facsimiles are available, with the single exception of the Pehevā grant of Mahendra-Pāla. On the other hand, only the forms used in our record are found in the Buchkalā inscription of Nāgabhaṭa, dated V.S. 872,³ the only known record of the dynasty before the time of king Bhōja. It may thus be presumed that the record is earlier than 933 V. S., although much stress should not be laid on this conclusion in view of the recurrence of the forms in the Pehevā grant.

The inscription records the erection of a house in his seraglio, by the **Gurjara-Pratihāra** king **Bhōja** in honour of **Vishṇu**, and begins with an invocation to that God. Verse 2 describes the creation of the Sun and names some important kings born in the **Solar race**. Verse 3 refers to Rāma and his terrible fight with Rāvaṇa. The family to which Bhōja belonged is traced from Lakshmana, the younger brother of Rāma (v. 3). The genealogy of the family, as furnished by this inscription, may be explained by the following table⁴ :—



¹ Cf. the plate, above, Vol. I, p. 244.

² *Ibid.*, p. 160.

³ Above, Vol. IX, p. 198.

⁴ Some of these kings had also other appellations; Cf. the genealogical table above, Vol. XIV, p. 179.

Of these, **Nāgabhaṭa I** defeated a **Mlēcchha** army (v. 4), and **Dēvarāja** is said to have defeated a host of kings (v. 5). His son **Vatsarāja**, a famous king, forcibly wrested the empire from the **Bhaṇḍi** clan (vv. 6-7) and **Nāgabhaṭa II** defeated **Chakrāyudha** and also conquered kings of the **Ānartta**, **Turushka**, **Mālava**, **Vatsa**, **Matsya** and other countries (vv. 8-11). **Bhōja**, also called **Mihira**, is said to have defeated his powerful enemies and verses 16-26 describe his greatness in general terms.

The chronology of the kings mentioned in this inscription may be fixed with a tolerable degree of certainty. We have the dates 756-7 A.D. for **Nāgabhaṭa I**, 783-4 A.D. for **Vatsarāja**, 815 A.D. for **Nāgabhaṭa II**, and dates ranging from 843 to 881 A.D. for **Bhōja**. Again, we learn from a Jaina book, the *Prabhāvaka-charita*, that king **Nāgāvalōka** of **Kānyakubja**, the grand-father of **Bhōja** died in 890 Vikrama-Saṃvat, and this **Nāgāvalōka** has been correctly identified with **Nāgabhaṭa II**.¹ Thus the first three kings of the genealogical table may be placed between 725 and 775 A.D., and the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh kings may be taken to have ascended the throne respectively at about 775, 800, 833 and 840 A.D.

Before the discovery of this inscription, our knowledge of the Gurjara-Pratihāra kings, who played such an important part in Indian history, was very limited and inaccurate. Although the late A. M. T. Jackson, M.A., I.C.S., and Prof. Bhandarkar² laid the true foundation of our knowledge about the Gurjara-Pratihāra history, a complete understanding of the subject, in all its bearings, was impossible, in consequence of the view held by Dr. Fleet, Dr. Kielhorn and others, that the homonymous kings referred to in the copper-plates lived earlier than, and were thus different from, those mentioned in the stone inscriptions. It was the discovery of this inscription that finally settled the question and facilitated the proper treatment of the Gurjara-Pratihāra history.³ Dr. V. A. Smith has clearly pointed out,⁴ that the express mention of the family name of the kings in this inscription helps us to definitely assign the royal dynasty of Kanauj to the Gurjara-Pratihāra clan.

The rise and growth of the great Gurjara empire, which played such a conspicuous part in Indian polity in the ninth century A.D., is clearly traced by our inscription. The names of the early kings of the dynasty, recorded in inscriptions, such as the Daulatpurā copper-plate of **Bhōjadēva**,⁵ Dighwā Dubauli plate of **Mahēndrapāla**⁶ and the Bengal Asiatic Society's copper-plate of **Vināyakapāla**⁷ are but a mere string of names without any details such as are to be found in the present inscription. This invests our record with particular importance, and the data it furnishes may be justly said to have revealed an altogether new chapter of Indian history.

The founder of the royal line is named **Nāgabhaṭa**, a name not yet found in any other record of the family. He is said to have defeated the **Mlēcchha** army, and the manner in which this solitary fact is mentioned with regard to him, seems to show that it was looked upon

¹ Above, Vol. XIV, p. 179, foot-note 3.

² A. M. T. Jackson, in *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, App. III; Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in *J. Bo. Br. E. A. S.*, Vol. XXI, p. 405 f., 413 f.

³ This point is fully brought out by Dr. Kielhorn (*loc. cit.*).

⁴ *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 58.

⁵ Above, Vol. V, p. 208.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 105.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

as of great importance in the history of the family. Now the locality of Nāgabhaṭa's kingdom and the period when he flourished may be gathered from a passage in the Jaina *Harivaṃśa*.¹ The passage has been noticed by various scholars, and the following remarks of Dr. Fleet may be taken to represent the earlier views regarding its interpretation. "A passage in the Jain *Harivaṃśa* of Jinasēna tells us that that work was finished in Śaka-Saṃvat 705 (expired), = 783-784 A.D., when there were reigning—in various directions determined with reference to a town named Vardhamānapura, which is to be identified with modern Wadhvān in the Jhālāvād division of Kāthiāwār,—in the north, Indrāyudha; in the south, Śrīvallabha; in the east, Vatsarāja, king of Avanti (Ujjain); and in the west, Varāha or Jayavarāha, in the territory of the Sauryas."² This seems to have been the accepted view till 1902 when Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar gave a somewhat different interpretation of it. He translated the last portion as follows:—"In the east, the illustrious king of Avanti; in the west, king Vatsarāja; (and) in the territory of the Sauryas, the victorious and brave Varāha."³ Quite recently Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has drawn my attention to a passage in an unpublished copper-plate grant in his possession⁴, which runs as follows:—

"Hiranyagarbham rājanyair=Ujjayanyām yad=āsitam |
Pratihārikṛitām yēna Gurjar-śē-ādi-rājakam ||"

This points to a Gurjara-Pratihāra kingdom in Ujjayini; for, the word *Pratihāra*, apart from its usual meaning, is evidently an allusion to the name of the clan. This is decisive in favour of Dr. Fleet's interpretation of the passage.

It has been unanimously held by scholars that Vatsarāja, referred to in the above passage, is the Pratihāra king of the same name, the grand-nephew of Nāgabhaṭa. As Vatsarāja was reigning in 783-784 A.D., Nāgabhaṭa may be taken to have flourished in about 725 A.D. Again, Avanti must be looked upon as the home-territory of the dynasty, for, although Vatsarāja ruled over a vast kingdom, he is simply called the ruler of Avanti in the passage quoted from the *Harivaṃśa*. It may be held, therefore, that Nāgabhaṭa ruled over Avanti about 725 A.D.

As we have seen, in connection with the Jodhpur inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka⁵, this was the period when the great Arab raid took place. As Bilāduri⁶ clearly mentions Ujjain as being attacked by the Arabs, there can scarcely be any doubt that the Gwalior inscription, like the Nausāri plates, refers to the Arab expedition described by Bilāduri.

Our inscription tells us that the Arab forces were defeated by Nāgabhaṭa I, and this is fully in keeping with the account of Bilāduri, who observes:—"They (*i.e.*, the Arabs) made incursions against Uzain, and they attacked Baharimand and burnt its suburbs. Junaid conquered Al Bailaman and Jurz . . ." Thus whereas other places were *conquered*, the Arabs merely *sent*

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 141; *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 197, f.n. 2.

² Above, Vol. VI, pp. 195-6.

³ *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXI, p. 421, f.n. 4.

⁴ It was formerly in the possession of his elder brother, late Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar and noticed by him in *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 117. It will be henceforth referred to as the Sañjān copper-plate. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar is engaged in editing it for the *Ep. Ind.* and I take this opportunity of expressing my indebtedness to him for having kindly permitted me to use the inscription before its publication.

⁵ See above, p. 93.

⁶ For Bilāduri's account of the Arab expedition, cf. Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. 1, p. 126.

incursions against Ujjain, and if we remember that this is from the pen of an Arab historian, it must be looked upon as a tacit admission that the Arabs failed in their expedition against Ujjain. It is also significant, that the Nausāri plates¹ do not include the king of Avanti in the list of those that were defeated by the Arabs. Further, Bilāduri himself admits that Junaid's successor was feeble, and, in his days, the Muslims retired from several parts of India and left some of their possessions.

Thus all the available evidence shows that Nāgabhaṭa I established the greatness of his family by his triumphant success over the Arabs. The Hānsōṭ plates of the Chāhamāna feudatory Bhartrivādḍha II² records a grant that was made at Broach, in the increasing reign of victory of the glorious Nāgāvalōka, in the year 756 A.D. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar³ upheld the view that this Nāgāvalōka is no other than Nāgabhaṭa I, and Dr. Sten Konow⁴ has accepted it. It would then follow that he re-established the Pratihāra sovereignty over Broach which the family of Jodhpur must have lost during the Arab expeditions. A reminiscence of Nāgabhaṭa's struggle with the neighbouring powers seems to have been preserved in the Raghōli plates of Jayavardhana II, a king of the Śaila dynasty, ruling over part of the Central Provinces. We are told that Prithuvaradhana, a king of the family, who probably ruled about the middle of the eighth century A.D., conquered the country of the Gurjaras.⁵

We have seen above, in connection with the Jodhpur inscription of the Pratihāra Bāuka, how, as an indirect result of the *Mlēcchha* invasion, the suzerainty hitherto enjoyed by the dynasty of Harichandra passed into the family of Nāgabhaṭa. It would appear that shortly after 725 A.D., when the Arab invaders seemed to have carried away everything before them, and, in particular, defeated the Pratihāra clan who had been ruling in Rājputānā for about two centuries, Nāgabhaṭa gained successes over the *Mlēcchha* forces and established his supremacy over the clan. The struggle which thus began between the two Pratihāra families was long and tedious. Śiluka, the king of the Rājputānā family, succeeded in regaining his territory after defeating one Dēvarāja, probably the nephew of Nāgabhaṭa I. Vatsarāja, the son and successor of Dēvarāja, however, continued the struggle and gave the final blow to the tottering rival power. The empire over which it had ruled for well-nigh two hundred years then finally passed into the hands of the family of Nāgabhaṭa.

The data furnished by our inscription, supplemented by a few other known facts, enable us to sketch a brief history of the empire that was thus founded by Vatsarāja. Verses 6 and 7 describe his mighty prowess and splendour, and mention, in particular, that he had subdued the whole world. This statement, allowing for the natural exaggeration of the *Prasasti* writers, cannot be said to be altogether inaccurate, inasmuch as it is pretty certain that Vatsarāja had conquered the lord of Gauḍa and was thus probably master of by far the greater part of Northern India. This state of prosperity, however, did not continue long. The Rāshtrakūṭa king Dhruva inflicted a crushing defeat upon him, overran his territory as far as the Gauges

¹ Transactions of the Vienna Oriental Congress, Arian Section, p. 231.

² Above, Vol. XII, p. 197.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, 1911, p. 240.

⁴ Above, Vol. XII, p. 200.

⁵ Above, Vol. IX, p. 41.

and Jumna, and forced him to take shelter in the deserts of Rājputānā.¹ The effects of the Rāshtrakūṭa blow seem to have been disastrous. The Pālas took advantage of this opportunity and entered the field as rivals of the Gurjaras. Dharmapāla, the second king of the dynasty, carried a campaign of conquest from one end of northern India to another, and placed his own nominee Chakrāyudha on the throne of Kanauj, apparently as a bulwark against the possible Gurjara invasions.² The Gurjara power was, however, merely stunned by the blow for the time being, and Nāgabhaṭa II, the son and successor of Vatsarāja, once more sought to realise the imperial dreams of his father (vv. 8-11). The poet tells us in v. 8, that kings of Sindhu, Āndhra, Vidarbha and Kalinga succumbed to his power like moths unto fire. Now, moths are attracted by the glare of the fire and approach it of their own accord, although it leads to their ultimate destruction. The force of this simile is preserved if we suppose that the kings of these four countries were not conquered by Nāgabhaṭa but joined him of their own accord in the first instance, although, ultimately, they lost their power thereby. The position of these four countries confirms this view. Joined to Mālwa and Rājputānā which were the home-territory of the Gurjaras, the four countries form a central belt right across the country, bounded on the north by the empire of the Pālas, and, on the south, by that of the Rāshtrakūṭas. It appears quite likely, therefore, that they formed a confederacy against the two great powers that pressed them from the two sides, although, as so often happens, the most powerful member of the confederacy ultimately reduced the others to a state of absolute dependence. This seems to me to be the real significance of the eighth verse. In the next, the poet describes the first achievements of the confederacy thus successfully launched by the Gurjara king, viz. the defeat inflicted upon Chakrāyudha. War with Chakrāyudha was, however, but a prelude to the war with the Pāla king whose protégé he had been, and this is described in the next verse, in words befitting the occasion. The simile which the poet employs in this connection is, again, significant. We are told that after defeating the dark dense array of the lord of Vaṅga, Nāgabhaṭa revealed himself even as the rising Sun reveals himself by dispelling the dense darkness. This means, in plain language, that the rise of Nāgabhaṭa was possible only if he could defeat the Vaṅga king, and that is why he first turned his arms in this direction. The Sun of Gurjara glory had set with Vatsarāja, and the fortunes of his family, crushed by his powerful enemies, lay enveloped in the darkness of night as it were, till a defeat inflicted upon them ushered in a new dawn for the Gurjaras in the east. Soon the dawn passed away and the Sun reached its noonday height; for, the next verse informs us that Nāgabhaṭa captured the strongholds of the Ānartta, Mālava, Kirāta, Turushka, Vatsa and Matsya countries. The poet leaves his hero in the height of his glory, but we know from other records that the Sun reclined to the west and the dusk set in even in the life-time of Nāgabhaṭa II. We learn from the Rāshtrakūṭa records that the kings of Gurjara, Mālava and other countries along the Vindhya mountains were defeated by Gōvinda

¹ Cf. verse 8 of the Rādhanpur plates of Gōvinda III, above, Vol. VI, p. 243. That Dhruva actually proceeded as far as the Ganges and the Jumna is clear from the following passage of the Barōdā plates of Karkarāja :—

“Yō Gaṅgā-Yamunē taraṅga-subhagē grihṇan=parēbhyaḥ samam |
sākshāch-chihna-nibhēna ch=ōttama-padaṁ tat=prāptavān=aiśvaraṁ ||
dēh-āsammita-vaibhāvair=iva guṇair=yyasya bhramadbhir=ddiśō |
vyāptās=taṣya babhūva kirtti-purushō Gōvinda-rājāḥ sutaḥ ||”

Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 159.

Dr. Fleet who edited the above inscription took the first two lines as referring to Gōvinda III (*Ibid.*, p. 163), and Mr. R. Chanda also adopted the same view (*Mānasī*, Vol. VII, p. 589). In my humble opinion this is a mistake and the last line clearly shows that the reference is not to Gōvinda-rāja but to his father Dhruva.

² Cf. v. 6 of the Khālimpur copper-plate (above, Vol. IV, p. 243 f.) and v. 3 of the Bhāgalpur copper-plate of Nārāyaṇapāla (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 304 f.).

III¹ and one inscription specifically refers to the defeat inflicted upon Nāgabhaṭa by the same king, and his triumphant march to the Himālayas². It would thus appear that the Gurjara empire so laboriously rebuilt by Nāgabhaṭa II once more fell beneath the crushing blows of the hereditary foes of his family. There are reasons to believe that this was brought about by a confederacy between the two chief enemies of the Gurjaras, viz. the Pālas of Bengal and the Rāshtrakūṭas of the south. For the same inscription that records the defeat of Nāgabhaṭa II in the hands of Gōvinda III also mentions the fact that Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha visited or submitted to the last named king of their own accord³.

The victory of the Rāshtrakūṭas, although by no means final and decisive, was no doubt disastrous to the Gurjaras. The province of Mālwa passed into the hands of the Rāshtrakūṭa, and Āndhra, Vidarbha and Kāliṅga also possibly shared the same fate. The Pratihāras, however, did not cease to give trouble to the Rāshtrakūṭas, for we are told in the inscription of the feudatory chief Karkarāja of Gujārāt, that the Rāshtrakūṭa king had "caused his arm to become an excellent door-bar of the country of the lord of the Gurjaras."⁴

But ere long the political situation changed. The Rāshtrakūṭas themselves were torn asunder by internal dissensions. Karkarāja of Lāṭa, the son and successor of Indrarāja, was expelled by his younger brother in 812 A.D., and what was worse still, the revolutionary movement, thus set on foot, afterwards developed into an attempt to prevent the accession of Amoghavarsha I.⁵

This unexpected embroglio in the Rāshtrakūṭa affairs left the Pālas and the Gurjaras free to fight among themselves. It appears that Nāgabhaṭa retained his hold upon Kanauj

¹ Cf. Rādhapur plates, v. 15 (above, Vol. VI, p. 244), and the Nīlgund ins., v. 5 (*ibid*, p. 102). Two passages in the Barōdā plates of Karkarāja also seem to refer to the conflict between Nāgabhaṭa and the Rāshtrakūṭas. Thus it is said with reference to Indrarāja, the brother of Gōvinda III, and the founder of the Gujārāt branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas :—

"Yen=aikēna cha Gūrjar-ēśvara-pati-yyōddhūṃ samabhyudyataḥ
śauryya-prōddhata-kandharō mṛiga iva kshipraṃ diśō grāhitaḥ |
bhīt-āsaṇ(ṛ)hata-Dakehiṇāpatha-mahā-sāmanta-chakrāṃ yatō
rakshām=āpa viluṇṭhyamāna-vibhavaṃ Śrīvallabhēn=ādarāt ||

Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 160.

As it is explicitly stated that Indrarāja was placed on the throne of Lāṭa by Gōvinda III, this defeat of the Gurjaras must have taken place during his reign. It was thus different from the expedition undertaken by Dhruva against Vatsarāja, and the word *ēkēna* distinguishes it from the campaign of Gōvinda III referred to in the Rādhapur plate or the Nīlgund inscription. Thus the opponent of Indrarāja was most likely Nāgabhaṭa himself who is represented in the above passage as entering into some alliance, protective or defensive, if not offensive, with the *maḥāsāmantas* of the south against Gōvinda III and actually prepared for war (cf. Fleet's remarks, *ibid*, p. 158). This fully confirms what I have suggested above on the strength of the eighth verse of our inscription.

The other passage refers to Karkarāja as follows :—

Gauḍ-ēndra-Vaṇgapati-nirjjaya-durvvidagdha =
sad-Gūrjar-ēśvara-dig-arggalatār cha yasya ||
nītvā bhujam vihata-Mālāva-rakṣaṇārtham |
svāmī tathā=nyam=api rājya-chha(pha)lāni bhūktē ||

Dr. V. A. Smith identified the "Lord of Gurjaras" in the above passage with Vatsarāja (*J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 252). But this is untenable. As Gōvinda died about 814 A.D., it must be maintained that the Gurjara chief against whom he employed his nephew in 812-3 A.D. could not be any other than Nāgabhaṭa who is specifically mentioned as being defeated by him (see f. n. 2 below). As Nāgabhaṭa defeated Vaṇgapati, the phrase "Gauḍ-ēndra Vaṇgapati-nirjjaya-durvvidagdha" might well apply to him, and the Buchkalā inscription (above, Vol. IX p. 198) shows that he was ruling in 815 A.D.

² The Sañjān copper-plate; *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 118.

³ Svayam=ēv=ōpanataṇ cha yasya mahatas=tau Dharma-Chakrāyudhaṇ || (*Ibid*.)

⁴ Barōdā plates of Karkarāja; ll. 39-40; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 160.

⁵ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 402, 409.

which he had conquered from Chakrāyudha, transferred his capital there, and probably succeeded in offering an effective resistance to the Pālas till his death in 833-834 A.D.

Of Rāmabhadra, the son and successor of Nāgabhaṭa II, we know very little, but that the Gurjara power declined during his reign is quite evident from the scattered notices we possess about him. The twelfth verse of our inscription seems to imply that Rāmabhadra freed his country from the yoke of foreign soldiers. It seems likely that the band of foreign soldiers belonged to the Pālas, for the other rival power (the Rāshtrakūṭas) is not known to have advanced as far as the Gurjara kingdom at this period. The Daulatpurā plates¹ also lead to the same conclusion. It renews the grant of a piece of land in Gurjaratrā which was originally made by Vatsarāja, and continued by Nāgabhaṭa, but had fallen into abeyance in the reign of Bhōja. This seems to indicate that the province was held by Vatsarāja and Nāgabhaṭa II but lost by Rāmabhadra and regained by Bhōja, some time before 843 A.D., the date of the inscription.

Bhōja, the son and successor of Rāmabhadra, seems to have been a very powerful king and is described in nine grandiloquent verses. He inflicted a crushing defeat upon his powerful enemies and the poet seems to imply in verse 18, that the Goddess of Fortune forsook Dēvapāla and chose Bhōja as her lord. It would thus appear that Bhōja regained the power and prestige of the family by defeating the Pāla king. Our inscription closes with the resuscitation of the glory of the Gurjara Pratihāra clan under Bhōjadēva. The poem reflects the true sentiment of the Gurjaras whose revived enthusiasm, after a long period of stress and storm, led them once more to embark on that struggle for empire which had been unsuccessfully waged for four generations.

The hereditary struggle with the Pālas and the Rāshtrakūṭas which seems to be the cardinal fact in the history of the Gurjaras is also referred to in the inscriptions of the feudatory princes of the latter. Thus the Jōdhpur inscription of the Pratihāra Bāuka published above informs us that Kakka defeated the Gaṇḍas at Mudgagiri or Monghyr. Most likely he had accompanied Nāgabhaṭa II in his eastern wars. Another chief that probably accompanied Nāgabhaṭa II on the same occasion was Vāhukadhavala, the chief of Surāshṭra. For, we learn from an inscription of his great-grandson Avanivarman II, a feudatory of Mahēndrapāladēva, that he defeated king Dharma in battle, and as Kielhorn observes, this king Dharma may be identified with the Pāla emperor of the same name.² We can still trace a third chief who joined Nāgabhaṭa in his expedition against Bengal. This is Śaṅkaragaṇa, the Guhilot prince, referred to in the Chāṭsū inscription of Bālāditya.³ Again, Harsharāja,

¹ Above, Vol. V, page 208.

² Above, Vol. IX, p. 2 f. Kielhorn held that Vāhukadhavala lived in the middle of the ninth century A.D. and was a feudatory of Bhōja (*ibid.*, p. 3). Dr. V. A. Smith (*J. E. A. S.*, 1909, p. 266) and Mr. R. Chanda (*Gaṇḍa-rāja-mālā* p. 28) have supported this view. But as his great-grandson was a feudatory of Mahēndrapāla at the end of the ninth century A.D. it is more reasonable to hold, as Mr. R. D. Banerji has done (*Bāṅglār Itihāsa*, p. 167), that Vāhukadhavala was a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa at the beginning of the ninth century A.D.

³ Above, Vol. XII, p. 10 f. It contains the following verse with reference to Śaṅkaragaṇa :—

"Pratiññāṁ prakṛtvō=dbhāṭa-kari-ghaṭā-saṅkaṭa-raṇē bhaṭaṁ jītvā Gaṇḍa-kṣetripam=avanīm saṅgara=ḥpitāṁ balād=dāstīm chakrē [pra]bhu-charaṇayōr=yāḥ praṇayinīm tatō bhūpaḥ sō=bhūj=jita-bahu-raṇaḥ Saṅkara-ḡaṇaḥ ||"

Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar who edited this inscription concluded from the above that Śaṅkaragaṇa conquered Bhaṭa, the king of the Gaṇḍa country, and made a present of this kingdom to his overlord. He further suggested that this Bhaṭa might be Śūrapāla. I beg to differ from these views of the learned scholar. The verse seems to mean that Śaṅkaragaṇa defeated the king of Gaṇḍa, a great warrior (bhaṭa), and made the whole world, gained by warfare, subservient to his overlord. Secondly, Śaṅkaragaṇa was the great-grandson of Dhanika, one of whose known dates is 725 A.D. (*ibid.*, p. 11). Śaṅkaragaṇa should therefore be taken as a contemporary of Nāgabhaṭa and Dharmapāla at the beginning of the ninth century A.D. The verse thus shows that Śaṅkaragaṇa helped his overlord Nāgabhaṭa to wrest the empire from Dharmapāla by defeating the latter.

the son of Śaṅkaragaṇa, is said to have conquered the kings in the north and presented horses to Bhōja, who has been rightly identified with the great Pratihāra emperor Bhōja by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar.¹ Further Guhila II, the son of Harsharāja, is said to have defeated the Gaṇḍa king and levied tribute from the princes in the east.²

TEXT.³

[Metres : vv. 1, 8-11, 26, *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 2, 4, 7, 18, 19, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 3, 5, 6, 12, 27, *Sragdharā* ; vv. 13, 14, 16, 21-23, 25, *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 15, 24, *Upajāti* ; v. 17, *Śikharinī* ; v. 20, *Haripī*.]

1 Om^{3a} namō Viṣṇavē ||

Śēṣh-āhi-talpa-dhaval-ādharā-bhāga-bhāsi-
vakshaḥ-sthal-ollasita-Kaustubha-kānti-śōṇam |
śyāmaṁ vapu[h*] śāśi-virōchana-vimva(bimba)-chamvi(mbi)-
vyōma-prakāśam=avatān=Naraka-dvishō vaḥ || 1 ||
Ātm-ārāma-phalād=upārjya vijaram dēvēna Daitya-dvishā
jyōtir-vvijam⁴=akṛittrimē

2

guṇavat[i] kshētrē yad=uptam purā |
śrēyaḥ-kanda-vapus=tatas=samabhavad=Bhāsvān=ataś=ch=āparē
Manv-Ikshvāku-Kakustha⁵-mūla⁶-Prithavaḥ kshamāpāla-kalpa-ddr[u]māḥ || 2 ||
Tēshām vāmśē sujanmā krama-nihita-padē dhāmni vajr-ēshu-ghōraṁ
Rāmaḥ Paulastya-hinśraṁ⁷ kshata-vihati-samit-karmma chakrē palāśaiḥ |
ślāghya-

3

s=tasy=ānujō=sau Maghava-mada-mushō Mēghanādasya samkhyē
Saumittris=tivra-daṇḍaḥ pratiharāṇa-vidhēr=yaḥ pratihāra āsit || 3 ||
Tad=vanśē⁸ Pratihāra-kētana-bhṛiti ttrailōkya-raksh-āspadē
dēvō Nāgabhaṭaḥ purātana-munēr=mūttir⁹=vva(bba)bhūv-ādbhutam |
yēn=āsau sukṛita-pramāthi-va(ba)lavan¹⁰-Mlēchchh-ā-

4

-dhip-ākshauhiṇiḥ
kshundāna¹¹sphurad-ugra-hēti-ruchirē(rai)r=ddōrbhiś=chaturbhir=vvaḥ¹² || 4 ||
Bhrātus=tasy=ātma-jō=bhūt=kalita-kula-yaśāḥ khyāta-Kakustha¹³-nāmā
lōkē gitaḥ pratika-priya¹⁴-vachanatayā Kakkukaḥ kshamābhṛid-īśaḥ |
śrīmān=asy=ānujanmā Kulīśa-dhara-dhūrām=advahan=Dēvarājō
yajñē¹⁵=chchhin¹⁶-ōru-paksha-kshapita-ga-

¹ Above, Vol. XII, p. 12.

² Verse 28 of the Chāpā inscription. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

³ From the ink-impressions supplied by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A. ^{3a} Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read -bbijam=.

⁵ Read -Kakustha=.

⁶ [Could *Mūla* stand for *Mūla ka* for which see Fargiter *Ant. (Ind.) Hist.* Trad. p. 147—Ed.]

⁷ Read -hinśraṁ.

⁸ Read -vanśē.

⁹ Read -mūttir=.

¹⁰ Pandit Hirananda reads it as 'Valana' and Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar reads it as *Valachā* (*Ind. Ant.*, 1911, p. 240). The third letter, however, seems to me to be clearly a *va*, it being quite distinct on the reverse of the stampage. I therefore read the whole expression as *valavan-Mlēchchhā*. The loop of *m* in the conjunct consonant *nmī* is probably omitted through the engraver's mistake.

¹¹ Read *kshundānas*.

¹² Read -bbabḥau.

¹³ Read -Kakustha=.

¹⁴ Read -priya=.

¹⁵ Read *yajñē*.

¹⁶ Read -chchhin=.

- 5 ti kulam bhūbhṛitām sanniyantā || 5 ||
 Tat=sūnuḥ prāpya rājyaṁ nijam=Udayagiri-sparddhibhāsvat-pratāpaḥ
 kshmā-pālaḥ prādurāsin=nata-sakala-jagad-vatsalō=**Vatsarājāḥ** |
 yasy=aitās=sampadaś=cha dvirada-mada-sur-āsvāda-sāndra-pramōdāḥ
 padmākshir=ākshipantya¹ prapayi-jana-parishvaṅga-kāntā virējuḥ || 6 ||
 Khyā[tād²=**Bhaṇḍi**]-
- 6 -kulān=mad-ōtkāṣa-kari-prākāra-durllāghatō
 yaḥ sāmrajyadhijya³-kārmuka-sakhā samkhyē haṭhād-agrahit
 ēkaḥ Kshattriya-puṅgavēshu cha yaśō-gurvvin=dhuraṁ prōdvahaan=
 Ikshvāk[ō]ḥ kulam=unnatām sucharitaś=chakrē sva-nām-āṅkitām || 7 ||
 Ādyaḥ pumān=punar=api sphuṭa-kirttir=asmāj-
 jātas=sa ēva kila **Nāgabhaṭas**=tad-ākhyāḥ |
 yattr=**Ā**-
- 7 -ndhra-Saindhava-Vidarbha-Kaliṅga-bhūpaiḥ
 Kaumāra-dhāmani patāṅga-samair=apāti || 8 ||
 Ttra(tra)yy=āspadasya sukṛitasya samṛiddhim=ichchhur=
 yaḥ Kshattriya-dhāma-vidhi-vaddha-vali-pravandhaḥ⁴ |
 jivā par-āśraya-kṛita-sphuṭa-nīcha-bhāvaṁ
Chakrāyudham vinaya-namra-vapur=vvyarājat || 9 ||
 Durvvāra-vairi-vara-vāraṇa-vāji-vāra-
 yāḥ⁵-aughā-saṅghaṭa-
- 8 na-ghōra-ghan-āndhakāraṁ |
 nirjitya Vāṅgapatim=āvirabhūd=vivasvān=
 udyann=iva ttrijagad-ēka-vikāsakō-yaḥ || 10 ||
Ānarta-Mālava-Kirāta-Turushka-Vatsa-
Matsy-ādi-rāja-giri-durgga-haṭh-āpahāraiḥ |
 yasy=ātma-vaibhavam=atindriyam=ā-kumāram=
 āvirvabhūva⁶ bhuvi viśvajana-vṛittēḥ || 11 ||
 Taj-janmā **Rāma**-
- 9 nāmā pravara-hari-vala⁷-nyasta-bhūbhṛit-pravandhair⁸-
 āvadhnān⁹=vāhinīnām prassbham=adhipatīn=uddhata-krūra-satvān |
 pāp-āchār-āntarāya-pramathana-ruchiraḥ saṅgata¹⁰ kirtti-dāraś=
 trātā dharmmasya tais=taiś=samuchita-charitaiḥ pūrvvavan=nirvabhāś¹¹ || 12 ||
Ananya-sādhana-ādina-pratāp-ākrānta-di-
- 10 āmukhaḥ |
 upāyais=sampadām svāmi yaḥ sa-vrīḍam=upāsyata || 13 ||
 Arthibhir=vviniyuktānām sampadām janma kēvalam |

¹ Read *ākshipantyaḥ*.² Read *sāmrajyam=adhijya-*.³ Read *yān-*.⁴ Read *bala-*.⁵ Read *ābadhnān-*.⁶ Only the first letter is distinct.⁷ Read *baddha-bali-prabandhaḥ*.⁸ Read *āvirbhābhūva*.⁹ Read *-prabandhair-*.¹⁰ Read *saṅgataḥ*.¹¹ Read *=nirbhābhāś*.

yasy=ābhūt=kṛitinaḥ prītyai n=ātm-ēchchhā-viniyōgataḥ || 14 ||
 Jagad-vitriṣṭhūḥ sa viśuddha-satvaḥ
 prajāpatitvaṁ viniyōktukāmaḥ |
 sutaṁ rahasya-vrata-suprasannāt=
 Sūryād=avā-

11 -pan=Mihir-ābhidhānam || 15 ||
 Uparōdh-aika-saṁruddha-Vindhya-vṛiddhēr=Agastyataḥ
 ākramya bhūbhṛitām bhōktā yaḥ prabhur=Bhōja ity=abhāt || 16 ||
 Yaśasvi śānt-ātmā jagad-ahita-vichchhēda-nipūṇaḥ
 parishvaktō Lakshmyā na cha mada-kalaṅkēna kalitaḥ |
 vabhūva¹ prēm-ārdrō guṇishu vishayaḥ sūnṛita-

12 girām=
 asau Rāmō v=āgrē sva-kṛiti-gaṇanāyām=iha Vidhēḥ || 17 ||
 Yasy=ābhūt=kula-bhūmi-bhṛit-pramathana-vyast-ānya-sainy-āmvudhēr²=
 vvyūdhām cha sphuṭit-āri-lāja-nivahān=hutvā pratāp-ānalē |
 guptā vṛiddha-guṇair=ananya-gatibhiḥ śāntais=sudh=ōdbhāsibhir=
 dDharmm-āpatya-yaśaḥ-prabhūtir=aparā Lakshmiḥ punarbhū-

13 r=nnayā || 18 ||
 Pritaiḥ pālanayā tapōdhana-kulaiḥ snēhād=gurūṇām gaṇair=
 bhaktyā bhatya³-janēna niti-nipūṇair=vṛindair=aripām punaḥ |
 viśvēm=āpi yadiyam=āyur=amitaṁ kartum sva-jiv-aishinā
 tan-nighnā vidadhē Vidhātari yathā sampat=par-ārddhy-āśrayē || 19 ||
 Avitatham=idam yāvad=viśvaṁ śrutē-

14 -r=anusāsanād=
 bhavati phala-bhāk=karttā n=ēśaḥ kshitindra-śatēshv=api |
 adharita-Kalēḥ kirttēr=bharttus=satām sukṛitair=abhūd=
 vidhurita-dhiyām sampad-vṛiddhir=yad=asya tad=adbhutaṁ || 20 ||
 Yasya vairi-vṛihad⁴-vaṁśān=dahataḥ kōpa-vahninā |
 pratāpād=arṇasām rāśin=pātur=vvaitriṣṭhnyam=āvabhau⁵ || 21 ||
 Kumāraiva vidyānām

15 vṛindēn=ādbhuta-karmmanā |
 yaḥ śaśas=Āsurān=ghōrān=straipēn=āstr-aika-vṛittinā || 22 ||
 Yasy=āksha-paṭalō rājñāḥ prabhutvād=viśva-sampadaḥ |
 lilekha mukham=ālōkya prātilēkhya-karō Vidhiḥ || 23 ||
 Uddāma-tējah-prasara-prasūtā śikh=ēva kirttir=dyumapim vijitya
 jāyā jagad=bhartu-

¹ Read *badhūva*.

² Read *-āmbudhēr* [Read *āmbudhēr=vyūdhā*- Ed.]

³ Read *bhṛitya*.

⁴ Read *brihad-vaṁśān*.

⁵ Read *-ābābhau*.

- 16 -r=iyāya yasya chittram tv=idam yaj=jaladhī¹=statāra || 24 ||
 Rājñā tēna sva-dēvinām yaśaḥ-puṇy-ābhivṛddhayē |
 antaḥ-pura-puram nāmnā vyadhāyi Naraka-dvishaḥ || 25 ||
 Yāvan=nabhaḥ Sura-sarit-pa(pra)sar-ōttariyam
 yāvat=su-duśchara-tapaḥ-prabhavaḥ prabhāvaḥ |
 satyañ=cha yāvad=uparistha(shṭha)m=avaty=aśēsham
 tāvat pu-
- 17 -nātu jagatim=iyam=ārya²-kirttiḥ || 26 ||
 Pātur=vivṛasya samyak=parama-muni-mata-srēyasas=samvidhānād=
 antar-vṛittir=vivēkaḥ sthitaiva puratō Bhōja-dēvasya rājñāḥ |
 vidvad-vṛind-ārjītānām phalam=iva tapasām Bhaṭṭadhannēka-sūnur=
 vVālādityaḥ³ praśastēḥ kavir=iha jagatā sākam=ā-kalpa-vṛittēḥ || 27 ||

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Om, adoration to Viṣṇu !

(Verse 1.) May the dark-blue body of the Enemy of (demon) Naraka protect you,—that body which shines like the sky kissed by the discs of the Sun and the Moon, (inasmuch as) it is illuminated by the white lower part of the serpent Śeṣha used as a bed, and is made crimson by the brilliancy of the (jewel) Kaustubha glittering on its breast.

(Verse 2.) As from the fresh seed taken from a fruit in a garden, and sown in a natural fertile soil, grows bulbous root of a superior kind, from which again spring forth Kalpa trees ; so from the (particle of) light evolved by the Enemy of Demons from self-delightedness (*ātma-ārama*) and sown by him in soil well qualified by nature, was born the Sun, the root of all that is good, and from the Sun, again, a line of kings such as Manu, Ikshvāku, Kaku(t)stha and the first Prithu.⁴

(Verse 3.) In their race, in the family in which Viṣṇu set foot, Rāma, of auspicious birth, carried on a war of destruction and slaughter with the demons—dire on account of the adamant arrows—which killed Rāvaṇa.

All praise unto his younger brother, Lakshmaṇa (Saumittri),—a stern rod of chastisement in war with Māghanāda, the destroyer of Indra's pride,—who served as the door-keeper (of Rāma), owing to (his) commandment not to allow others to enter (lit. to repel others).⁵

(Verse 4.) In that family, which bore the insignia of *Pratīhāra* (door-keeper), and was a shelter of the three worlds, the king Nāgabhaṭa I appeared as the image of the old sage (Nārāyaṇa) in a strange manner, inasmuch as, having crushed the large armies of the powerful

¹ Read =jaladhī-.

² Pandit Hirananda reads *asya* but *ārya* is quite clear.

³ Read =vVālādityaḥ.

⁴ There were several kings called Prithu. Cf. e.g. *Mahābhārata*, (Madras edition), Ādiparva, 201, 18; 206, 11; Vanaparva, 205, 2. Mūla-Prithu may, therefore, be taken to denote the first king of the name, viz., the son of Vena.

⁵ The allusion is to the incident described in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, VII, 116. Kāla in the shape of an ascetic visited Rāma and told him that he was there to talk about something very confidential. He extracted a promise from Rāma that any one who listened to, or observed them, would be put to death. Thereupon Rāma asked Lakshmaṇa to send away the gate-keeper and guard the door himself. The sequel of the story describes how Lakshmaṇa was forced to interrupt the conversation of Rāma with the ascetic owing to the importunities of Durvāsā, and died a voluntary death in fulfilment of the promise of Rāma.

Mlêchehha king, the destroyer of virtue, he shone with four arms brilliant on account of the glittering terrible weapons.¹

(Verse 5.) His brother's son, who added to the renown of the family and had the well-known name **Kākustha** (**Kākutstha**), but who, on account of his (habit of) saying welcome things in an inverted manner, was known in the world as **Kakkuka** (i.e., one who always laughs), was a paramount king.²

(Then) was born his illustrious younger brother, **Dēvarāja** who performed the same task as the great Wielder of thunderbolt (**Indra**); (for) he curbed a multitude of kings (*bhūbhrit*) by having destroyed their powerful allies (*pakshaḥ*) and caused them to cast off their (free) movements (*gati*); **Indra** also curbed a multitude of mountains (*bhūbhrit*) by having destroyed their powerful-wings (*pakshaḥ*) and thus caused them to cast off their movements (*gati*).

(Verse 6.) His son, king **Vatsarāja**, who was compassionate towards the entire world he had subdued, and resembled the Sun in prowess, revealed himself by attaining his own kingdom which rivalled the mountain **Udaya**.

His riches, too, highly fragrant by reason of the flavour of the wine of elephant ichor, and shining in company of the needy, appeared exceedingly beautiful, having eclipsed the lotus-eyed women, who too became exceedingly merry by having tasted wine which was like ichor of elephants and appeared charming in the fond embrace of their lovers.

(Verse 7.) With strong bows as his companion he forcibly wrested the empire, in battle from the famous **Bhaṇḍi** clan, hard to be overcome by reason of the rampart made of infuriated elephants.

Having successfully wielded a position weighty with renown, he, the foremost among the most distinguished Kshatriyas, stamped the noble race of **Ikshvāku** with his own name by virtue of his blameless conduct.

Both Dr. Kielhorn and Pandit Hirananda take the fourth line of the verse to mean that **Lakshmaṇa** was **Rāma's** door-keeper since he repelled the enemies (*pratihāraṇavidhīḥ*). This meaning does not seem satisfactory for there is no connection between the repelling of enemies and acting as a door-keeper. One of the well-known meanings of *pratihāraṇa* is 'to avoid,' 'shun,' etc., and *vidhī* also means a commandment, a precept, which enjoins something for the first time. In the well-known incident of the **Rāmāyaṇa**, quoted above, **Rāma** enjoined for the first time that all persons should be excluded from his private interview with the ascetic, and appointed **Lakshmaṇa** as the door-keeper to successfully accomplish this purpose. This makes it quite clear why **Lakshmaṇa** is described in the inscription as *pratihāra* owing to *pratihāraṇa-vidhī*. In other words, the poet implies that **Lakshmaṇa** was not an ordinary door-keeper, but served as such on account of the particular commandment laid down by **Rāma**.

The fourth verse of the **Jōdhpur** inscription of **Pratihāra Bāuka** also traces the origin of the name of the **Pratihāra** dynasty to this incident, and it certainly well deserves the dignity, because literally as well as figuratively, it was the last act of self-sacrifice on the part of **Lakshmaṇa**, whose whole life was one of sacrifice for his brother.

[The derivation of the name **Pratihāra** which is given here is evidently not the same as that indicated by the word *pratihārya* in the **Jōdhpur Prasasti** of **Bāuka**. Here the poet suggests that the *pratihāra-vidhī* displayed by **Lakshmaṇa** in his fight with **Mēghanāda**, is the origin of the family name **Pratihāra** and not the traditional *pratihārya*=door-keeper's place. This is a grammatically possible derivative since *hāraṇa*=*hara*=depriving or taking away or destroying.—Ed.]

¹ The obvious implication is, that the terrible weapons glittering in the two hands of **Nāgabhaṭa** made it appear as if he had four hands, and he thus resembled, although in a strange manner, the old sage **Nārāyaṇa** who possessed four hands too.

² Pandit Hirananda translates "*khyāta-Kākustha-nāmā*" as "celebrated the names of the descendants of **Kākustha**" and gives **Kakkuka** as the only name of the king. But the two expressions *khyāta-Kākustha-nāmā* and *lōkē gītaḥ* placed side by side seem to indicate that he had the well-known name **Kākustha**, but was popularly known as **Kakkuka**. The root *kakk* means 'to laugh' and **Kakkuka** was a fit appellation of one who laughed and made people laugh by his inverted way of saying things.

(Verse 8.) The primeval man was again¹ born to him, and, being far-famed, and possessed of elephant hosts, was called **Nāgabhaṭa** (II).

The kings of **Āndhra**, **Sindhu**, **Vidarbha** and **Kalīṅga** succumbed to his youthful energy as moths do unto fire.²

(Verse 9.) Who, desirous of the great growth of virtuous acts enjoined in the **Vēdas**, performed a series of religious ceremonies according to the custom of the **Kshatriya** families,³ and, after having defeated **Chakrāyudha**, whose lowly demeanour was manifest from his dependence on others, he became eminent, although he (lit. his body) was humble through modesty.⁴

(Verse 10.) Having vanquished his enemy, the lord of **Vaṅga**, who appeared like a mass of dark, dense cloud in consequence of the crowd of mighty elephants, horses and chariots, **Nāgabhaṭa**, who alone gladdens (the heart of) the three worlds, revealed himself, even as the rising Sun, the sole source of manifestation of the three worlds, reveals himself by vanquishing dense and terrible darkness.⁵

(Verse 11.) Of him, whose mode of life was beneficial to all mankind, the incomprehensible royal qualities⁶ (like eloquence, statesmanship, etc.) became manifest in the world, even from boyhood, by his forcible seizure of the hill forts of the kings of **Ānartta**, **Mālava**, **Kirāta**, **Turushka**, **Vatsa** and **Matsya**.

(Verse 12.) (The great **Rāma**), the protector of virtue, after having forcibly bridged over the oceans (lit. the lords of rivers), full of exceedingly cruel animals, by means of continuous chain of rocks placed by the best monkey force, looked bright by having killed the evil-doers who served as obstacles and (as he thereby) got (lit. was joined by) his wife and renown. His (**Nāgabhaṭa**'s) son, **Rāma** by name, also shone forth like tais (homonymous) predecessor, by similar worthy deeds; for he, the defender of religion, too, had the haughty and cruel commanders of armies forcibly bound down by (his subordinate) kings who had the best cavalry under their charge, and looked radiant by having destroyed the obstacles caused by the evil-doers (as he thus) attained the fame which was unto him even as a consort.⁷

(Verse 13.) That lord of prosperity, who had overpowered the points of compass by means of valour (alone), unsupported by the other expedients (such as *sāma*, *dāna*, *bhēda*), was yet

¹ The phrase *punar-api* denotes either that the primeval man who was once born as **Nāgabhaṭa** (cf. v. 4) appeared again, or that **Nāgabhaṭa**, the first man in the family (*ādyah pumān*), was again born as such.

² There is a pun on the word *kaumāra-dhāmani*. *Kumāra* means fire as well as youth.

³ [In verse 9 *balī-prabandhuḥ* must mean the collection of taxes as Mr. Hirananda Sastri interprets. A king has to collect taxes if he has to perform Vedic sacrifices and protect the Dharma. Rid of all *alamkāra*, the verse means that the King collected taxes only as per prescribed law for increasing Vedic merit; and conquered king **Chakrāyudha** who had joined the enemy. With *alamkāra* it means "he excelled **Vishṇu**—though like him he also imprisoned **Bali**, since he was not *low* like **Vāmana** nor proud like **Trivikrama**, but was full of *vinaya*.—Ed.]

⁴ There is an implication in this verse to the effect that **Nāgabhaṭa** excelled **Vishṇu** (**Chakrāyudha**). Both were *Trayy-āspadasya sukṛitasya samriddhim=ichchhuḥ*, but **Vishṇu** could not, like **Nāgabhaṭa**, be said to have been *Kshattra-dhāma-vidhi-baddha-bali-prabandhuḥ* as he could not subdue **Bali** by **Kshatriya** rites. Then, **Vishṇu** was *par-āśraya-kṛita-phuṭa-nicha bhāvah*. This refers to the **Vāmana** incarnation in which **Vishṇu** took the body of a dwarf. Again, whereas **Nāgabhaṭa** was *namra-rapuḥ* only through *vinaya*, **Vishṇu**'s body was actually *namra* inasmuch as he was a dwarf.

⁵ There is an implied *Ślēsha* in this verse. The adjective *tri-jagad-ēka-vikāśakō* applies both to **Nāgabhaṭa** and the Sun, and both vanquish darkness, in the one case literally, and in the other, figuratively.

⁶ Pandit Hirananda translates *ātma-rasībharam* by "greatness of soul." It is better to take it, as suggested by my friend Mr. J. C. Ghatak, M.A., as equivalent to the technical term *ātma-sampat* meaning a group of royal qualities as explained in *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra*, Ch. IV, vv. 14-18.

⁷ The phrase *sagataḥ kirtti-dāraiḥ* seems to be a significant one. The evident meaning is, that as in the case of **Rāmachandra**, he was joined by his wife after she had been in enemy's stronghold for some time, **Rāmabhadra**, too, regained the fame which was so long in his enemy's possession. This seems to show that **Rāmabhadra**'s power was overshadowed by his enemy till he defeated him and captured his commanders.

demurely waited upon by the other Means (i.e. although he neglected them as not necessary, they were within his beck and call).¹

(Verse 14.) The production of the wealth of that successful one was merely a source of delight; it was at the disposal of the supplicants, but never a means to satisfy his own desires.

(Verse 15.) A pure soul, averse from the world, he obtained a son, by name **Mihira**, by (the favour of) the Sun, propitiated by mysterious rites, in order to dispose of the lordship over his subjects.²

(Verse 16.) The lord, who ruled over many kings (*bhūbhrit*) after having overcome them, and (being therefore) known as Bhōja, shone more gloriously than Agastya who (merely) checked the rise of (a single *bhūbhrit*, i.e. mountain) Vindhya through favour (and not by his own prowess).³

(Verse 17.) Famous, unperturbed, adept in removing the evils of the world, embraced by Lakshmī (sovereign power), but not soiled by the stain of arrogance, he was affectionate towards the meritorious and an asylum of good and pleasant words. Does he or Rāma stand foremost when Brahmā counts his own creation?

(Verse 18.) The other Lakshmī, the source of the fame of Dharmma's (Dharmapāla's) son, who was cast out of the ocean of hostile forces, churned by the Kula mountains in the form of kings of his (Bhōja's) own race, who was married by offering (as an oblation) fried grains, which were the destroyed enemies, in the fire of his valour, and who was protected by (his) superior accomplishments, mild, uncommon and pure like nectar, became a fit remarried bride of that king.⁴

¹ The ancient writers on Hindu polity laid down *sāma*, *dāna*, *bhēda* and *danḍa* as the four *upāyas* or expedients which a king should adopt towards other kings. (Some add three more, making the total number to be seven cf. the *Kāmandakiya Nītisārā*, Ch. 18.) Now the poet implies that of these the king followed only one, viz. *danḍa* and did not take resort to the rest. His position was, therefore, similar to one who possesses many wives but cares for only one. But, as in this case the neglected wives, as in duty bound, would still continue to pay their humble devotion to him, so the other political expedients, although not adopted by the king, were always within his beck and call. The poet thus indicates that though in practice the king used only one expedient, it should not be concluded therefrom that he was ignorant or incapable of handling the rest.

² The general meaning conveyed by the verse seems to be that although he was averse to the worldly pleasures he wanted a son, not for his own delight, but merely for the reason that he might leave a ruler for his subjects.

³ The allusion is to the mythical story that the Vindhya mountain once got angry with the Sun and began to rise higher and higher in order to check his daily course. At the request of the gods the sage Agastya approached the mountain and asked it to bow down in order to make room for him on his way to the south, and not to rise up till his return. The Vindhya agreed, and as Agastya never returned, had to remain in the same position. Cf. *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparva, Chap. 104.

The poet contrasts the deeds of Agastya and Bhōja. The contrast is between (1) *Vindhya* and *bhūbhritāṁ* (2) *samruddha-viddhāḥ* and *bhōktā* and (3) *uparōdha* and *ākramya*. One had to do with only one *bhūbhrit* (mountain), the other dealt with a number of *bhūbhrit* (kings as well as mountains situated within their kingdoms); then in one case the question was merely of checking the growth, in the other, of complete conquest; lastly, one gained his object by *request* while the other had achieved his purpose by means of *prowess*.

⁴ The principal clause in the sentence *Yasyābhūd=aparā Lakshmīḥ punarbhū=nnayā* clearly means that Lakshmī who belonged to another became properly his *punarbhū* or remarried wife. According to the poet Lakshmī acted properly (*nayā*). A similar sentiment occurs in an almost contemporary record. (Cf. e.g. verse 3 of the Rādhapur plates of Gōvinda III, above, Vol. VI, p. 243.)

The expression *dharm-āpatya-yataḥ prabhūti*, applied to Lakshmī has been translated by Pandit Hirananda as "source of fame, progeny and virtue." But Lakshmī who is merely a conventional representation of sovereign power can hardly be said to be the source of progeny or virtue. I have, therefore, taken *dharm-āpatya* in the sense of "son of Dharma or Dharmapāla, (i.e. Dēvapāla)." This fits in well with the context, implying that Lakshmī who was the consort of Dēvapāla now belonged to Bhōja or in other words, the supreme position passed from the one to the other, and this has been shown to be a historical fact.

(Verse 19.) In order to extend the duration of his life beyond all measure, the ascetics pleased on account of the protection afforded to them, the preceptors, out of affection, the servants, out of devotion, the multitude of foes, out of policy, and mankind in general, for the sake of its livelihood, made their respective services (treasures) subservient to him, who was as worthy a recipient as the Creator Himself.¹

(Verse 20.) According to the injunction of the Śruti, this is a truism, so long as the world lasts, that he who does a thing enjoys the fruits thereof, and not (another) though he be the lord of even hundred kings. It is strange that the meritorious deeds of honest men, whose intellect was undefiled, went to increase the prosperity of this king, who was the conqueror of Kali and the lord of Fame.²

(Verse 21.) Of him, who had burnt the powerful hostile races by the fire of his anger, and guarded the oceans by his valour, the absence of greed (for further conquest) shone indeed (even as the satiety of a man who had drunk a large quantity of water).³

(Verse 22.) Like Kumāra (Kārttikēya) with his host of Mātrikās who performed wonderful deeds, he subdued the terrible Asuras with the help of a band of women that lived upon arms.⁴

(Verse 23.) Vidhi (Fate), writing anew (the destinies of the world), wrote in the chancery of that king, looking at (i.e. being guided by) his face, since the latter was the master of the world in consequence of his prowess. (In other words the destiny of the world was absolutely at the command of that all-powerful king.)

(Verse 24.) Fame, resulting from the unbounded energy of that lord of the world, was unto him even as a consort, and like a flame, issuing out of a flood of luxuriant lustre, returned after conquering the Sun. It is a wonder that she crossed the oceans.

(Verse 25.) In order to increase the fame and religious merit of his consorts, the king erected a house within his seraglio compound in the name of Narakadvish (Vishnu).

(Verse 26.) As long as the sky has the flowing celestial stream (Gaṅgā) as its upper garment, as long as there lasts the power originating from severe religious austerities, as long as Truth protects all that is above, so long may this noble and famous work⁵ purify the world.

(Verse 27.) Bālāditya (is) the poet of this *prastāvi* which would exist along with the world up to the end of the *Kalpa*; (he,) the son of Bhattachannēka and the fruit of penances, as it were of a number of learned men, (is) the (personified) inner faculty of discrimination, standing before king Bhōjadēva, the protector of the world, inasmuch as he (Bālāditya) follows the good rules sanctioned by the best of sages.

¹ The verse apparently means that all tried their best to prolong the life of the king. The ascetics, by religious observances on his behalf, the preceptors, by teaching him proper mode of life, the servants, by looking to his comforts, the enemies, by not disturbing him, and the subjects, by loyally carrying out his orders, would all contribute towards the same end, viz. a long and happy life to him.

² This verse completes the sense of the previous one wherein it was implied that the king enjoyed the fruits of the meritorious deeds of various categories of people.

³ [*Vairishyam* in my opinion, means here the opposite of 'absence of greed,' i.e. thirst (for conquest). This thirst, says the poet was evident because the King had burnt the *vāmas* (races or bamboos) of his enemies and had drunk (or protected) on account of that great heat (*pratāpa*), the oceans.—Ed.]

⁴ The allusion is to the fight between the Dēvas and the Dānavas in which Kumāra was the commander-in-chief of the former, and had in his army a number of Mātrikās. Cf. *Mahābhārata*, Śalyaparva, Ch. 45 (Madras Edition). Although the female companions of Kumāra are usually called Mātrikās, the use of the word *Vidyā* is probably to be explained by the fact that it is sometimes used as a synonym of *Mātrikā*, both meaning *Durgā*. [*Vidyā* in the case of the King should be taken to mean 'Source of Knowledge.'—Ed.]

⁵ This verse furnishes another instance of the use of the word '*Kīrti*' in the sense of 'any work of public utility calculated to render famous the name of the constructor of it.' For full discussion on this point, cf. Fleet *Gupta inscriptions*, p. 212, f. n. 6.

⁶ I am indebted to Mr. Radhagovinda Basak, M.A., for valuable suggestions regarding the translation of the inscription.

No. 14.—PATTATTALMANGALAM GRANT OF NANDIVARMAN.

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., OOTACAMUND.

In October 1922, when I was in charge of the office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, Mr. P. V. Jagadisa Aiyar obtained the following set of copper-plates from Mr. Rm. St. Sivananda Pillai of Kumbakōṇam and sent it to me for examination. As I had soon after to go away to Ootacamund, I left the plates to be noticed by Mr. Venkoba Rao in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1922-23. The set is marked as No. 5 Appendix A in the Report for that year and finds a short notice in Part II which will be referred to in the sequel. I edit the inscription on the plates with the help of one set of impressions kindly placed at my disposal by M. R. Ry. Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri. Recently an article entitled "the Kot-ranguḍi plates of Nandivarman II" has appeared in the *Mythic Society Journal*, Vol. XIV, pp. 125 to 129, under the editorship of Mr. T. N. Subramaniam. There the discovery of the plates has been described in detail.

The set consists of five plates of which the first and last are engraved only on their inner sides. They were originally strung together on a ring bearing a massive seal, 3 inches in diameter. The emblems and legend on the seal are so badly obliterated that they cannot be made out. A couchant bull is all that could be faintly seen. The ring had been cut when the plates reached me and it is not known when and by whom it was cut. The plates measure nearly 10" by 3½" and the ring-hole, bored at the left margin, is ¾" in diameter. The five plates with the ring and seal weigh 320 tolas and the plates alone weigh 175 tolas.

The inscription on the plates is neatly executed and is in good preservation. The only places where some damage is done to letters are at the commencement of lines 7 and 8 of IIb, lines 1 and 2 of IIIa, lines 5 and 6 of IIIb and line 8 of IVb. It has been found possible to restore with certainty all the damaged portions except that in line 1 of IIIa. The reading of the damaged portion in line 6 of IIIb is tentative. As is usual with most of the copper-plate charters of South India, this inscription consists of two parts of which the first is in **Sanskrit** poetry (eleven verses in all) written in **Grantha** characters and runs from line 1 to line 22, where the second part in **Tamiḷ** prose commences and runs to the end i.e., line 60. The few Grantha letters and words employed in the Tamiḷ portion are *sāmā*, *sarvā-parihāram* and *brahmadē* (l. 37), *hāram* (l. 38), *brahmadē* (l. 42), *gautā* (ll. 43 and 45), *nyā* and *kra* (l. 43), *bhaṭṭa* (ll. 44 and 45), *jaṭva* (l. 44), *Hiraṇya* (ll. 44 and 48), *Agniśarma* and *gōtra* (l. 47), *dē* (l. 48), *śarma* (ll. 45, 53, 56, 57, and 58) and *śrī-Daṇḍi* (l. 60).

A few alphabetical peculiarities deserve notice :—The symbol for secondary *ṛ* (long) is a concave curve with a commencing loop engraved on the top of the consonant, while in the case of *ṛ* (short), this loop is absent. The three letters *mu*, *pu* and *lu* are almost similar in shape, but can be well distinguished on close examination: while the *u* symbol of *mu* is written immediately below the horizontal line, it is engraved at the end of a vertical downward stroke drawn from the right end of the horizontal in the case of *pū*. Though *lu* is formed like *pu*, it is distinguished by having a small indenture at the right end of the horizontal stroke. Two forms of *ya* occur of which one is a semi-circle with two upward arms on the right side, while the other is a simple loop twice wound round. The shape of *va* is almost that of a triangle with its base at bottom. *La* has not got the usual convex curve on the right side; it has only an angle. The *rēpha* is invariably marked in this epigraph and in most cases the *puḷḷi* also. The Tamiḷ *sandhi* rules have to account for the change of *l* into *ṛ* in *pērār-brakma* (l. 42). But it may be pointed out that the same change noticed in the word *vinṇappattār* occurring before *Alappākka* (l. 27), in *vaḷiyār* occurring before *maṇai* (l. 31) and in *Mayilāppir* before *Nandi*

(l. 44 f.) is unusual and against the rules of grammar. Among the *gōtra* names, Jātvakaraṇṇa (l. 44) and Koṇḍiṇa (l. 54) stand for Jātūkarna and Kaṇḍinya respectively.

After an invocation to Viṣṇu (v. 1) and the primeval cause of the Universe (v. 2), the mythical genealogy of the Pallavas is given in verse 3 which states that from the lotus-navel of Narakār; (i.e., Viṣṇu) came Brahmā; from him came Āṅgiras; from him Dēvaguru (i.e., Bṛihaspati); from him the renowned sage Śaṃyu; from his son Bharadvāja was born Drōṇa of established skill in handling the bow in battles; from him Drauṇi (i.e., Āsvatthāman) of unsurpassed valour; and from him **Pallava**. Prosperity and Earth rested with the Pallavas to the exclusion of other kings (v. 4) and the sovereigns of this family obtained glory by conquering all enemies (v. 5). In the line of kings counting from **Virakūrcha** and others who had obtained *svarga*, there was king **Hiraṇyavarman**: and then came **Nandivarman** (v. 6). He was a powerful monarch and it is stated of him that he came to rule the kingdom while he was very young: and conquering all enemies, he had his foot-stool adorned with the crowns of the lords of earth who bowed before him (v. 7). The darkness of the world was removed by the splendour of his fame (v. 8). Waiting to get entrance, it is said, there were at his gate the Vallabha, Kaṭabhra, Kēraḷa, Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa, Tuḷu, Goṅgaṇa (Koṅkaṇa) and others (v. 9). Verse 10 gives out that the chief officer of his, who was ruling the province of **Maṅgala-rāshtra** and who was a great hero, virtuous and respected by the good, having petitioned the king, gave (a *brahmadēya*) to a number of Brāhmaṇas. The Tamil portion records that at the request (*viṇṇappam*) of Maṅgalanāḍālvāṇ and at the *āṇatti* of Ālappākka-Vijaiyanallūḷāṇ, king **Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman** issued an order in the **61st year of his reign** to the *nāṭṭār* of **Teṇṅkarai-Ārvala-kūrṇam** in **Śōḷa-nāḍu** granting as *brahmadēya* 40 *vēlis* of land, which included an old *brahmadēya* of 24 *vēlis*, another *brahmadēya* of 12 *vēlis* granted in the 59th year of the same king's reign at the request of Maṅgalanāḍālvāṇ and the *āṇatti* of Ālappākka-Vijaiyanallūḷāṇ and the remaining 4 *vēlis* now assigned. The *nāṭṭār* made obeisance to the order, received it on their heads, circumambulated the granted land and planting boundary stones and milk bush, issued their order freeing every kind of land in this grant portion from all the rights of the king—which are here specified—and constituted it as a new village under the name of **Paṭṭattāḷma-ṅgalam**. The names of the donees are then mentioned (see table below). The inscription was engraved by a certain **Śrī-Daṇḍi** son of **Viḍēlviḍugu-Pallava-perundachchan** of **Aimpaṇaichchēri** (**Aimbupaichchēri**) in **Kachchippēdu**.

There were more kings than one of the name Nandivarman or Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman in the Pallava family. The earliest of them is he who issued the Udayēndiram copper-plate grant¹ wherein he is stated to be the son of Skandavarman, grandson of Simhavarman and great-grandson of Skandavarman. The Vēlūrpālaiyam plates which say that Simhavishṇu was the son of Simhavarman and grandson of Nandivarman², seem to refer to this Nandivarman. The second sovereign of the Pallava family who bore the name Nandivarman was the son of Hiraṇyavarman and a lineal descendant of Bhīma, the younger brother of Simhavishṇu.³ He bore the surnames Kshatriyamalla, Pallavamalla and Viḍēlviḍugu⁴. The third of the name was the grandson of this Nandivarman Pallavamalla⁵ and it was during his reign that the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates were issued.

The first question to determine is to which of the three Nandivarmans we should ascribe the present inscription. Mr. Venkoba Rao in noticing this inscription in his report for 1922-23

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 145.

² *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. II, p. 508, vv. 9 and 10. The exact relationship between Simhavarman and Nandivarman is not mentioned.

³ *Ibid.* p. 350, vv. 28-30.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 350, line 78.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 511, vv. 16-19.

states that it must belong to the reign of Nandivarman III. I consider this conclusion of his to be quite untenable. I would at the outset point out that the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates which are supposed to have been issued in the reign of Nandivarman III should correctly be attributed to his grandfather Nandivarman II Pallavamalla. According to the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates the king bore the surname Ēkadhīra¹ and this was the surname of Nandivarman Pallavamalla as is clear from the fact that the grant made in the Kāsākuḍi plates was constituted into a new village under the name Ēkadhīramaṅgalaṃ² which should have been so termed after the king's surname Ēkadhīra. The second point to note is that the Nandivarman of our plates was the successor of Hiraṇyavarman as was the Nandivarman of the Kāsākuḍi and the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates. The third ground, which is much stronger than all, is furnished in the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ temple inscriptions³ explaining the sculptures representing the events that took place immediately after the death of Paramēśvaravarman II leading to the accession of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. It says:—

After the death of **Paramēśvaravarman II**, a deputation consisting of the *Mātras*, the *Mūlaprakritis* and the *ghaṭakayar* waited on **Hiraṇyavarman-Mahārāja** and represented the fact that the country was without a ruler and requested him to grant them a sovereign. Thereupon king Hiraṇyavarman sent for the chief potentates (*kulamallar*) and enquired which among them would accept the sovereignty. All of them refusing, he asked his sons **Śrīmalla**, **Raṇamalla**, **Saṅgrāmamalla** and **Pallavamalla**. Pallavamalla humbly offered to go, but king Hiraṇyavarman was at first unwilling to risk his son, who was then only twelve years of age, in such a perilous undertaking. But Hiraṇyavarman was soon persuaded by **Daraṇikoṇḍapōśar** to give his consent. Receiving the weapons presented to him both by his father and Daraṇikoṇḍapōśar, Pallavamalla proceeded to **Kāñchīpuram**, crossing on his way several hills, rivers and forests. Hearing of his approach a certain **Pallavadi-Araiyar** came with a large force, and placed him on an elephant's back and returned to the city where he was received by the feudatory chiefs, the members of the merchants' guild, the *mūlaprakritis*, and **Kāḍakka-Muttaraiyar**. He was then crowned king under the name **Nandivarman** and with the insignia of **Viḍēlviḍugu**, *Samudraghōsha*, *Khaṭvāṅga-dhvaja* and *Vṛishabha-lāñchhana* by the ministers, the feudatories, the *ghaṭakayar* and the *ubhaiya-gaṇa*.

The above facts show that Nandivarman Pallavamalla's accession to the throne took place without any bloodshed, the whole country being instrumental in getting him as their sovereign. This fact does also find expression in the Kāsākuḍi plates which state that he was chosen by the subjects.⁴ The statement that Nandivarman was quite young (i.e., 12 years of age according to the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ temple inscription) when he became the ruler of the Pallava dominions is correctly reflected in the present grant which states of him **आद्यत्त प्रथिवली युवैव राज्यं**. A further point in favour of our view is that Nandivarman Pallavamalla bore the surname

¹ *South-Ind. Inscrns.*, Vol. II, p. 520, v. 4 and p. 529, note 4.

² *Ibid.* p. 359.

³ *Ibid.* (Texts), Vol. IV, G! No. 135, pp. 10 ff.

⁴ *South-Ind. Inscrns.*, Vol. II, p. 357, v. 27.

Vidēlvīdugu as stated already, and it is after this title that the father of the engraver of the grant must have been called Vidēlvīdugu-Pallava-perundachchan.¹

It is noteworthy that the *ājñāpti* of our inscription, viz., Ālappākka (Ālambākka) Vijaiyanallūlāṇ figures in an inscription of Pallavatilaka-Nandivarman found at Tiruvellārai in the Trichinopoly district.² This chief's younger brother, Kambaṇ Araiyaṇ by name, figures as the constructor of a big well in the same place as recorded in an inscription of Pallavatilaka-Dantivarman.³ It is now beyond question from the present grant that these kings Pallavatilaka-Nandivarman and Pallavatilaka-Dantivarman, in whose inscriptions figure the two brothers Vijaiyanallūlāṇ and Kambaṇ Araiyaṇ as donors, are identical with Nandivarman Pallavamalla and his son and successor Dantivarman. Thus it becomes clear that the term *Pallavatilaka* was not the surname of any particular king of the Pallava line which was later on adopted as a title by his successors. In editing the Tiruvellārai well inscription⁴ I was inclined to follow the late Mr. Venkayya in considering the successors of Dantivarman as belonging to the family of Pallavatilaka, that being almost the special designation then known to be of Dantivarman as indicated in the Triplicane inscription of that king.⁵ The present grant shows that charter-writers did not mean any distinction between *Pallavakula* and *Pallavatilakakula*. Therefore, in case we meet with inscriptions of Nandivarman or Dantivarman with the word Pallavatilaka or Pallavatilakakula prefixed to their names, we have to distinguish the king from those who bore similar names, by other evidences than what is furnished by the mere title *Pallavatilaka*. In this connection, it may be pointed out that Adigaḷ Gaṇḍaṇ Mārambāvai, who figures as donor in a record of the early Chōḷa king Rājakēsarivarman (Āditya I) and who is stated to be the queen of Pallavatilaka-Nandivarman⁶, cannot be the queen of Pallavamalla, for Āditya I and Pallavamalla are separated by over a century: in all probability she must have been the queen of Pallavamalla's grandson Nandivarman III.

As has been noted, the present inscription is dated in the 61st year of the king's reign. In my *Historical Sketches*⁷, I gave my consideration to the question whether or not Nandivarman Pallavamalla could have reigned for a long time, usurper as he was then known to be, and taking only into view the several conquests he effected and the time of rule of his contemporaries. I arrived at the conclusion that he should be credited with a long period of rule. This conclusion is now made certain by a study of the Vaikunṭha-Perumāl label epigraphs and the present copper-plate grant according to both of which the prince was quite young i.e. 12 years of age, when he became king and by the fact of the present inscription being dated in the 61st year. The latest regnal year, however, of Pallavamalla is the 65th which is furnished in a Mahābalipuram inscription recently discovered by me in the courtyard of the Varāha-Perumāl cave.⁸ If this be the last year of his rule, the king should have lived up to his 77th year of age.

¹ It may be noted that the titles Perumbiḍugu, Viḍēlvīdugu and Mārapīdugu which had been assumed by the feudatory chiefs of the Muttaraiyans might have been derived from the Pallavas who were their overlords. In the extract given from the Vaikunṭha-Perumāl temple inscription, it is seen that at the time of Pallavamalla's coronation he was invested with the new name Viḍēlvīdugu while the Tiruvellārai well inscription shows that Pallavamalla's son Dantivarman was called Mārapīdugu.

² No. 53 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

³ and ⁴ above, Vol. IX, pp. 154 ff.

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 292.

⁶ *South-Ind. Inscrns.*, Vol. III, p. 229.

⁷ *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekkhan*, pp. 45 ff.

⁸ This inscription is under publication in the Memoirs of the Arch. Surv. Department by M. R. R. Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, along with 4 other new inscriptions and some sculptures discovered by me at Mahābalipuram in the year 1922.

The object of the inscription is, as stated already, to register the grant of certain lands in the vicinity of a village situated in Ārvala-kūrṇam, a sub-division of Śōla-nāḍu, constituted into a new village under the name Paṭṭattālmangalam to a number of Brahmans who are introduced by the collective term *nalgūr-narpāppār*. It is worthy of note that in the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates also, the donees are similarly styled.¹ Two possible modes of interpreting the term *nalgūr-narpāppār* have been given by Mr. Krishna Sastri² viz., “the good Brahmans of Nalgūr” and “the poor good Brahmans.” Since in two instances the donees have been so styled, it does not seem probable that Nalgūr means a village of that name. Accordingly, we may adopt the second interpretation. The grant must have been made on their request which was conveyed to the king by the chief of Maṅgala-nāḍu, and this is perhaps clear from the Sanskrit portion which tates विमानं गनाय वरं ददात्. If Nalgūr were a village, it might have been mentioned in the Sanskrit portion also. It is to be noted that most of the donees were highly learned men being Kramavits, Shaṅgaṅavits and Trivēdins. Since the villages in Ārvala-kūrṇam are mostly found in the Negapatam taluk of the Tanjore district, we have to look for Paṭṭattālmangalam in that same taluk. Ārvalam is at present called Alivalam. Ālabākkam, of which Vijayanallūṭṭāp was a native, has already been identified by me with the village of that name in the Trichinopoly District, 12 miles from Lalgudi on the road to Ariyalūr.³ Maṅgala-nāḍu was a sub-division of Arumolideva-vaṇanāḍu and in it was situated the village of Maṅgalam now called Mangal.⁴ It is needless to say that Kachchippēḍu mentioned in the record is identical with Conjeeveram and Aimpapaichchēri is Aimbapaichchēri, a quarter of it.

We may here add a short note on some of the important words occurring in this inscription. As “*arai*” means “to beat” and “*ōlai*” “a (written) palm-leaf,” we may take the compound “*araiy-ōlai*” (l. 32) to mean “the draft whose contents had to be proclaimed by beat of tom-tom.” *Tirumugam* (l. 33 f.) is only the Tamil form of the Sanskrit word *śrīmukha* “a sacred order, a royal writ.” *Koṭṭagāram* (l. 35) seems to be the Tamil adaptation of the Sanskrit *gōṣṭhā griha* “a cow-pen, kraal” it is sometimes employed in the sense of a king’s residence, palace. *Manru* (l. 38) is a word which is largely met with in Tamil inscriptions e.g., *manrupāḍu*, *manrum kaṇru-mēy-pāḷum*, etc. As such, its meaning deserves to be noted. In *Puṇam* 34, occurs the phrase *iratti-nāḍiya aṅaṅ-ṛalai-manṇam* which, according to the commentator, means “the extensively spacious common ground (*podiyil*) with the long *iratti* tree standing on it.” *Manri-ppalaviṇ* “in the jack-tree standing on the common ground (*podiyil*)” occurs in *Puṇam* 128. Again, we meet with this word in the phrase *pēriṣai-mūdūr-manṇaṅ-kaṇḍē* in *Puṇam* 220. In all these cases the commentator takes the word *manru* or *manṇam* in the sense of “a common meeting ground” (*poduvidam* or *podiyil*). A distinction is, however, made between *podiyil* and *manṇam* in *Tirumurugāruppaḍai*, one of the ten Tamil idylls known as *Pattuppāṭṭu*.⁵ Nachchinārkkinīyār takes the word *podiyil* to mean an *ambalam*,—which, by the way, we may remark, is another term used in inscriptions—and the word *manṇam* he explains as “the space under a tree in the middle of a village where all people meet (*ūrukku naḍuvēy-ellārum irukkum marattaḍi*).” From the references quoted here, it will be plain that *manṇam* refers to the place where the village assembly met to transact its business and that this was under a (big) tree (which afforded them shade). Epigraphical references are not wanting to support the fact that in the assembly grounds there were trees and that provisions had been made to have them washed and swept clean. An inscription of the time of Rājā-dhirāja I states that an assembly of a *brahmadēya* village met under a tamarind tree that

¹ *South-Ind. Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 521, l. 37 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 518, note 3.

³ Above, Vol. IX, p. 155.

⁴ *South-Ind. Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 521, l. 37 f and Introduction, p [21].

⁵ Line 226

stood on the bank of a channel while making a grant to a temple.¹ From other inscriptions we learn that the ancient practice of convening meetings was by blowing trumpets.² The Tanḍan-tottam plates of Nandivarman (Pallavamalla) actually provide for the man who had to water the *ambalam*³ and we have to take it on the authority of Nachchinārkkiniyār, to refer to keeping clean the meeting ground of the village assembly under the trees.

TEXT.

[Metres: v. 1 *Sikharinī* ; vv. 2, 3, 6 and 10 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 4 and 5 *Indravajrā* ; v. 7 *Praharshinī* ; v. 8 *Pushpitāgrā* ; v. 9 *Rathōddhatā* and v. 11 *Āryā*.]

First Plate.

- 1 स्वस्ति श्री [1*] । श्रियो भर्तृर्मु[त्ति]र्भरकतसमानैर्भुजयतैश्चयानस्याशोधावु-
रसि विल-
- 2 सत्कौस्तुहचिः⁴ [1*] पयः पातुं सिन्धोर्जलधरघटेवाप्सु पतिता तटित्युक्ता⁵
- 3 भान्ती दिशतु भवताम्भंगलमसौ ॥[1*] यन्मुक्तेः पदमुत्तमं यदचलं
यद्यापि यद्यो-
- 4 गिनाभ्येयन्धोरधिया स्तुवन्ति यदलन्त्रय्यासक्तद्रूसुराः [1*] आश्रित्य त्रिगुणी-
न्निधास्थि-
- 5 तिलयोत्पत्ति(त्ती)र्विधातुं गतस्मेदं यत्स्व[म*]भिन्नमप्यवतु वस्तुद्वस्तु विष्वम्मुखम्⁶
॥[2*] ब्र-
- 6 क्षामभूचरकारिनाभिक्रमलात्तस्मादभूदंगिरास्तस्माद्देवगुहस्ततो मुनिवरशंभु-
- 7 भूरद्वाजतः [1*] द्रोणस्तत्तनयादजायत धनुःप्रख्यातवोर्यो रणे तस्माद्दौणिर-
- 8 वार्यवोर्यमहिमा तस्मादभूत्पत्नवः ॥[3*] लक्ष्मीभुवौ य[त्कु]लसम्भवानां राश्यां
समासा-

Second Plate : first side.

- 9 [द्य] कळत्रभावम् [1*] सप्रत्यसाधारणताम्परेषामासेदतुः पार्थिवमण्डला-
नाम् ॥[4*] य-
- 10 ⁷दङ्गजानामवनोपतीनामात्मीकृतं विश्वरिपून्विजित्य [1*] वस्तु प्रदायात्यिजनाय
भूयः कु-

¹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1910, Part II, para. 21.*

² See my *Annual Report on Archaeology of the Travancore State for 1920*, pp. 41 and 49, and No. 156 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1919. The actual words used in the Suchindiram inscription are "mahā-sabhaiyār kālam-ūdivichchu = kkuṟi tāṟṟi = tīruo-akkirātālaiyir = kkuṭṭam nīramba = kkuṭṭi-irukka.

³ *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. II, p. 527, text-line 199.

⁴ Read कौस्तुभ. The first half of this verse reminds us of vv. 10 and 11 of canto X of the *Raghuvamśa* :—
प्रभानुलिप्तश्रीवत्सं लक्ष्मीविभूतदर्पणं । कौस्तुभाख्यमपां सारं विभूतं वृद्धतीरसा ॥ बाहुभिर्विदपाकारैर्दिव्यामरचमूषितः ।

⁵ Read तटित्युक्ता.

⁶ Read विष्वक्^०. With the latter half of this verse compare नमो विश्वसृजे पूर्वं विश्वं तदनु विभूते । अथ विश्वस्य
संज्ञं तुभ्यं वेधा स्थिताकने । रसान्तराख्येकरसं यथा दिव्यं पयोयुते । देशे देशे गुणेष्वेवमवस्थास्त्वमविक्रयः । vv 16 and
17 of the same canto. Compare also with the first verse of *Kādambarī* which contains the same idea couched in
similar words :—रजोनुषे जन्मनि स्रग्वतुषे स्थितौ प्रजानां प्रलये ततः सृष्टे । अजाय सर्गस्थितिनामहेतवे यथीमवाय विभुश्चात्मने
नमः ।

⁷ Read दङ्ग^०.

i.

[illegible]

ii a.

	<p> 10 12 14 16 </p>	<p> 10 12 14 16 </p>
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ii b.

18	<p>புறையுடைய பூக்கள் தழைக்கின்ற பூக்களையெல்லாம் உதாரணமாகக் கொண்டு உதாரணமாகக் கொண்டு உதாரணமாகக் கொண்டு உதாரணமாகக் கொண்டு உதாரணமாகக் கொண்டு</p>	18
20	<p>உதாரணமாகக் கொண்டு உதாரணமாகக் கொண்டு உதாரணமாகக் கொண்டு உதாரணமாகக் கொண்டு</p>	20
22	<p>உதாரணமாகக் கொண்டு உதாரணமாகக் கொண்டு உதாரணமாகக் கொண்டு உதாரணமாகக் கொண்டு</p>	22
24	<p>உதாரணமாகக் கொண்டு உதாரணமாகக் கொண்டு உதாரணமாகக் கொண்டு உதாரணமாகக் கொண்டு</p>	24

iii a.

26	<p>கந்தி... 26</p>	26
28	<p>28</p>	28
30	<p>30</p>	30

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

56 பதத்துணைபின்பு படிக்கது உ-நா-கயள்கைக்கு பூபகம்பயுக்கிக்கு
 58 பதத்துணைபின்பு படிக்கது உ-நா-கயள்கைக்கு பூபகம்பயுக்கிக்கு
 60 பதத்துணைபின்பு படிக்கது உ-நா-கயள்கைக்கு பூபகம்பயுக்கிக்கு

- 11 लव्रतं कीर्त्तिसमार्जनं हि ॥[५*] तदंशेषु नृपेषु सिम्बुरशनां सम्भुज्य
'धात्रिचिरशो-
12 क्लृप्तं स्वर्गमुपस्थितेषु² कतिषु श्रीवीरकूर्चादिषु [1*] आसीत्तत्र हिरण्यवर्मा-
नृपतिर्भू-
13 पालभर्त्ता ततस्सर्वच्चकरोटघृष्टचरणशोनन्दिवर्माभवत् ॥[६*] आधत्त प्रथित-
14 बली युवैव राज्यम्प्रात्खातस्फुरितकपाणपाणिरैकः [1*] यो हत्वा सकल-
रिपून्वि-
15 जित्य भूयस्सर्वस्वचित्तिपतिमौलिपादपीठः ॥[७*] धवळितककुभा यदो[य*]कोर्त्त्या
भुवनम-
16 भूयस्कलं हतान्धकारम् [1*] रवितुङ्गिनकरौ तु सार्थकौ स्तः कुमुद-
सरोरुहदोर्ग्विका[म्]³

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 17 प्रबोध्य ॥[८*] यस्य वल्लभकळभ्रकेरळा[:*] पाण्यचोळतुकुगोणायदयः [1*]
हारि वे-
18 शसमयाभिकांक्षिणी⁴स्त्रेवितुङ्गरवकाशमासते ॥[९*] भृत्यस्तस्य⁵वरन्तपोगुण-
19 निधिर्वीरो वरिष्ठस्तत्प्राप्त्यो मानधन[:*] स्वकीर्त्तिविसरत्प्राप्ता⁶खिलाशान्तर'
विप्राणाम-
20 ददाङ्गणाय नितराम् विज्ञाय स स्वामिने यस्मिन्मंगलराष्ट्रभूतिभिहितः⁸ ख्याता जग-
21⁹त्बान्धवे ॥[१०*] मंगलजनपदभूतुर्दत्तिरियम्यल्लवेन्द्रभृत्यस्य [1*] आ धरणेरा जल-
22 धेराचन्द्रदिवाकरं खेयात् ॥[११*] Kō-

Vijaiya-Nandivikkirama-parumarku yāṇḍu arubāt-

- 23 t-on[rāvadu Mañ]galanāḍālvāṇ viṇṇappattāl Ālappākka-Vijaiyanallūlāṇ-ā-
24 ṇatti[y-ā]ga Śō[la-nā]ṭṭu=tTeṇkarai-Ārvala-kkūṇṇattu nāṭṭār kāṅga taṅga-nāṭṭu=

Third Plate : First Side.

- 25 ttanī[yūr] liṇ-churru nārpadirru-vēliyuḷḷum paḷam-piramadēyam=irubat-
tu-nāl-
26 [vēliyuḷḷum] nikki ninra padinaṇru-vēliyuḷḷum yāṇḍu aymbatt-onṇad-āvadu¹⁰ Maṅgala-
27 nāḍālvāṇ viṇṇappattār¹¹ Ālappākka-Vijaiyanallūlāṇ-ānattiy-āga perumā-
28 ṇaḍigalūm piramadēyam-āga aruḷi-checheyda paṇṇiru-vēliyuḷḷum yāṇḍu arubatt-o-
29 ṇr-āvadu Maṅgalanāḍālvāṇ viṇṇappattāl=Ālappākka-Vijaiyanallūlā-

¹ Read धात्री.

² Read स्वर्गमुपस्थितेषु.

³ Read दीर्घकाम

⁴ Read °चिच.

⁵ [The Reading वरन्तपो would be better—Ed.]

⁶ Read विसर्गप्राप्ता.

⁷ Read स्तः[1*].

⁸ Read °मिहितः

⁹ Read °हो.

¹⁰ Misread as aymbattonrāvadu in the Mythic Society Journal, Vol. XIV, p. 128.

¹¹ Read viṇṇappattāl.

- 30 n=āṇattiy-āga aruḷi-chcheydā nāl-vēhiyum ulliṭṭu paḍiṇ-aru-vēliyum ūrkkū-
 31 ru pulli-valiyār¹=maṇaiyum maṇai-ppaḍappum oliv-iṇri=ppiramadēyam-āga-ppaṇi-

Third Plate : Second Side.

- 32 ttēm=enru nāṭṭārkkū viṭṭa tirumugan=nāṭṭār toḷudu talaikku=vaitt-ell[ai]
 33 pōy=kkalluṇ=kaṇṇiyun²=nāṭṭi=ppaḍāgai valaṇ-cheydu nāṭṭār viḍunda³ aṇai-
 34 y-ōlaṇppaḍi ūr-kkūru-pulli-vaḷiyā=ppaḍiṇ-aru-vēlikkum niṇṇa maṇaiyum maṇai-p-
 35 paḍappum kuḷamuṇ=kottagāramum uvariya ūr-pālum kāḍam⁴ oḍaiyum nīr pūsi
 36 neḍum-paramb-eṇi[ndu uḍumb-ō]ḍiy-āmai-tavaḷndad-ellām kōvum [po]ṇiyu-
 37 n-tirandu [kuḍiyil sāmātya kḍruṭ]⁴ paḍi-ppaḍi[yār]⁵ sarvva-parihāra[m] pe[rru]
 brahmadē-
 38 yam=āy[irru][*] Ivv-[ū]r perṇa parihāra[m] [vaṭ]ti-nāliyum pudā-nāliyum maṇru-paḍum
 ūrāt[chi]-

Fourth Plate : First Side.

- 39 yum taraguṇ=kūlamum ilam-pūṭchiyum-iḍai-ppūṭchiyum nāḍu-kāvalum ūdu-pōkku[m]
 40 uppu-kkōchcheygaiyum nall-āvun-nall-erudum nēr-vāyamum ivaiy-ulliṭṭu
 41 kō=ttōṭṭ=unṇappālav-ellām evvagaippaṭṭavum unṇa-pperādār-āga[vu*]m[**]
 42 Paṭṭattālmaṅgalam-eṇṇum pērār⁶=brahmadēyam-āga perṇa nalgūr nal-
 43 ppāppār Gautama-gōttirattu Iraṇyakēsi-sūttirattu Nerkuṇṇattu kra-
 44 mavittanā[r*] Kūḷabhaṭṭaṇum||—Jatvakaraṇṇa-gōttirattu Hiranyakēsi-sūttirattu Mayilā-
 45 ppiṇ⁷-Nandisārmma-bhaṭṭaṇum||—Gautama-gōttirattu Āvattamba-sūttirattu Kummaṅgi
 46 Veṇṇaya-chchadaṅgaviyum||—Irādhītara-gōttirattu Āvattamba-sūttirattu Kuravaśiri

Fourth Plate : Second Side.

- 47 Agnisārmma-ttiruvēdiyum||—Vādūla-gōtrattu Āvattamba-sūttirattu Tiruvēdi-
 48 -[p]Pottasārmmaṇum||—Māḍalā-gōttirattu Hiranyakēsi-sūttirattu Eṇūr Achchavi-
 49 ṇṇa-chchadaṅgaviyum||—Āttiraiya-gōttirattu Āvattamba-sūttirattu Kombarut-
 50 tuKumārasārmma-chchadaṅgaviyum||—I-kkōttirattu i-chchūttirattu Uṇṇuppuṭṭūr Kāli-
 51 maṇḍai-chchadaṅgaviyum||—Kappa-gōttirattu Āvattamba-sūttirattu Śirupuḷu—
 52 gil Śeṇḍasārmma-chchadaṅgaviyum||—Gōdama-gōttirattu Āvattamba-sūttirattu Vaṇ-
 53 gipparuttu Śaḍaṅgavi Tāyasārmmaṇum||—I-kkōttirattu i-chchūttirattu ivv-ūr Kumā-
 54 ra[krama]-ttiruvēdiyum||—Koṇḍiṇa-gōttirattu Āvattamba-sūttirattu Vaṅgip-

Fifth Plate : First Side.

- 55 paṇuttu Tēvaḍi-kkiramavittaṇum||—Gōdama-gōttirattu Āvattamba-sūttirattu Va-
 56 [ṇ]gipparuttu -Pappasārmma-chchadaṅgaviyum||—Vādūla-gōttirattu Āvattamba-sūttira-
 57 ttu Kārambichchēṭṭu Śeṇḍasārmmaṇ paṅgaraiyum||—Āttiraiya-gōttirattu Āvattam-
 58 ba-sūttirattu Kombaruttu Śeṇḍasārmmaṇ paṅg-araiyum||—Dēvaṇchidaṇ Aṇṇūṇru-
 59 vaṇum||—Ivv-eḷuttu vēṭṭiṇēṇ Kachchippēṭṭi-Aimpaṇaichchēri Viḍēlviḍugu-
 60 Pallavā-pperuntachchan magan Śrī-Daṇḍiyōṇ||—

¹ Read *vaṭṭiyāl*.

² Read *kalliyun*.

³ Read *viḍutta*.

⁴ The reading in brackets is tentative : badly damaged in the original.

⁵ Read *ōyāl*.

⁶ Read *pērāl*.

⁷ Read *pil*.

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1). Hail ! Prosperity ! Let that body of the husband of Śrī (*i.e.*, Viṣṇu), which is resplendent with the *kaustubha* jewel on its chest and which with a hundred *marakata*-like arms is lying on the ocean, resembling a collection of clouds lustrous with the interspersed lightning and settling on the waters of the ocean to imbibe (its) water, grant you welfare.

(V. 2). That which is the highest place of salvation, is immutable, is omnipresent, is contemplated on by *yōgis* and that which the Brahmans excessively extol always with firm wisdom and with the chanting of the Vēdas, which though itself undivided, assumes three differentiations by adopting the three qualities in order to accomplish (the work of) protection, destruction and creation—may that all-pervading object protect you.

(V. 3). From the navel-lotus of Narakāri (*i.e.* Viṣṇu) was born Brahmā ; from him was (born) Aṅgiras ; from him Dēvaguru (*i.e.*, Bṛihaspati) ; from him (came) Śaṁyu the best of sages ; from his son Bharadvāja (was born) Drōṇa who was renowned as an archer in the battle-field ; from him (came) Drauṇi (*i.e.*, Aśvatthāman) who was of irresistible great power, and from him came **Pallava**.

(V. 4). Lakshmī and the Goddess of Earth having attained the status of consorts to the kings of this family they could not be appropriated by the assemblage of (other) kings.

(Vv. 5 and 6). In this dynasty of kings, whose family vow was the accumulation of fame by giving largesses to suitors after having made the wealth their own by conquering all enemy kings, after the illustrious **Virakūrcha** and others had gone to Heaven after having enjoyed the sea-girt earth for a long time, there came **Hiraṇyavarman**, the foremost of rulers and then **Nandivarman**, whose glorious feet were rubbed against by the diadems of all kings.

(V. 7). This king of renowned prowess, whose foot-stool was the crown of prostrate kings, ruled his kingdom **even while young**, after having killed his enemies and conquered the kingdom single-handed with his unsheathed sword scintillating in his hand.

(v. 8). The entire world was rid of its darkness by his fame with which all the quarters were whitened ; and the sun and the moon were (only) useful for awakening (*i.e.*, opening) the lotus and lily ponds respectively.

(V. 9). At his gate there await without (getting) opportunity (to enter) the **Vallabhas**, the **Kaḷabhras**, the **Kēraḷas**, the **Pāṇḍyas**, the **Chōḷas**, the **Tuḷus**, the **Koṅkaṇas** and others desirous of obtaining admission to serve (him).

(V. 10). The servant of this (king) who was the storehouse of austerities and virtue, who was heroic, highly distinguished, respected by the good, whose wealth was honour, whose spreading fame enveloped the interior of all the quarters, and in whom, who was the relative of the world, the name **Maṅgalarāshṭra-bhartri** (the lord of the district called Maṅgala-rāshṭra) became well-known, gave to a concourse of Brahmans (their) desired object, having repeatedly petitioned the king.

(V. 11). May this gift of the ruler of the country of **Maṅgala**, the subordinate of the **Pallava** king, stand as long as the Earth, the Ocean, the Moon and the Sun (exist).

(Ll. 22 to 32). In the **sixty-first year** of (*the reign of*) king **Vijaiya-Nandivikramavarman**, the following order to the residents (of Ārvala-kūrṅam) was issued at the request of Mangalanādālvāṇ and at the command (*āṇatti*) of **Vijaiyanallūlān** of **Ālappākam** :—

“ Let the residents of **Tenkarai-Ārvala-kūrṅam** in the Chōḷa country (Śōḷa-nāḍu) observe. Out of the forty-five *vēli* (of land) round about the free village of in your sub-division, ~~after excluding the old brahmadēya of twenty-four vēli~~ there remain sixteen *vēli* (of land). These sixteen *vēli*—formed by adding together the twelve *vēli* (of land) which the king (*Perumāṇaḍigal*) had been pleased to grant as a *brahmadēya* in the **fifty-ninth year** (*of his reign*) at the request

of Maṅgalanāḍālvān and at the instance of Vijaiyanallūlān of Ālappākkam and the four *vēli* (of land) which (the same) had been pleased to be converted into a *brahmadēya* (now) in the **sixty-first year** (of his reign) at the request of Maṅgalanāḍālvān and at the command of Vijaiyanallūlān of Ālappākkam,—without excluding the houses of the residents of the persons who settle the village and house-sites (*maṇaiṇpaḍappu*)—these we have ordered (to be) a *brahmadēya*.”

(Ll. 32 to 38). The residents of the district made obeisance (to the royal order), placed it on their heads, planted stones and milk-bush, went right round the *paḍāgai* and issued the order for publication (*aṇai-ōlai*). According to it, the sixteen *vēli* (of land) including houses, house-sites, tanks, kraals, *uvar*, village-waste, forest, streams and all (other) kinds of lands covered with water and ploughed with *paṇambu* where inguanas run and tortoises crawl were removed from the exercise of the rights of the king and (his) authorities and were granted all *parihāras* in order¹; it (then) became a *brahmadēya*.

(Ll. 38 to 43). The *parihāras* which this village received were:—Inclusive of *vaṭṭi-nāḷi*, *pudā-nāḷi*, *maṇrupāḍu*, *ūṛāchi*, *taragu*, *kūlam*, *iḷam-pūchi*, *nāḍu-kāval*, *ūḍupōkku*, *uppu-kkōchcheygai*, *nall-ā*, *nall-erudu*, *nēr-vāyam* and all other kinds of taxes which the king had a right to levy and enjoy shall not (henceforth) be paid (to him); that under the name of Paṭṭattāḷmaṅgalam, the undermentioned poor Brahmans received the *brahmadēya*.

Serial No.	Number of line.	Gōtra.	Sūtra.	Village.	Name of person.
1	43	Gautama	Hiranyakēśi	Neṅkuṇṇam.	Kramavittanār- Bhaṭṭap. Kūḷa
2	44	Jātūkarṇṇa .	Do. .	Mayilāppil .	Nandisarma- Bhaṭṭap.
3	45	Gautama . .	Āvattamba (Āpas- tamba).	Kummaṅgi .	Venṇaya-Chaḍaṅgavi (Shaḍaṅgavit).
4	46	Irādhidara (Rat- hītara).	Do.	Kuravaśiri .	Agnisarma-Tiruvēdi (Trivēdin).
5	47	Vādūla (Vādhūla)	Do.	..	Tiruvēdi- Pottasarmaṇ
6	48	Māḍala (Māthara)	Hiranyakēśi .	Enūr .	Achchaviṇṇa-Chaḍaṅgavi.
7	49	Āttiraiya (Ātrēya)	Āvattamba .	Kombaṅu .	Kumārasarma-Chaḍaṅgavi
8	50	Do.	Do. .	Uṇṇupputtūr .	Kāḷimaṇḍai-Chaḍaṅgavi.
9	51	Kappa (Kāpya) .	Do. .	Siṇṇupulugil .	Sēndaśarma-Chaḍaṅgavi.
10	52	Gōtama (Gautama)	Do. .	Vaṅgippaṇu .	Saḍaṅgavi-Tāyaśarman.
11	53	Do. .	Do. .	Do. .	Kumāra-krama-Tiruvēdi.
12	54	Koṇḍiṇa (Kaṇḍi- ṇiṇya).	Do. .	Do. .	Tēvaḍi-kramavittan.
13	55	Gōtama (Gautama)	Do. .	Do. .	Pappasarma-Chaḍaṅgavi.
14	56	Vādūla (Vadhūla)	Do. .	Kārambichchēṭṭu .	Sēndaśarman.
15	57	Āttiraiya . .	Do. .	Kombaṅu .	Sēndaśarman.
16	58	..	..	..	Dēvaṇchidan-Āṇṇūṇṇaṇ

(Ll. 59-60). The inscription was engraved by **Sri-Daṇḍi**, son of Viḍēlviḍugu-Pallava-perun-tachchan of Aimpānaichchēri in Kachippēḍu.

¹ The doubtful words *kuḍ'yiḷ sāmāya kūṇu* are not translated.

No. 15.—DEOGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF SVAMIBHATA.

BY DAYA RAM SAHNI, RAI BAHADUR, M.A.

The antiquities of Deogarh situated about 22 miles from Lalitpur in the district of Jhansi are described in Dr. Führer's *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, pp. 119-121 and 333, Mr. P. C. Mukherjee's *Report on the Antiquities in the District of Lalitpur* and General Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. X, pp. 100-110. The ancient fort at Deogarh is designated Luachchhagira in the Deogarh pillar inscription of Bhōjadēva of Kanauj, Vik. Samvat 919¹ while the Deogarh rock inscription of Kirtivarman of the [Vik.] year 1154 gives it the name of Kirtigiri.²

This inscription is engraved on a much-worn rock-cut flight of steps which led down on the south side of the Deogarh Fort to the water of the river Betwā which encloses it on three sides. This flight of steps is locally known as the Nahar or Nār Ghāṭi and possesses as many as eleven niches all contemporaneous with the Ghāt some of which still contain their images. The panel occurring at the top of the Ghāt, with which we are here concerned, contains a row of nine seated figures which represent, beginning from the left :—(1) A male figure holding a riṇḍ between both hands, probably Virabhadra, (2) Brāhmī with three faces, (3) Māhēśvari seated on a lion and holding Gaṇēśa in her left hand, (4) Kaumārī on her peacock, (5) Vaiṣṇavi on the Garuḍa, (6) Vārāhi, (7) Indrāṇi, (8) four-armed Chāmūṇḍā, seated on a human corpse and (9) two-armed Gaṇapati.

The inscription under description is engraved immediately above this panel of the divine Mothers. The inscribed surface is 1' 11" wide and 1' 1" in height. The inscription consists of seven lines and is in a fairly good condition of preservation though six letters in the beginning of the first line and a few letters in the beginning of each of lines 5—7 are mutilated. The characters which belong to what Dr. Bühler styles the "acute-angled alphabet" of Northern India, are closely allied to the alphabet in which the Bōdh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman of the Gupta year 269³, the *Prasasti*⁴ of the temple of Lakhā Maṇḍal at Mādhā in Jaunsār Bāwar Pargana of the Dehra Dun District, the Benares inscription of Pantha⁵ and several other documents are written. The striking peculiarities of this alphabet are the highly ornamental *kōṇas* and *mātrās* and these are fully shared by the epigraph under discussion. Dr. Bühler assigns the Lakhā Maṇḍal *prasasti*⁶ to about the end of the 6th century A.D. In my paper on the Benares inscription of Pantha referred to above I assigned that document erroneously to the beginning of the 8th century A.D. In reality it must be as early as the other inscriptions referred to. This is obvious, besides other considerations, from the use of the archaic form of *y* consisting of the loop and two vertical lines. This form of *y* is also used throughout in the present inscription, and I feel no hesitation in assigning it to the 6th century A.D. The language of the document is Sanskrit and except for the opening words *Om namaḥ* at the beginning of line 1, the inscription is in verse throughout. In the matter of spelling and *sandhi*, only one or two irregularities are observable in our inscription. One of these is the use of *prāptāns=tridaśa* instead of *prāptāms=tridaśa* in line 5. Similarly although the doubling of consonants in contact with *r* after vowels is quite regular, the form *kkramāgata* (l. 4) in the beginning of the third quarter of v. 4 is objectionable, as the consonant *k* concerned

¹ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, p. 309 seq.

² *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, pp. 311 ff. and Vol. XVIII, pp. 237 ff.

³ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, Pl. XLI, A.

⁴ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 10 seq.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 59 and Pl. facing p. 60.

⁶ *Indian Palaeography*, edited by Dr. Fleet as an Appendix to the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 49.

is not preceded by a vowel. The word *prathi* in l. 5 is not found in dictionaries. It is probably the engraver's mistake for *pathi*, locative singular of *pathin*, meaning 'range', 'reach', etc.

The inscription does not appear so far to have been published anywhere. Its existence is referred to by Mr. P. C. Mukherji¹ but all that he has to tell us about it is that in it "the name of the reigning king is lost." Dr. Führer appears, however, to have deciphered a part of the inscription as he has the following remark about it. "Near the Naharghâṭī, there is a valuable record of Svāmibhaṭa, dated Samvat 609, written in characters of the latter Gupta period."² Now, though the first part of the remark is quite correct, there is no trace of a date anywhere to be seen in the inscription.

The inscription consists of seven verses. The verses are not numbered. The interpunctuation is also not regular, for though the ends of the verses are everywhere marked by the usual double vertical stroke (*danḍa*), the half verses are only occasionally indicated by a curved horizontal stroke which in one or two cases has a more complicated form. As to the contents of the document, the first verse invokes the blessing of the divine Mothers. Verses 2 to 4 contain the pedigree of a certain Svāmibhaṭa whose high qualities are eulogised in verse 5. The next verse states that this Svāmibhaṭa caused an imperishable abode to be constructed for the divine Mothers on the mountain on which the Deogarh Fort is situated. The *Prasasti* was composed by a certain Jata, the son of Yākṣhadatta and engraved by Bhānu, the son of Durgga. The abode of the Mothers whose erection is recorded in this epigraph is probably identical with the niche in which the group of the seven mothers and the inscription are engraved unless we are to suppose that the upper part of the flight of steps was originally covered with a roof and did duty as a temple. The building of temples for the worship of the divine Mothers appears to have been common in ancient times. One such temple was erected by a certain Mayūrākṣaka, a minister of Viśvavarman,³ in the year 480 of the Mālava era, i.e. the Vikrama era.

Nothing is known about the donor (Svāmibhaṭa) mentioned in this inscription from any other source. In the inscription he is described as the grandson of Gōmilaka who was an ornament of the Solar race and might therefore have been a man of some consequence.

TEXT.

[Metres: Vv. 1, 4, 6 and 7, *Anuṣṭubh*; V. 2, *Āryā*; V. 3, *Sālinī*; V. 5, *Śikharinī*.]

1 [ची न]मः ।

... स्थानां जगद्रक्षात्मकसां

मातृणां लोकमातृ(तृ)णां मण्डलं भूतयस्तु वः ॥[१*]

अभवद्वोमि[क्ष-

2

क] इति [सह'स्र]किरणावदातकुलतिलकः ।

सुचरितपदधीमनुयान्ति यस्य नाद्यापि समुक्ष्माः ॥[२*]

तस्माज्जज्ञे

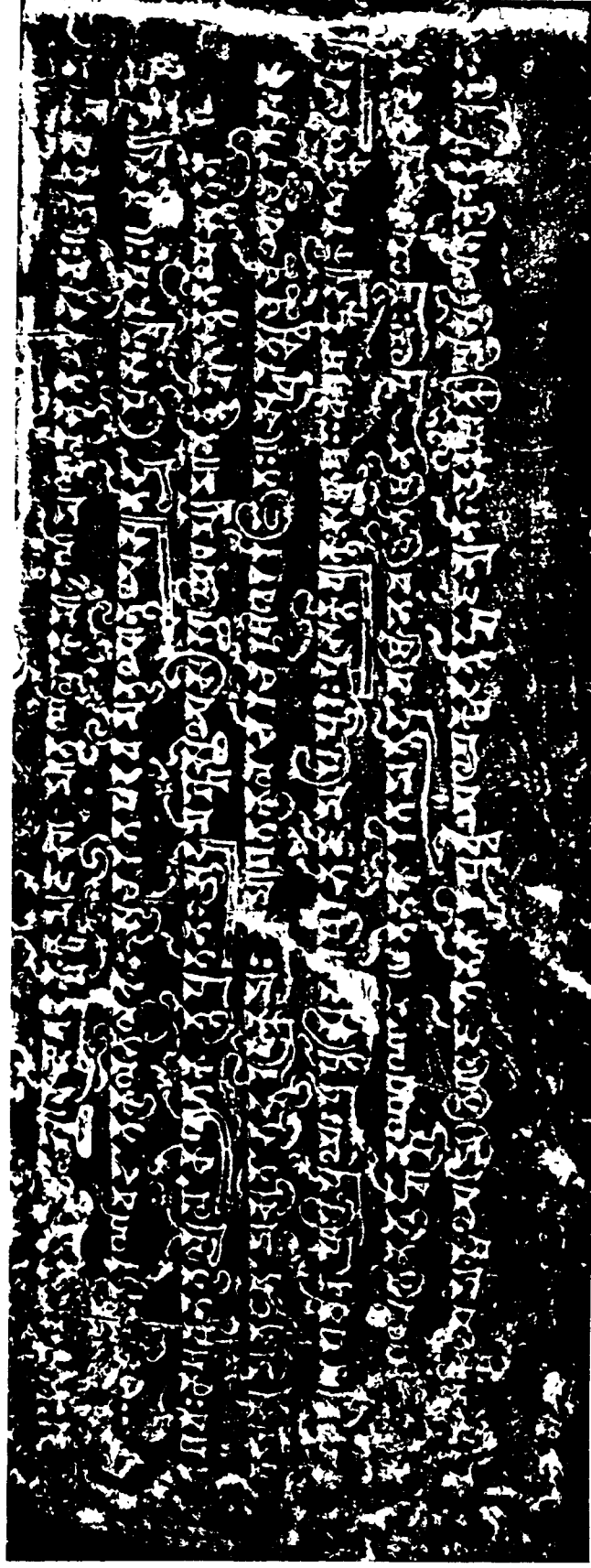
¹ *Report on the Antiquities in the District of Lalitpur*, Vol. I, p. 11.

² *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, p. 238.

³ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 74.

⁴ The letter य is written below the line.

ROCK INSCRIPTION OF SVAMIBHATA FROM DEOGARH.



H. KRISHNA SASTRI

SCALE TWO-FIFTHS

No. 16.—A KALACHURI STONE INSCRIPTION FROM KASIA.

By DAYA RAM SAHNI, RAI BAHADUR, M.A.

The stone slab on which this inscription is engraved, was discovered by Mr. A. C. L. Carlleyle¹ in 1875-76 at the Buddhist ruins near Kasīā which has since been proved by successive excavations to represent in all probability the ancient site of Kuśanagara where Gautama Buddha breathed his last or entered *Mahāparinirvāṇa*. The exact spot where this discovery was made was on the south side of the door-way of the brick shrine in which the large blackstone image of the Buddha at the moment of his enlightenment, locally known as the Māthā Kūār, was originally enshrined. This shrine turns out to be the chapel of a monastery of the 11th or 12th century A.D., and not an independent temple as Mr. Carlleyle presumably imagined. This monastery was excavated by Pt. Hirananda Sastri in 1911 and 1912.² As the inscription which forms the subject of this paper, was found in this monument, it seems to me likely that this document recorded its erection. The loss of the latter portion of the inscription to be referred to later on is, therefore, much to be regretted.

The slab is the blue stone of Gayā of the same kind as the material of the colossal Bōdhi statue, referred to above and must, likewise, have been brought from that District and inscribed and set up in the building where it has been recovered. Mr. Carlleyle had rubbings of this inscription made for Professor Kielhorn from which and certain others supplied by the Curator of the Lucknow Museum, the late Professor published a résumé of the contents of the record in his *Epigraphic Notes in Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen Phil.—historische Klasse 1903*, pp. 300 to 303. Professor Kielhorn did not edit any portion of the inscription. The text that I edit below was prepared in 1912 when I was Curator of the Provincial Museum at Lucknow and I believe I have succeeded in deciphering the whole of the record as far as it was decipherable. Besides, a fuller treatment of the inscription was necessary as this is the only record, so far known, of the branch of the Kalachuri family to which it belongs. The condition of the inscription is described in Professor Kielhorn's notes referred to and only salient points may be mentioned here. This slab is 36½" wide and 17½" high. The existing portion of the inscription contains 24 lines, but evidently some writing is lost at the end of it. The annexed plate will show the amount of damage that has occurred to the document from the peeling off of the surface, rendering illegible large portions of several lines and making other parts almost unreadable except with difficulty from the original stone. The size of letters ranges from ⅜" to ⅝" exclusive of the vowel marks. The smaller size of ⅜" occurs in the lower lines due evidently to considerations of space that was available on the slab when the engraver had reached a certain stage of his task.

The characters are Nāgarī of the 11th or 12th century A.D. I agree with Professor Kielhorn that both the writer and the engraver have done their work carefully but, even so, a few mistakes have crept in. In l. 9 we notice *Nakusha* spelt with *gh* in place of *h*. In four cases the *anusvāra* in the body of words is replaced before the sibilants *sa* and *śa* by the nasal of one or other of the *vargas*. These are *vaṇṣa* for *vaṇṣa* in ll. 10, 11 and 12 and *rājahanṣi* for *rājahanṣi* in l. 19. *Sandhi* is everywhere carried out except once in *kalpataruḥ trijagat*³ in l. 19. As is usual in inscriptions of this period, the final consonants are sometimes written small, with a curved stroke beneath them, and the consonant *va* is written in place of *ba*. I have used the correct form throughout. The inscription is composed throughout in Sāskṛit verse with the exception of the invocation of the Buddha in the beginning of l. 1. The metrical portion contains thirty verses and a few syllables of the 31st verse. Professor Kielhorn has published a list of

¹ *A. S. R.* Vol. XVIII, p. 68.² *A. S. R.* for 1910-11, Part II, p. 68 and 1911-12, Pt. II, pp. 138 ff.

the first 29 stanzas indicating the metre of each and the number of the line of the inscription in which each verse ends or would have ended had the document been better preserved. As to the metres of these stanzas, I agree to Professor Kielhorn's list, except in regard to the 28th verse, where he doubtfully makes the metre *Vamśastha*, though it is more probably *Rathōddhatā*, the space being just enough for 44 syllables and the scheme of the extant last *pāda* as read by me being that of the *Rathōddhatā* metre.

In respect of its contents the document is divisible into three portions, namely, (1) the invocations of deities (vv. 1-5), (2) the mythical and legendary portion of the genealogy (vv. 6-12), and (3) the historical portion. In connection with verses 4 and 5 it is interesting to observe that the two Nāndī verses of the Buddhist drama, the "*Nāgānanda*", also invoke the Buddha under the epithets of Jina and Munindra, the appellations in our inscription being *Tathāgata* and *Munindra*. In connection with the second section, it is to be observed that in v. 8 the marriage of Budha with Ilā, the daughter of Manu, is also mentioned though it is overlooked in Prof. Kielhorn's résumé. It is also noteworthy that while the Kahla plate inscription of Sōḍhadēva¹ of another branch of the Kalachuri dynasty mentions Kṛitavīrya after Haihaya the *Harivamśa* has as many as seven kings between *Haihaya* and *Kṛitavīrya*.² The names of these seven kings are (1) Dharmanētra, (2) Kārtta, (3) Sāhañja, (4) Mahishmān, (5) Bhadrāsreṇya, (6) Durddama and (7) Kanaka.

The historical portion of the genealogy begins with v. 13 and embraces the rest of the preserved portion of the document. The founder of the branch of the Kalachuri dynasty represented by the present epigraph was Śaṅkaragaṇa as was Lakshmaṇa-rāja of the other branch referred to in the preceding paragraph. My text of the Kasiā inscription elucidates two or three obscure points in the summary of Prof. Kielhorn, and furnishes the names of one or two other kings which are omitted by him. In the first place Prof. Kielhorn was doubtful about the relationship of the third king Lakshmaṇa (I) (v. 16) to his predecessor Nannarāja. My reading of the verse clearly makes him a son of Nanna-rāja. The same remark applies to the next king Śiva-rāja (I) (v. 18) who must have been a son to Lakshmaṇa (I). Again Prof. Kielhorn's summary makes Rājaputra (v. 20) the son of Bhīmaṭa (I) mentioned in v. 19. It now appears that the term *rājaputra* is only a title of Lakshmaṇa (II) not mentioned in Prof. Kielhorn's notes, who was in all probability the son of Bhīmaṭa. The last king (v. 27) mentioned in the extant portion of the record is Bhīmaṭa (II), son of Kāñchanā probably the wife of Lakshmaṇarāja II or of another king whose name may have disappeared in v. 26. It is impossible to ascertain whether the inscription was set up in the time of this prince (Bhīmaṭa II) or whether the missing portion contained the names of one or more other princes. Nor is it possible, for the same reason, to say what the object of the inscription was.

The only place mentioned in the epigraph is Śaivaya³ (verse 17) to which Lakshmaṇa resorted after having entered a fort whose name is missing. The verse mentioned above describes it as a mountainous district (*śikhari-vishayaṁ*) which was the residence of Śibi the son of Uśīnara. Prof. Kielhorn proposed to identify this locality with Seweya, situated a few miles south or south-east of Kasiā. I have nothing to say against this suggestion, for the place must have been situated somewhere in the vicinity of Kasiā where the inscription has been found, though it must be observed that the village Seweya, which I personally inspected, is situated on perfectly level ground and not in a mountainous region. In an interesting article on the *Shorkot inscription of the year 83*,⁴ Dr. Vogel has discussed the history of the Śibi tribe

¹ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VII, pp. 85 seq.

² *Harivamśa*, Calcutta edition of 1839, *adhyāya* 36, vv. 1845-50.

³ Śaivaya appears to be a mistake for Śaivya (= Śiri + the suffix *nya*), i.e., the country or city of the Śibis [The metre requires such a form which might be *rūḍha*.—Ed.]

⁴ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVI, pp. 15-17.

at some length. According to the *Mahābhārata*, this tribe lived in the western part of India. Dr. Lassen considers the Siboi, one of the tribes subdued by Alexander the Great, to be identical with the Śibis of the ancient Indian literature and Mr. Smith in his *Early History of India* locates them in the Doab of the Hydaspes and Hydraotis. The inscription referred to above appears to show that the mound at Shorkot, where the record has been found marks the site of Śibipura which Dr. Vogel believes to have been the capital of the Śibis. It thus becomes evident that the Śibis were at one time masters of the greater part of Northern India.

The name of the king who had this inscription installed is lost in the lower obliterated portion of the record, and we know nothing about him beyond the fact, as we gather from verses 1-5, that though a Buddhist by faith, he revered, along with the Buddha and Tārā, the Brahmanical god Śiva. This is in keeping with the state of the society during the period to which the inscription belongs and we are aware of Ballālasēna,¹ king of Bengal, who in the beginning of his reign was a Buddhist but turned a Śaiva in his later life. At the Buddhist ruins of Sārnāth and other ancient sites, Brahmanical images have been found side by side with Buddhist ones in the shrines of the late mediæval period. Further proof of the reconciliation of Hinduism and Buddhism during this period is afforded by certain Mōn inscriptions of Burma recording the consecration and dedication of a great religious building or palace.² The ceremonial lasted a number of days and Brahman astrologers as well as Buddhist monks took part in it. This process of harmonising the two faiths must, however, have begun much earlier. The drama *Nāgānanda* of Harsha, to which a reference has been made above, represents an undoubted attempt in this direction, for do we not find in it the Bōdhisattva Jimūtavāhana worshipping the Brahmanical gods and his father Jimūtakētu leading the life of an *agnihōtrin* after his retirement?

TEXT.

[Metres: vv. 1, 7, 15, 29 and 30 *Sragdharā*; vv. 2, 3, 6, 10 and 12 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; v. 4 *Vamśastha*; vv. 5, 13, 14 and 17 *Mandākṛāntā*; vv. 8, 9, 11, 16, 19, 20, 24, 25 and 27 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 18 *Śikharinī*; vv. 21 to 23 and 26 *Āryā*; v. 28 *Rathōddhatā*.]

1

[सो] नमो रुद्राय³ नमो बुधाय ।

यज्ज्योतिः सूक्ष्मेकं यदखिलकरणग्रामगोष्ठीविवादि -

ज्ञानासिष्यस्तगाढावृतिवितततमोग्रयि विद्योतते च ।

व्यक्ताद्यैर्भूतिभेदैर्विलसति रमय — — — — —

2

— — पायान्निपर्व्वप्रभवभयभिदः शाश्वतं शङ्करस्य ॥१*॥

दृष्ट्वा कोपपराङ्मुखीं गिरिसुतां संध्याप्रणामेर्ष्या

¹ Cf. *The Modern Buddhism and its followers in Orissa*, by N. N. Vasu, Introduction by Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri, p. 21.

² Reports of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma, for the year ending 31st March 1912, pp. 14-15, and 1916, pp. 22-23, and *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 2.

³ It will be remembered that Mr. A. C. L. Carleyle read this passage as *Om namō Buddhāya namō Buddhāya bhikṣhunē*. Professor Kielhorn has shown that what Mr. Carleyle read as *bhikṣhunē* is really *yaj=jjyōtiḥ* which commences verse 1. He himself read the first *Buddhāya* as *Rudrāya*. A close examination of the passage on the original stone leaves no doubt, however, that it is really *ruddhāya*, i.e., who has subjected himself. The subjoined consonant of the second syllable of the word has decidedly a closed loop like the *ddha* of *Buddhāya* (l. 1) and is distinct from *dra* in *chandramāh* (l. 8), *narēndra* (l. 19) and *kulpadrumāpām* (l. 27). [The word must be *Rudrāya* as indicated by the first 2 verses in praise of Śaṅkara.—Ed.]

⁴ Here we might restore the words *tad=raḥ* or *tan-naḥ*.

⁵ The syllable *sam* is written below the line.

तत्काला(ली)चितचारुचाटुघटनापर्याकुलं(ख)स्तत्क्षणं[१*]

पौलस्त्योर्जितदोर्हयी ॐ ॐ ॐ — —

3

— ॐ — चक्षुः¹

पायाहः सुचिरं तथा हठकृतास्तेष्विष्यः शङ्करः ॥[२*]

मूर्तिर्धर्ममयी कृपारसवहं चेतो विमुक्ता धियः

नेत्रे मैत्रगुणानुरागसुभगे शान्ताभिनीतो करो ।

इ[त्ये]वं सुगतानुशास[न]-

4

ॐ — — कृत्रिं(त्रि)यं स्वां तनुं

विभ्राणा भवतां सुखानि तनुतां तारा त्रि(त्रि)सोकेयरो ॥[३*]

जयत्यसंजातविचित्रवासना[गुणा]नुरागोज्ज्वलधोस्तपोनिधिः ।

तथागतः स्तम्भितमारमुन्द[रमहो]त्सवः सिद्धगणैर[भि]-

5

[ष्टुतः]॥[४*]

श्रेयः सत्यो(चवो)पक्ष[ति]पर[मं] पश्यता येन तत्त-

त्स्वप्राणैरप्यतिथि[षु] कृतं कीर्तितं य[त्कथा]भिः [॥]

[योगेश्व]र्याजगति सुबहून् स(सं)म्वि(वि)धायावतारान्

[कर्ति]कारु[ण्ये]कप्र [रभवत्स]ः [सदा]सौ मुन[ी]-

6

[न्दः]॥[५*]

यद्भोजं जगतां लयस्थितिविधौ यच्चैकमालम्बनं

देवो दैत्यनिषूदनः स भगवान्प्रज्ञाणम[ग्रेष्ट]जत् ।

[तेनागु] त्रिजगत्पञ्चरचनाचतुर्यु[विद्यो]क्ता

सप्तात्रि[प्रसु]खाः [प्र]जाधिपतयो ध्या[त्वा]

7

[स]मुत्पादिता ॥[६*]

तत्रात्रिस्रोणि दिव्यान्यकृत कृतस्त्रिजगत्पञ्चो[र्वि]श्वराणा-

मव्याचेपात्सहस्रान्व(स्त्र)निमिषस्त्रयोदशरास्त्रपस्त्रव² ॥

तद्दीर्यादार्यनेत्रादजनि दृष्ट[दिगो] भ्राजस[त्सो]विरोचः

8

— — विश्वमिबन्धुमिरस्यतनिधिसन्द्रमाः सस्यदत्तः ॥[७*]

तस्मादजायत सुधीः स्फुटहेमकान्ति-

¹ I originally read these three syllables as *tas=layā. I owe the reading in the text to the kindness of Mr. H. Sastri.

² Cf. *Harivamsa*, Calcutta, 1839, Adhyāya 25, vv. 1314-15. where Atri's intense penance is described.

अनुत्तरं नाम तपो येन तत्र महपुरा ।

चौचि वषट्पञ्चाभि दिव्यानीति इ नः सुबन् ॥

यजोर्ध्वरेतस्यस्य स्थितस्यानिमिषस्य इ

रिन्दोरनिन्दमहसो यशसात्रिवासः[१*]

लोकत्रयेपि बुध इत्यभिगीतनामा

[पद्मो]मिलामयमवाप [म]-

9

[नोस्तनू]जां(जाम्) ॥[८*]

आसीत्ततोपि जगदद्भुतरूपकीर्ति-

राशान्तविस्तृतयशास्तनयस्तपोधिः[१*]

येनोर्वशी विबुधलोकमपास्य सर्व्वं

रेमे चिरं सह पुरुषवसेह सुभूः ॥[९*]

आयु[स्तस्य सुतस्ततोपि] नचुं(हु)ष[द्यास्मा]-

10

[द्ययाति]स्त्वसौ

तस्योर्व्वीपतयो यदुप्रभृतयः पञ्चाभवन्नात्मजाः ।

सूनुषापि यदोः सहस्रद इति ख्यातः चि[ती]शोभवत्

त्रैलोक्यार्चितवङ्ग(वंश)विस्तृतिरभूत्तस्मात्पुन[र्जयः] ॥[१०*]

— — — — —

11

— — — गुह्यैर्नरेन्द्रे-

रानन्दितेभ्य भगवान्स बभूव वङ्गे(वंशे) ।

यः कार्त्तवीर्य इति पुण्यतमाभिधानः

पृथ्वीं पृथोरपि गुह्यैरधिकैर्विनिन्ये ॥[११*]

बहिःस्थस्य पुरा पुराणविधिना वर्त्तात्मभू — — —

— — — — —

12

— — — — — लेभूतैस्तदेवाधिपे [१*]

तस्मिन्नर्चितशासने किमपरं चिन्तामयीमप्यसौ

तत्कालेस्त्र्यदापतन्नविनयप्राप्तिं प्रजास्त्र्यशत् ॥[१२*]

वङ्गे(वंशे) तस्य प्रथितमहसः सम्प्रवृत्ते त्रिलोकी

— — — — —

13

— शङ्करगण इति ख्यातमूर्त्तिर्नर्व्व(र्व्व)भूव

श्रोतः प्रादात्स्वमिह पुरजिच्चिह्नमङ्गाय यस्मै ॥[१३*]

तस्मादुर्व्वीनिवसनसरिन्नाथपर्यन्तकीर्त्त-

र्दीपापायप्रसभविल[स*]दिश्ववन्द्योदयश्रीः ।

श्रीमान् जज्ञे रवि[रिव] — — — — —

WHITTENHAM & GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

14 — सोपहितवसुधापावनो नन्दराजः ॥[१४*]

यत्नेनासुन्दरोभिर्भवतिलककृतालङ्कृतीन्यापगा[ना]¹

सुयङ्गुभङ्गलीलासमधिकरमणीयानि पत्न्या मुखानि ।

भ्राजन्नेषोत्पलानि स्मितनलिनदलाताम्रलोलाधरा[ण]

— — — — —

15

[स]सृष्टं वीक्षितानि ॥[१५*]

तस्यासपन्नघनकीर्त्तिलतावितान-

सङ्कादिताखिलदिगन्ततनोस्तनूजः ।

श्रीलङ्घनः क्षपितवैरिबलः प्रतापः

प्रत्न्यविग्रहपरिग्रहवानिवासीत् ॥[१६*]

एकस्त्रै[को]दरशयन[यो] — — — — —

16

७ भिसुखप्रतीतिराविश्य दुर्गं ।

पञ्चादीशः शिखरिविषयं शैवयाख्यं स भेजे

आसर्वस्वं तदपि हि शिबेः स्थानमौशीनरस्य² ॥[१७*]

अभूदीशस्तस्मादवनिवलयस्यास्य सुयशाः

प्रतापोर्व्व्योतिर्व्विशद ७७ — — ७७७ — [१*]

७ — — — — —

17

[जित] इति कीर्त्तैर[पि] कृती

प्रतीतः सर्वस्मिन्प्रगति शिवराजः शिव इव ॥[१८*]

तस्यात्मजो नरपतिरभवद्भुजन्मा

कृतोपमागुणगणैकनिधिः क्षितीशः[१*]

श्रीभी[म]टः सुभ[ट] — ७७ — ७ — —

¹ The syllable *nā* is written below the line.

² The reading of the word *pratyakṣa* has been kindly supplied by Mr. H. Sastri.

³ In verse 17, Mr. H. Sastri suggests *sikhari-vishayam* and *girēh* in place of *sikhari-vishamam* and *Śivēh* as originally read by me. The last *akṣara* of the first word is damaged, but Mr. H. Sastri's reading gives a better sense and I have adopted it. There is, however, no doubt as to the correctness of my own reading of *Śibēh* (see next footnote).

⁴ According to the *Harivaṃśa*, Sibi was one of the five sons of Uśinara of the Pūru branch of the Lunar race. He was the founder of the Sibi tribe.

उशीनरस्य पत्न्यसु पञ्च राजर्षिवंशजाः

.....

दृषत्पत्न्या सञ्जये शिविरौशीनरी नृपः

.....

विषेसु शिववत्सात

(*Harivaṃśa*, Adhyāya 81, vv. 1674-78).

of the threefold universe, were quickly created through meditation the seven lords of creation¹ beginning with Atri.

V. 7. Of them (the Prajāpatis) Atri, the leader of the learned, practised the penance known as Anuttara for three thousand divine years with winkless eyes, without cessation. Through his prowess, of his (Atri's) noble eye was born the moon, who, a mass of light, lit up the ten directions, whose light is pleasing to the whole universe and who is the repository of nectar.

V. 8. From him, the moon of irreproachable resplendence, was born the wise one, brilliant like pure gold, a store-house of fame, who is celebrated as Budha in all the three worlds. He took for his wife Ilā, the daughter of Manu.

V. 9. From him (Budha) again was (born) a pious son; who enjoyed a wondrous fame in the world, whose glory extended up to the limits of the quarters: with whom, Purūravas, Ūrvaśī of beautiful eye-brows discarding the entire body of gods lived happily for a long time here (on this earth).

V. 10. His (Purūravas's) son was Āyus; from him (Āyus) sprang Nahusha; and from him (Nahusha) the famous Yayāti. His (Yayāti's) sons were five kings Yadu, etc. And the son of Yadu, too, was the king known as Sahaśrada. From him (Sahaśrada) again (sprang) Haihaya whose vast dynasty was honoured by the three worlds.

V. 11. In this dynasty gladdened by kings of virtues, there was the fortunate one who had the lucky name of Kārttavīrya² and who governed the earth by virtues excelling those of Pṛithu.

V. 12. During (the reign of) that king the same path (was followed) by (all) sentient beings as (was established) by ancient custom for the universe. What more should be said, during the esteemed rule of that (king), he being equipped with a missile took immediate notice of the approach of misconduct in the very thought of his subjects, and checked it at once.

V. 13. In the family of him (Kārttavīrya) of extensive glory . . . there was Saṅkaragaṇa of prominent appearance; to whom Purajit (Śiva) being pleased instantly granted an emblem of his own.

V. 14. From him (Śaṅkaragaṇa), whose fame (spread) up to the ocean which is a garment of the Earth, sprang the illustrious Nannarāja whose rising power which was honoured by the universe shone intensely on account of the absence of faults like the Sun whose glorious rise worshipped by the universe shines violently at the close of the night, (and) who purifies the Earth of

V. 15. Whose (Nannarāja's) forces cast longing eyes on the shores of the Lord of the streams, adorned with young *tilaka* (trees) which are exceedingly beautiful on account of the sport of rising (waves) which resemble eye-brows, which have blue lotuses for bright eyes, petals of white lotuses for their smile and reddish (ones) for their fickle lower lips; just as damsels behold eagerly the faces of their husbands which are adorned with fresh *tilaka* marks, which are extremely handsome on account of the sportive and prominent knitting of brows, which have bright eyes like blue lotuses, smiles like petals of white lotuses and restless lower lips like reddish lotuses. [The subject of the verse is चापगानां पत्न्या and the object is चापगानां [मुखानि] "The ocean who is the lord of the rivers, saw with surprise the faces of his wives (i.e., rivers) (viz., river cuts) 'adorned etc.' by the women in his (i.e., Nannarāja's) forces."—Ed.]

¹ Prajāpatis were the Mahārishis whom Brahman created to assist him in the work of creation. According to the *Manu-Smṛiti*, l. 35, these sages were ten in number.

² The Kāla plate inscription of Sōḍhadēva referred to above and the *Harivaṃśa*, v. 1850, give Arjuna as the name of this king who was the son of Kṛitavīrya.

V. 16. He (Nannarāja), the creeper-canopy of whose unrivalled dense fame had covered the entire body of the quarters, had a son (named) the illustrious Lakshmaṇa (I)¹ who had destroyed the strength of his enemies (and) was, as it were, glory (itself) which had assumed a visible body.

V. 17. having entered a fort afterwards that lord (Śrī-Lakshmaṇa) resorted to a mountainous district named Śaivaya which was the sum total of the universe and the residence of Śibi Auśinara.

V. 18. From him (Lakshmaṇa) was born the famous lord of this wide world named Śivarāja (I)² who brilliant with (his) prowess resembling the light of the flame created by Aurva³ (Rishi), who was more successful even than Kirtti,⁴ and was famous in the whole world like Śiva.

V. 19. The son of that king (Śivarāja) was the Lord of the Earth, the illustrious Bhīmaṭa (I) of fortunate birth, the sole repository of the multitude of qualities and all comparisons good warriors, a sword dexterous in the art of deceitless destruction (of the wicked)

V. 20. there was the illustrious Lakshmaṇa (II)⁵ who had mastered all the feats of bowmanship (and) whom the title, the son of a king, the source of virtues, befitted more appropriately than hundreds of (other) princes.

V. 21. His (Lakshmaṇa's) son was Śivarāja (II) (who) was conversant with all topics, like Śiva who confusion in the circle of (his) enemies.

V. 22. there was born the crest-jewel of kings, whose fame was sung in the three worlds, who was the desire-granting-tree of⁶

V. 23. That prosperous king had a heart-captivating wife named Bhūdā of noble descent on both sides, whose patronage was beneficial (or who had a clear complexion) like a female goose going to the Mānasa lake and casting the shadow of both her white wings.

V. 24. From him⁷ (Bhūdā's husband) was born Lakshmaṇarājadēva (III) in the world.

V. 25. By whom (Lakshmaṇarājadēva) with pearls dropped from the broad temples of the elephants of the enemies split asunder by hard strokes of the sword on the battle field, (pearls) which are mixed with tears resembling the trickling saffron.

V. 26. named Kāñchanā,⁸ the daughter of

V. 27. On her (Kāñchanā), that king (Lakshmaṇarājadēva) whose footstool was illumined by the multitude of the crest-jewels of the circle of prostrating enemies, begot the illustrious Bhīmaṭa II who had earned fame by his fierce prowess.

¹ Prof. Kielhorn was doubtful about the relationship of Lakshmaṇa to Nannarāja.

² Here, too, Prof. Kielhorn's query about this king being the son of Lakshmaṇa should be deleted.

³ Aurva was a descendant of Bhrigu. Kārttavīrya intent on destroying the descendants of Bhrigu destroyed the children even in the wombs of the women of that family. One of these women secreted her embryo in her thigh. Hence the child that was born was called Aurva. At the very sight of him, the sons of Kārttavīrya were struck with blindness and his wrath produced a flame which threatened to destroy the whole world.

⁴ The reading of this passage is almost certain, but who the Kirtti was, that is referred to here, cannot be ascertained.

⁵ This name is not noticed by Prof. Kielhorn.

⁶ The name of the king in this verse has disappeared in the missing portion of the stanza.

⁷ Prof. Kielhorn's summary here reads "her son Lakshmaṇarāja (II)". The first word of the stanza is, however, most probably *tasmāt*.

⁸ This lady would appear to have been the wife of Lakshmaṇarājadēva (III) mentioned in v. 24.

No. 17.—SRIRANGAM COPPER-PLATES OF DEVARAYA II; SAKA-SAMVAT 1356.

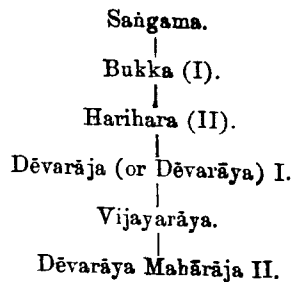
By S. V. VISWANATHAN, M.A., MANNARGUDI, AND THE LATE MR. T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A.,
TRIVANDRUM.

This is another set of copper-plates of the Vijayanagara king Dēvarāya II in the possession of the authorities of the Śrī-Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam (see above, Vol. XVII, No. 8). It was examined by the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, in his *Ep. Rep.* for 1906, and noted as No. 19 of App. A. We edit the inscription below from inked estampages kindly supplied by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri. The description of the plates as noted on his office copy runs as follows: "Three plates in a ring in the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam." The following further details may be added:—

The inscription is written on three¹ copper-plates with a ring hole at the top. The first and third plates are engraved only on their inner sides. They measure 11·3" in length including the arch at the top, and 7" in breadth. The hole has a diameter of ·75". The first and second plates are numbered at the left hand top corner with the Kannaḍa numerals 1 and 2 and the word *puṭa* in Nāgarī; the third plate bears the Kannaḍa numeral 3 just below the ring hole. The rims of the plates are slightly raised. The writing runs across the breadth of the plates, is legible and devoid of any erasures. The average height of a letter is ·25". The inscription is in the Nandi-Nāgarī characters. But the signature *Śrī-Virūpāksha* at the end is in Kannaḍa. The Tamil letters *l* and *r* have been used in lines 51, 58, 65, the latter being sometimes expressed by a *rēpha* marked above the letter *ra* (e.g., in ll. 50, 51, 53). The languages employed are Sanskrit which is largely the language of the inscription and Tamil (*Dēśabhāṣā*) which is used in describing the details of the property granted. The latter is here and there interspersed with a few Kannaḍa words.

The orthographical peculiarities to notice in this inscription are:—the insertion of an *anusvāra* before *n* and *ṇ* and the labial *m*, e.g., *puṁnya* for *punya* (ll. 4 and 12), *sāṁmrāja* for *sāmrāja* (l. 20) and *hirāṁnya* for *hiranya* (l. 66); the doubling of consonant after an *anusvāra*, as in *bhrāṁtta* (l. 30), *imtta* for *imda* (l. 47), *maṁchchal* (l. 49); and the omission of the *visarga* or the consequent doubling of *s* in *chatusimā* (l. 38) and *prāptai sarvair* and *āyai samanvitam* (l. 44).

The genealogy of the first Vijayanagara dynasty, given in the inscription, runs thus:



¹ Originally, it appears as if only two villages were granted by these three plates, but after reconsideration the number of villages was changed to five and a revised second plate was added without, however, destroying the original second plate for which this was substituted. Thus there are now four plates in the set, the second of which has to be deleted inasmuch as the revised fresh plate has to take its place. Care was taken to begin the revised second plate with the same word as in the old plate and end it similarly with the same word as in the old one, so that the passage might fit in with the context of the first and the third plates, though in the middle a few more verses in praise of Dēvarāja II and some lines regarding the additional villages were added. The odd plate which Mr. Venkayya noted under 'Remarks' in his *Ep. Rep.* for 1906, App. A., No. 20, was perhaps the original second plate.

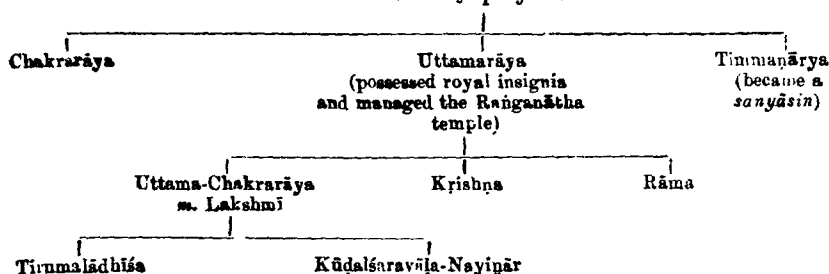
The date of the grant is expressed by the chronogram *rasēshurāmachandra*=1356 of the Śaka era which corresponded to the cyclic year *Ānanda*, the Purnimā day of *Vaiśākha*. On this day and on the occasion of the *Hēmdśvaratha-mahādāna*, the king granted the five villages of *Kulamānikyanallūr* alias *Nāchchikrurchchi*, *Tiruvāranganallūr*, *Rāmanārāyananallūr*, *Kumārakkudi*, and *Rājanārāyananallūr*. These villages were situated in *Chōla-maṇḍala* and in the *Trisirāppalli-rājya*. The first three villages were on the southern bank of the river *Kāvēri*, in *Rājagambhira-vaṇaṇādu*. The last two villages were on the northern bank of the *Kāvēri*,—*Kumārakkudi* being situated in the western half of *Mala-nādu* and *Rājanārāyananallūr* being in the eastern half of the same division. Thus the villages given lay on either bank of the *Kāvēri*. Of these places, *Nāchchikrurchchi* is the village *Nāchchikkurichi* in the *Trichinopoly Taluk*. The donee was *Valiyadimainilayitta-Perumāḷ-Uttamanambi*, son of *Uttamanambi*, who belonged to the *Kāśyapa-gōtra* *Rik-śākha* and the *Āśvalāyana-sūtra*. He was the *sthānapati* of the *Śrīraṅgam* temple and the above said villages were evidently granted to him for conducting the daily worship of the god *Śrīraṅganātha*.

A large number of taxes and incomes accruing from the villages are enumerated in the inscription such as those on *nañjai* (wet-land), *puñjai* (dry-land), *kamuku* (areca grove), *karnṇu*, *vaippu* (Mango-a), *tennamaram* (coconut trees), *koḷundu*, *vālai* (plantain trees), *karumbu* (sugarcane), *mañjai* (turmeric), *iñji* (ginger), *śenkaḷunīr* (flower) and other *vāṇ-payir* (minor cultivation); *vāśal-vari*, *pēr-kaḍamai*, *tari-kkaḍamai* (tax on looms), *mara-kkaḍamai* (tax on trees), *śekku-kaḍamai* (tax on oil mills), *māvaḍai*, *maravaḍai*, *kuḷavaḍai*, *iḍatorai*, *pulvari*, *mandai-kaṇḍērram*, *oḷugu-nīr-pāttam*, *uḷḷāyam*, *vil-panam*, *maḡhamai*, *mallāyi-maḡhamai*, *ina-vari*, *nāḷṭu-kānikkai*, *kaḍḍāyam*, *kirukula-viśēsham*, *araṣupēru*, *nallerudu* (good bull), *naḷ-kiḍā* (good sheep), *naḷ-paśu* (good cow), *palataḷi*, *ariśi-kāṇam*, *talaiyārikkam*, *māḍārikkai*, *rāyasavarttanai*, *avasavarttanni*, *kaṭṭigevarttanai*, *karanike*, *jōḍi*, *nīrāṇivari* (water tax), *nāḷṭukanakkuvari akkasālevari*, *āḷa mañji*, *āḷigam* (service), etc.

The above list includes taxes and customary dues levied in ancient times. We have not the means of knowing the proportion of the taxes to the produce, the right incidence of taxation, etc. It is clear, however, that no produce from the land or any other property was left untaxed. The various kinds of proceeds from the villages, as enumerated in our record, disclose how carefully municipal taxes were levied in South India under Vijayanagara kings. The incomes granted to the donee included *vari* (revenue taxes), *maḡamai* and *suika* (tolls).

The donee *Valiyadimainilayitta-Perumāḷ-Uttamanambi* who, under the name *Uttamanambi*, has been already referred to in the *Śrīraṅgam* Plates of *Harihararāya-Uḍaiyar III* (above, Vol. XVI, page 223), is said in the *Kōyiloḷugu*—the temple history of *Śrīraṅgam* in Tamil—to have made some additions and repairs to the *Rāṅganātha* temple. The same work also refers to him by the names *Meynilaiyitta-Uttamanambi* and *Ellainilaiyitta-Uttamanambi*. Two other relations of his who, like himself, had been the managers of the temple were *Periyakṛishṇarāya-Uttamanambi* and *Tirumalainātha-Uttamanambi*. The *Lakshmikāvya*, a Sanskrit poem written by the latter, gives the genealogy of the family as under :—

In the *Kāśyapa-gōtra*.



In the above pedigree, Uttamarāya the brother of Chakrarāya must be identical with the donee of our grant. According to the *Kōyilōḷuḡu*,¹ he set up an image of Garuḍa in front of the central shrine of Raṅganātha in Śaka 1337 and replaced the image of Rāma, which was originally installed by Vikrama-Chōla but which was destroyed by the Musalmans. It is also stated that he obtained from Gajavēṭṭai Pratāpa-Dēvarāyamahārāya for himself the sole management of the Raṅganātha temple, and the title Chakrarāya for his brother and that he was in power from Śaka 1340 to 1366.

The inscription states that the verses were composed by Rājāsēkhara. We do not find mention of the name of Rājāsēkhara in any of the hitherto known grants of the first Vijayanagara dynasty. We find that some inscriptions of the time of Dēvarāya II were engraved by one Muddaṇṇa.

TEXT.²

[Metres : vv. 1 and 2, 4 to 36, 43 to 46 and 48 *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 3, 37 and 42 *Śārdūlarikrīḍita*; vv. 38 and 47 *Śālīnī*; vv. 39, 40 and 41 *Aryā-Gītī*.]

First Plate.

- 1 श्रीगणाधिपतये नमः । कल्याणायस्तु जगतां कारुण्यं कलभा-
- 2 ननं । अनादियूनोः शिवयोरानंदाद्वैतकं [द]ळं । [१*] स पायात्स-
- 3 ततं मायावराहो वदनेन यः । जगदात्मा जलनिधिर्जगतीमु-
- 4 ददौधरत् । [२*] कावेरीद्वयाभिरामपुष्पिने पुं(पु)ण्ये जगन्मंग(के) चं-
- 5 द्रांभोजवतीतटोपरिसरे धात्रा सम[१*]राधिते । श्रीरंगे भु[ज*]गे-
- 6 द्रभोगशयने लक्ष्मीमहीसीवते श्रुते यः पुरुषोत्तमः स भ-
- 7 गवानंरायणः पातु वः । [३*] नमस्तुंगशिरसुर्विचंद्रचामरच[१*]र-
- 8 वे । त्रैलोक्यनगरारंभमू[ल*]स्तंभाय शंभवे । [४*] अस्ति क्षीरार्णवी नाम
- 9 त्रिदशायुष्यकारणं । उत्तंसोपवनं शमोष्णध्वां(दां)तप्रभवो ह-
- 10 रेः । [५*] ततोऽजनिं सुधासूतिस्रस(स्स)हायः पुष्पधन्वनः । सुरारिर्वामनयनं
- 11 मूर्त्त्यंतरसुमापतेः⁵ । [६*] तत्सूनीः सौम्यतो जाता बाहुजा बाहुशा-
- 12 स्निः । पुरुवरः प्रसूतयः⁶ पुं(पु)ण्यलोकपुरस्सरा⁷ । [७*] तत्कुले सत्कु-
- 13 लनिधिर्यदुर्नाम वृषोजनि । तदंशे संगमो जज्ञे संगमस्र⁸-
- 14 संपदां । [८*] तत्सुतो बुक्कभूपो[भू]त्⁹ शौर्यधैर्यनिवासभूः । महारा-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL., p. 141 ff.

² From ink-impressions supplied by M. R. Ry. Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri.

³ Read °वाह्य°.

⁴ तेः is a correction from तिः.

⁵ ह. is inserted below the line.

⁶ नि of जनि is inserted above the line.

⁷ भू has in addition the consonantal sign of र.

⁸ भू is corrected from भौ Read भूक्षी°.

- 15 जो हरिहरस्तत्सुतुरशिष्यमर्ही ।। ८*] देवराजोभवत्तस्य नंदनः
 16 साधुनंदन । दोईडखंडितारतिमंडलखंडविक्रमः ।। १०*] ततो वि-
 17 जयराजोभूत्सर्वविद्यासुधाबुधिः । निजान्नामात्रनिर्यटूजग-
 18 द्रक्षाविचक्षणः ।। ११*] स्वतस्कुलभसौरभ्यसारस्वतसरस्वतः । त-
 19 स्य हृष्यंति सुधियः सुधानिष्पंदया गिरा ।। १२*] तदात्मजो देवराय-
 20 महाराजः प्रतापवान् । सत्वसाधितसर्वोर्वोसां(सा)म्राज्यःसंप्रका-
 21 शते ।। १३*] कूर्मण कुंडलोद्रेण कुंजरैश्च कुलाचलैः । दुर्वहां यो मर्ही
 22 धत्ते केयूरमकरोमिव ।। १४*] दारितारातिभूपालदुर्वसाविस-
 23 गधिनी^१ । यस्य खड्गलता सूते सुरभिं कीर्तिमंजरीं ।। १५*] यस्य को-
 24 र्तिमये दुग्धपारावारे प्रसर्पति । स्फुरंति बुद्बुदाकारा[.*] स्फा-
 25 रा ब्रह्मांडकोटयः ।। १६*] दिग्माजा येन संदृष्टा[.*] सर्वाशालंघनोन्मुखी ।

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 26 कर्णताळसमीरेण यस्य कीर्तिमधोजयन् ।। १७*] यस्यासिः शत्रुकोटीर-
 27 गाढाघातोदितध्वनिः । भाति स्वर्योषितामेष तवेत्युद्योषयंनि(यन्नि)व ।। १८*]
 यदिद्रि[णि](णा)-
 28 खसुरंक्षु^२ रजोभिरक्षुणं नभः । विभाति वीरश्रीमुक्तैः क्रोडाग्रैरिव कं-
 29 कुमैः ।। १९*] यस्य कीर्त्यावदातेषु भुवनेषु महीजसः । अनीलं जायते
 30 सद्यस्वि(स्वि)त्रं तद्दिषतां यशः ।। २०*] यस्य प्रतापसूर्यांशुसंतप्ता भान्ता(त्त)दि-
 31 क्कटाः । भूयोपि वैरिभूपाला [यच्छ]कृत्रं मन्वते गतिं ।। २१*] यत्कीर्तिघनसा-
 32 रस्य ब्रह्मांडं तु करां(रं)डकं । यदोयमुखलावं(व)ण्यबिंदुरिंदोश्च मं[ड]-
 33 लं ।। २२*] यस्यातपत्रचंद्रेण भाति नक्षत्रमंडलं । मध्ये ख[चि*]तमाहेंद्र-
 34 नीलोपलककंकिना ।। २३*] यत्करांभोजमासाद्य त्यागलक्ष्मोर्गरोय[सौ] ।। २४*]
 35 पशुदारुशिलासंगपरिवादं विमुंचति ।। २५*] त्रिसिराप्यन्निरान्ये-
 36 स्मिन् कावेर्या दक्षिणे तटे । राजगंभीरवळनाडंतरे चोळमं-
 37 डले ।। २६*] कुलमाणिक्यनङ्गूराननाच्चिकुर्चिपल्लिका । सप्तसप्ततिवे[ल्य]-
 38 [धं]वेलिनंचैस्थलान्विता ।। २७*] सिद्धसाध्यभुवा सार्धं^४ चतुसी(स्त्री)-
 मासमन्विता । तिरुव-
 39 रंगनङ्गूर्चं चतुस्त्रीमासमन्वितं ।। २८*] रामनारायणनङ्गूर् चतुस्त्रि(स्त्री)मा-
 40 समन्वितं । [एतद्वा]मन्त्रं चात्र कावेर्या उत्तरे तटे ।। २९*] मळना-
 डंतरे पू[र्वी]-

^१ There is an extra length-sign for सा.

^२ Read गन्धिनी.

^३ Read द्रष्टावसुरहृष्ये.

^४ रुवा and धं are entered below the line, their omission being denoted by asterisks.

- 41 ¹परयोः खंडयोर्द्वयोः [1*] कुमारकुडीति पश्यिका ²पश्चिमे खंडके ततः
[12*] पत्ति-
- 42 राजनारायणनल्लूरपत्ती च पूर्वके [1*] एतद्ग्रामद्वयं शा(चा)त्र चतुस्त्री-
- 43 मासमन्वितं [13*] तटयोश्चभयोरेतत्कावेर्या ग्रामपंचकं [1*] प्राप्त-
- 44 स्त्री(सी)मान्वितं प्राप्तैस्(स्त्र)र्वैरायैस्(स्त्र)मन्वितं । ³आयानां नामधेयानि
लिख्यन्ते
- 45 देशभाषया [131*] आयंककुटय विवरं । उभयमार्गं पोर्पाक⁴
कुल्ल(ल)मा-
- 46 शिखनल्लूरान नाच्चिकुच्चि⁵ तिरुवरंगनल्लूर् रामनारायण-
- 47 नल्लूर् कुमारकु(कु)डिपत्ति राजनारायणनल्लूर् इत्त(द) अच्चु(च्चु)⁶ ज[कु]-
- 48 चेत्तुं मंचै(ञ्जि) पुंजै(जै) कसुकु कर्णं वैष्णु तेंनमरं कीळुंदु वालै⁷ करंबु
- 49 मंचल⁷ । इंचि⁸ । शेकेलुनीर्⁹ उळ्पट्ट पल वां(वा)न्पयिर्कडमइ¹⁰ वाश्लव-
- 50 रि पेरकडमै तरिं(रि)क(क)डमै । मरक(क)डमै । चेक(कु)कडमै । मावडे म-
- 51 रवडे(डै) कुळवडे(डै) सुंकं इडतोरिं पुल्लरि मंदैकंटे(डै)¹¹ओ-
- 52 कु[कु]नोरुपाट्ट¹² उळ्ळायं विल्लणं मघमै मल्लाइमघम¹³ ।

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 53 इनवरि ¹⁴नाट्टुकाणिकै(कै) । कड्ढायं किरुक्कुळविसै(शे)षं अरशुपेरु¹⁵ न-
- 54 जेरुदु । नल्लिडा । नल्लय्य । पलतळि । अरिशिकाणं विरिङ्ग¹⁶ अ-
- 55 रिशिकाणं तले(लै)यारिकुं(कं) मादार्किक्कै(कै) रायसवर्तने(नै) । अवसर[व]-

¹ र is entered below the line.

² प is inserted below the line.

³ या is entered below the line. In the original second plate of the duplicate inscription—not published here—the passage after चतुस्त्रीमासमन्वितं of line 39, begins with एतद्ग्रामद्वयं, and continues with the word प्राप्तैस्त्रैरायैस्त्रमन्वितं as in l. 44, thus omitting ll. 39-44.

⁴ पोर्पाक is probably *poramboke* = 'waste land'.

⁵ इत्त इरंडरकुं अच्चु is what we find in the original second plate.

⁶ Read वालै.

⁷ Read मंचल.

⁸ चि is inserted below the line. Read इंजि.

⁹ Read शेकेलुनीर्.

¹⁰ Read कडमैयु.

¹¹ After ट्ट *gram* is seen in the original.

¹² Read चीळुनुनीर्पाट्ट.

¹³ Between मल्लाइ मघमै and at the end of line 52 the original second plate has उळ्ळ कडेनाच्चि.

¹⁴ ना is inserted above the line.

¹⁵ अ is inserted below the line.

¹⁶ For विरिङ्ग we have विरिच्चु in the original duplicate copy of the second plate.

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२ नर्नानादिजुनोवावयोवानेहोतकवतोसपायारने
 ४ ततमायावगहोवदेनयःकगहाहाडनप्रिऊगतीकु
 ६ रीयपरासावेरोहयानिगमपुनितेपुण्डगनैगन
 ८ इतोऊवतोतटोपचिसयेथोनायमजाधितोरोखीतुमं
 १० इतोगराथनेलस्त्रोमहासेपितेतेयः७ पुषात्रमःसने
 १२ गर्वानयथापावपुवःनअस्त्रगशिअखुबिइवाअउव
 १४ वेओकोकानगगपेतुमुसंतोयारतवेप्रखिसोगार्गोवोनाम
 १६ विररायुषकाजागडप्रसोपवनरातोशुध्यांतप्रवोह
 १८ नेतोनसुपायुतिससतयःपुषथबुनःकपंतवमनयने
 २० कुर्मंतअमापतैयतसुनोसैमोकोजाबाहमाबाहारा
 २२ लिजः७उपवेःषततयःपुणरोमपुउसगःतकुलेसकु
 २४ लमिथियुडुर्नगनीकनितइरोसगमोजसपाम्मव
 २६ सपशोतसुतोबुकवपुनुग्रोयथेयनिवासतुमहाम
 २८ मोतविहससस्तुनुगिअज्महोदेवगकोतवप्रसनेन
 ३० साधुनेदनातेतुडंङगायातिमंडलस्यउकिमगंतोवि
 ३२ मयगोनस्यज्विद्यार्थबुधनिजाकामअनिकुटजम
 ३४ इसाविपुनाःअष्टतस्तुनसोउतयसाउस्यतस्यस्यतात
 ३६ स्पाहप्रातिसुधिमःपुधनिषंदयागयाततान्नकोदेवय
 ३८ मनागःप्रतापनारातेसाधितसर्वीरांमाअसंप्रम
 ४० रीतोमुर्मणमुंडीहो॥मुऊमैयकुलावनेहउवतीयमहा
 ४२ यत्रैकैयुगोमरोमिवाहतागतमुचालुइसाविस्व
 ४४ गधिनोअस्यस्यडालतातेसुपतिमोत्रमैकजीयस्यको
 ४६ तिमयेडुगपामावेपस्यपतिममोतबुडुहोमाअस्य
 ४८ नाबुहोडकोहयः॥कोयेनेनेरसास्यवरगानंनोकोस्यो

[illegible]



५४ न वविष्ट सागामैः कच्छाद्यैः कुमुदाविसंभ्रमं जसे न
 ५६ सेऽनुनिष्ठा नान्तरा पततेलि। अविशामाविशुम्भ
 ५८ विरिक्तां तलेया विक्तामा दारिके गच्छसवर्तने। स वसव
 ६० नो कश्चिजो वर्तने कर्णिके जोड। नो वाणि वचिन्द्र कर्णिके
 ६२ विमोसाले वचिः सलमैः किं कलिगो। इत्युडै तं कौतुकिं च
 ६४ व विपपपुर्वविधिनि से पुरुषवाणा म सोणि मगाश्रि
 ६६ तस्या यडां सुमो गामिनि तु विप्रमदिस प्रतोग ते रुद्रा मं सल
 ६८ त्तो मा क सवर्षा तमा मा मा वं शर्मा यमा मा वं डा कश्चि त्तस
 ७० मन्त्रो यव विवर्षती वसे प्रमा वं देदेरा मे जने व पत्त म। को म
 ७२ स्मा ठ वे रा रा म्मा रे मारु व छलसि के पुणे मा रा राजन को ले रे व ज
 ७४ को स हो पतिः सो जगत्ताप तये। कारा पवा न्य य म्म नो मारु
 ७६ ना य न सु चा य स ते उग्रै रे वे रे। उ त्तम तै वि पुत्रा य तग ते किरा
 ७८ नो व पु य डि म नि लछि रे व ड मा ड उ त्तम तै वि नो त्रि प ड स मा ड
 ८० गोणे इ म् पु र्वं सो छ का य व त्तमे व च म त डु तै वि रे म्मा वं म्मा म्मा म्मा
 ८२ नि कानो वा क्त त प डं बु ड म्मा रे व य लो मारो पालो को या रा च ड ता च को वि
 ८४ तौ न पु पा धि को रा तु व न सारि त्त सै वि क्तु र्त क्को वि त म्मा वं प लो र्प न
 ८६ म्मा पु न्म स वा म्मा म्मा म्मा र्छ म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा
 ८८ यो म्म लो पति रे व ग य म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा
 ९० नो डो उ त्तम तै सो व ड स म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा
 ९२ म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा
 ९४ म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा
 ९६ म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा
 ९८ म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा
 १०० म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा



८० म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा
 ८२ म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा
 ८४ म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा
 ८६ म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा
 ८८ म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा
 ९० म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा
 ९२ म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

- 56 [र्त]ने(नै) । कष्टिगोवर्तने करणिके जोडि । मोराणिवरि । नाटुकषकु[ष]-
 57 रि । ¹अंगसालिवरि । आळमंजि । छळिगं । उत्प(त्प)ड । इनं² मुंगेल्लिरकुं(कुं)
 [पु]-
 58 तुवरि । प³ वरि निधनिचेपजलपाषाणअक्षीणिआगामिसि-
 59 द्रसाध्यंगकुं आगामि गोभूहिरण्य[१*]दिअष्टभोगतेजस्वाम्यंकळ् स-
 60 हितमाक । सर्वमान्यमाक । आचंद्रार्कस्थायि आक । आचंद्रार्कस्थिरं सर्व-
 61 मान्यं बाधाविवर्जितं(तं) । रसेधुरामचंद्रेये शके चानंदवत्सरे । पौर्न(र्ण)मा-
 62 स्यां तु वैशाख्यां हेमाश्वरथसंज्ञिके ।[१२*] पुष्ये महादानकाले (१) देवरा-
 63 यो महोपतिः । ओरंगस्थानपतये (१) काश्यपान्वयजन्मने ।[१३*] आश्व-
 64 लायनसूत्राय सते रु(ऋ)ग्वेदं(द)वेदिने । उत्तमनंबिपुत्राय भग[व*]इक्ष्वाकिलि-
 65 ने ।[१४*] व⁴ यडिमे(मै)निलयिद्विपे(रु)माकुत्तमनंबिने [१*] भक्तिश्रद्धा-
 समायुक्तं हि-
 66 रं(र)ण्योदकपूर्वकं । एकाधिपत्या⁵मेव त्वमेतद्भुंक्ष्वेति दत्ता⁶वान् ।[१५*]
 राजन्यमौळिमा-
 67 णिक्यनीराजितपदांबुजः । देवराजो मङ्गीपालो जीयादाचंद्रतारकं ।[१६*]
 विद्या-
 68 [नां] निरुपाधिकोशभु(भ)वनं साहित्यसौहित्यभूर्ल⁷क्षीविभ्रमदर्पणीखिल-⁷
 69 कलापूरस्व वारानिधिः । सौंदर्यस्य निजांक(ग)णं वितरणे संचारिकल्पद्रुमः (१)
 70 ओम[१*]न्संप्रति देवरायनृपतिः सर्वोत्तरो वर्द्धतां ।[१७*] लब्ध्वा⁸ पुण्यं
 देवरायन्ति-
 71 तींद्रो भंजानोसौ प्राज्यसां(सा)माज्यलक्ष्मीं । आकल्यांत(तं) रक्षताद्विप्रवर्गनिवंभू-
 72 तैरग्रहारो(रा)दिदानै[ः*] ।[१८*] विजयन्तितींद्रतनयं खंडितदीर्घमंडलारा-
 73 तिं । अनवरतमिंदुमौळिस्थाच्छ्रीदेवरायनरपालं ।[१९*] अलभत
 74 पंचश्रामानस्माच्छ्रीदेवरायनरपालात् । उत्तमनंबौ रंगक्षे-
 75 त्रेशः काश्यपान्वयाजार्कः ।[२०*] इदमखिलराजशेखरम[धु]कर[भं]-
 76 कारगीतमाहात्म्यं⁹ । श्रीदेवरायनृपते[ः*] शासनमवनि-

¹ Read चक्षुसालिवरि.

² Read इजमुद्र नेतिप° as in the original of second plate in the duplicate copy.

³ The original reads *pa la*°.

⁴ The original reads *vali*°.

⁵ Read ऐकाधिपत्य as in the original of the second plate in the duplicate copy and भुंक्ष्वेति.

⁶ Read क्ष.

⁷ A letter was here wrongly entered and erased.

⁸ Read लब्ध्वा

⁹ Read °महात्म्यम्.

- 77 तलपारिजातस्य ।[१४१*]^१ भूषुत्रीविजयचितींद्रतनयो भूलोकचिंता-
 78 मणिः पुष्पकोर्तिविभूषितत्रिभुवनस्फूर्ज्यतापीदयः । आचं-
 79 दार्कमिमामवं(व)न्वसुमतीमाचक्रवाळाचलां श्रीमानाहतशात्रवो

Third Plate.

- 80 विजयते श्रीदेवरायो वृषः । [४३*] एकैव भगिनी लोके स-
 81 वेषामेव भूभुजंजां [१*] न भोव्या न करयाद्या [वि]प्रद-
 82 ता वसुंधरा ॥ [४३*] स्व(स्व)दत्तादि(दि)गुणं पुष्पं परदत्तानुपा-
 83 लनं [१*] परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं निष्फलं भवेत् ॥ [४४*] स्व[द]-
 84 तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसु(सु)ंधरां । षष्टिर्वर्षसह-
 85 स्नाणि विष्टायां जायते क्रिमिः ।[१४५*] दानपालनया(यो)र्मध्ये
 86 दानाद्धे(च्छे)योनुपालनं । दानात्स्वर्गमवाप्नोति पालना-
 87 द्यु[तं] पदं ॥ [४६*] सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुं नृपाणां काले काले पा-
 88 लनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतां^३ भाविनः पार्थिवेद्रा^४भूयो
 89 भूयो याचते रामचंद्र[ः*] ॥ [४७*]—॥ अलक्तकलसका(च्छा)यमंगो-
 90 क्ततमनोभवं । जा(अ)मृतांशुकळाचूडमव्यात्त्वां शांकरं
 91 महः ।[१४८*] इति तेने(न) महाराजेन दत्तमिदं धर्मशा-
 92 सनं । अत्र च तस्य महाराजस्य स्वहस्तलिखितं ॥—॥
 93 श्रीविरूप(पा)च^५

Abstract of Contents.

- V. 1. Adoration to the Elephant-faced god (Gaṇeśa).
 V. 2. Adoration to the Boar *avatāra* (of Vishṇu).
 V. 3. May God Nārāyaṇa, who is pleased to recline on (the serpent) Śeṣha in (the island of) Śrīraṅga, on the bank of the tank Chandrapushkariṇī in the sands of the Kāvērī adored by Brahmā, and who is attended by the Goddesses Lakshmi and the Bhū (Earth), protect you.
 V. 4. Adoration to Śambhu.
 Vv. 5-8. Describes the descent of the family, as usual, from the Moon through Purūravas and Yadu to Saṅgama, the first historical king of the dynasty.
 Vv. 9-12. Saṅgama was succeeded by his son Bukka and Bukka by his son Harihara who was succeeded by his son Dēvarāja. Vijayarāja succeeded Dēvarāja I.
 V. 13. His son, the valiant Dēvarāja-Mahārāja shines in splendour as sovereign having conquered the whole world by his valour.

^१ Verses 39, 40 and 41 are omitted in the original second plate of the duplicate copy.

^२ Read चर्मसेतुं^०.

^३ Read °नेताभा^०.

^४ Read °द्रागभू^०.

^५ It is doubtful if the new sentences preceding the sign *masu .l* of the king form a verse.

^६ In Telugu-Kannada characters.

V. 14. He held in his arm, as a bracelet, the earth, which could not be supported even by the primeval Tortoise, the Serpent Lord, the Mountains and the Elephants.

[Vv. 15-24 describe his exploits and fame, which spread to all the eight quarters of the globe, his beauty and his charity.]

Vv. 25-31. The king granted the three villages of **Kulamānikyanallūr** *alias* **Nāchchi-krurchchi**, comprising 77 *vēlis* (of dry land ?) and $\frac{1}{2}$ *vēli* of *nañjai* (wet land), **Tiruvaram-ganallūr** and **Rāmanārāyaṇanallūr**, all situated on the southern bank of the **Kāvēri**, in **Rājagambhira-vaṇaṇḍu** of **Chōla-maṇḍala**, and the **Trisirāppalli-rāja** together with the new villages of **Kumārakkuḍi** and **Rājanārāyaṇanallūr**, situated respectively in the western and eastern divisions of **Maṇa-nāḍu**, on the northern bank of the **Kāvēri**.

[Ll. 45 to 49, enumerate in the *dēśabhāṣā* (*i.e.* Tamil) the taxes and incomes due from the villages granted to the donee.]

Vv. 32-35. The grant was issued in the **Saka** year counted by the numerical words *rasa* (8), *ishu* (5), *Rāma* (3), and *Chandra* (1) (*i.e.*, 1356), corresponding to the cyclic year **Ānanda**. On the full moon day of the month of **Vaiśākha**, king **Dēvarāja**, at the time of making the celebrated *mahādāna* gift called *Hēmāśvaratha*, to *Vaḷiyāḍimai-nilayittal-Perumāl Uttamanambi*, son of **Uttamanambi**, the *sthānāpati* of the **Śrīraṅgam** temple who belonged to the **Kāśyapa-gōtra**, the **Āśvalāyana-sūtra** and the **Rig-Vēda**.

[Vv. 36-42 contain the praises of **Dēvarāja** (or **Dēvarāja**) and a prayer for his long life and increased prosperity and mention the name of the composer **Rājasēkhara**.

[Vv. 43-47. The usual admonitory verses.]

[V. 48. Benediction (by the donee).]

Ll. 91 to 93. Thus was the grant given and signed by the king with his own hand (as) *Śrī-Virūpa-(pā)ksha*.

No. 18.—THE VAYALUR PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF RAJASIMHA II.

By H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A., RAO BAHADUR, OOTACAMUND.

Vāyalūr is a small village on the north bank of the river **Pālār** at its mouth and is situated three miles south of the historic town of **Sadras** once the chief seat of the powerful Dutch Factory and 22 miles south-east by south of **Chingleput** on the South-Indian Railway. The village is also reached direct from **Madras** by the **Buckingham Canal** and would then be 43 miles due south of it, past **Mahābalipuram**, the famous "Seven Pagodas" of **Pallava** antiquities.

The **Śiva** temple of **Vyāghrapurīśvara** at **Vāyalūr** was first examined by the Epigraphical Department, **Madras**, in 1908 and its lithic records were then completely secured.² The earliest of these, from the palæographical and historical points of view, is No. 368 of 1908 which is published for the first time below with a facsimile plate.³ The other records of **Vāyalūr**, which are not quite so interesting as the present one, range in date from the 10th to the 16th Century A.D. and mention the village by its surname **Jananāthanallūr**; and the god of the temple also is therein called **Tiruppilavāyil-udaiya-Nāyaṇār**, *i.e.*, 'the lord of **Tiruppilavāyil**,' thus supplying the proper name **Tiruppilavāyil** or **Tiruppilavāyal**, *i.e.*, 'the mouth of the sacred cave' of which

¹ The meaning of this Tamil attribute is 'he who established his title as the hereditary servant (of **Rāga-nātha**)' and corresponds to the Sanskrit *Varṇa-krama-mūla-bhṛt* which occurs in the *Lakṣmī-Kōṣa* referred to above.

² These are registered as Nos. 362 to 368 in Appendix B to the *Epigraphical Report* for 1909, p. 39 f.

³ From impressions prepared by myself with the help of my friends Messrs. Venkoba Rao and Srinivasa Rao,

evidently the present name Vāyalūr is a relic. The current name Vyāghrapurīśvara, i.e., 'the lord of Vyāghrapurī,' is a Sanskrit translation from Pilavāyal which was somehow connected by mistaken analogy with Pulivāyal.

The importance of the record under publication was first brought to notice in my *Annual Report on Epigraphy* (Madras) for 1908-9, Part II, paragraphs 16 and 17. Since then Professor Jouveau Dubreuil of Pondicherry has discussed its contents in detail in Chapter II of his work "*The Pallavas*" published in 1917 and has given there the facsimile of a part of the inscription. The present paper supplying the deficiency by giving a complete facsimile of the record which was examined *in situ* attempts to discuss certain discrepancies in the readings of Professor Dubreuil and to examine certain other points in the chronology of the Pallavas to which the book of the Professor has given publicity.

The dilapidated temple of Vyāghrapurīśvara at Vāyalūr must have had its palmy days when its *prākāra* wall, subordinate shrines, *maṇḍapas* and *vimāna* were in a perfectly good condition. The central shrine, which is now the only standing structure, has the *gajapriṣṭha* or the elephant-back form peculiar to many Śiva temples in the Chingleput district and enshrines within it a stone *linga*.¹ On the back side of the *linga* and close to the rear wall is placed a stone panel containing the group of figures Śiva, Pārvatī and Kumāra, generally known in iconography by the name Sōmāskanda. The existence of such Sōmāskanda panels is a striking characteristic of the Śaiva shrines of Pallava origin; but the panels, in these cases, are invariably cut or fixed into the wall behind the *linga*. What then could the existence of this detached panel in the Vyāghrapurīśvara shrine signify? Perhaps the original temple which was founded in Pallava times disintegrated in course of time and was rebuilt, as is found to be the case with many other South-Indian temples, in some later period, only to repeat once again a second course of dilapidation, such as it now presents to us. Still another characteristic, if one is required, of the Pallava origin of the temple, consists in the many Pallava pillars with large cubical sections intercepted by an octagonal middle, bearing medallions of lotus decorations on each face of the cube and plain-cut corbels.² These pillars are largely found in the east *gōpura*—the main outer entrance into the temple; and one of them—the one on the right side as one enters—has on it the subjoined record inscribed in 14 lines of writing, going round the pillar in the form of a spiral from top to bottom. Line 1 of the inscription begins on the south face of the upper cube and ends on the west. From line 2 which commences on the west, just below the lotus, and by the side of a creeper-device suggesting a branch of sprouts,³ the lines go on regularly descending so that the end of line 2 runs on to meet the commencement of line 3 on the west face until we reach line 14 on this face with which the inscription closes.

The alphabet is the usual Pallava-Grantha of the florid type used in the Rāmānuja-maṇḍapa, the Gaṇēśa temple and the Dharmarāja-ratha inscriptions,⁴ of Mahābalipuram, the Balipīṭha inscription of the Shore Temple in the same village⁵ and the Kailāsanātha temple inscription at Conjeeveram.⁶ The writing is for the most part well preserved and could be completely deciphered with the exception of three or four syllables in line 2 and some doubtful letters in line 12. As regards *palæography* it may be remarked that the initial vowels *a* and *i*

¹ The *linga* of the Vyāghrapurīśvara temple is plain and does not show the eight or sixteen facets which is one of the special features of the Śiva-lingas set up by the Pallava kings after Mahēndravarmān I.

² See Dubreuil's "*Handbook of Dravidian Architecture*," p. 33, fig. 25.

³ The name Pallava which happens to occur here is by tradition connected with a bed of sprouts; see *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 355.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, Plates 2, 3 and 4.

⁵ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* (Madras) for 1916, Plates I and II, between pages 112 and 113.

⁶ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Plate IX, facing p. 248.

occur in ll. 1, 2 and 10 and the Dravidian / in ll. 3 and 4. The punctuation symbol used in the inscription is a triple vertical joined at the top, the component lines being often of varying lengths. Two other symbols of an ornamental type occur in line 9, evidently also being used as punctuations; but these are not quite distinct. In the matter of orthography, the use of the *anusvāra* and its change into the class-nasal in compound letters is generally correctly observed, e.g.—*Aṅgirāḥ* in l. 1, *Koṅkaṇiḥ* in line 3 and *Skanda* in l. 4. The doubling of consonants after a conjunct *r* occurs throughout. There is one mistake of spelling in *śrīta* for *śruta* (l. 10); and wrong *sandhi* in *jīyāt=ma* for *jīyān=ma* (*ibid.*) and *nō sa khalu* for *°nas=sa khalu* (if my reading is correct in l. 11). In line 10 the form *yubdha* for *yuddha* is apparently a mistake of the scribe.

As stated in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* (Madras) for 1909¹ the record is a very interesting one on account of the long list of Pallava names it supplies. When I drew up the report, I was not able to give the whole list, for want of time and a satisfactory estampage. Also the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates which give, though summarily, a similar list of names in the ancestry of the Pallavas, had not then been published, and consequently, the big list of the Vāyalūr record did not attract much attention. Thanks to the scholarly work of Professor Dubreuil in the field of South-Indian Epigraphical research and especially in the study of the Pallava dynasties, we now possess a full statement of the contents of this valuable inscription and its bearing upon Pallava chronology.

The Purāṇic names in the list from Brahmā to Aśoka (ll. 1 and 2) are found in the Kāsākuḍi plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla²; and up to the eponymous Pallava, the predecessor of Aśoka, they are found also in the Kūram plates³ of Paramēśvaravarman I and the Udayēndiram Plates.⁴ Among the names of other early kings which the Kāsākuḍi plates incidentally mention are those of Virasimha and Vishnusiṃha which do not find a place in the Vāyalūr list. The Vēlūrpālaiyam plates⁵, which are later, give the Purāṇic names in the same order up to Aśokavarman correctly, but after a gap supply us with the three names Kālabhartri, Chūtapallava and Virakūrcha in the order of father and son exactly as we find in l. 3 of our inscription. After these comes the name of Skandaśishya which does not figure in the Vāyalūr record. It looks, therefore, as if the authors of the Kāsākuḍi, Udayēndiram, and the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates, all of which are admittedly later than the Vāyalūr record, but not very much later, drew these stray names for airing their knowledge of early Pallava chronology purely from memory and were not always correct. The Vāyalūr record after mentioning Aśoka gives eight names, viz., Harigupta, Bhūtaḍatta, Sūryavarman, Vishnugōpa, Dhṛitaka, Kaḷinda, Jyāmalla and Ripumalla⁶ which do not appear in the later grants. After these come the thirty-six names listed by Professor Dubreuil on p. 20 of his "*Pallavas*" with the small difference that the name Koṅkaṇika is actually found on the estampage to be Koṅkaṇi.

Monsieur Dubreuil tries to attribute to the Vāyalūr list the credit of supplying a complete genealogical succession from even the time of the eponymous founder Pallava, including practically all the names mentioned in the Prākṛit and the Sanskrit copper-plate grants hitherto discovered and in the later stone inscriptions. In doing this he finds many difficulties in his way but attempts to get over them by finding accidental coincidence in the order of the names. In Virakūrcha, Skandaśishya, Kumāravishṇu and Buddhavarman of the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates for instance, he finds coincidence with the set of names Nos. 29 to 32 (11 to 14)⁷ of the Vāyalūr

¹ Part II, paragraph 17, p. 76 f.

² *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 342.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 144.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 363.

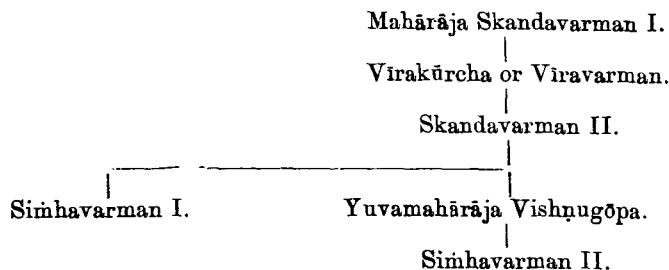
⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 501.

⁶ Professor Dubreuil reads by mistake the two names Jyāmalla and Ripumalla as Jyāmalla and Ekamalla, and Sūryavarman as Āryavarman (see his "*Pallavas*," p. 20).

⁷ Here and below, M. Dubreuil's numbers are given in brackets.

list. Here, however, it has to be observed that Virakūrcha, whom Dubreuil selects as the first of the ruling Pallava kings, perhaps from a statement made about him in the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates, was the son of Chūtapallava and grandson of Kālabhartri—thus corresponding to No. 23 (5) of the Vāyalūr list and not to No. 29 (11). Also the three names that succeed this Virakūrcha are Chandravarman, Karāḷa and Vishṇugōpa and not Skandaśishya, Kumāravishṇu and Buddhavarman as Dubreuil puts it down. Again, his presumption that the Chendalūr plates must be a copy of some ancient record, suits his purpose very well; since the inconvenient names Skandavarman, Kumāravishṇu and Buddhavarman which these plates give, occur in that order in Nos. 30, 31 and 32 (12, 13 and 14) of the Vāyalūr list; but here again he forgets that the fourth name that occurs in the Chendalūr plates is a second Kumāravishṇu and not as is to be expected No. 33 (15) Skandavarman of the Vāyalūr list. The partial coincidence in the earlier Pallava names mentioned in the Vāyalūr list with those of the Chendalūr and the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates serves no practical purpose and the agreement, if any, could be attributed only to an accident by what we may call the *kākatāliya-nyāya*. It does not, therefore, give to the Vāyalūr list any more completeness than what could be claimed for the Kāśakuḍi or the Vēlūrpālaiyam accounts. Perhaps Dubreuil also, though he has not expressed himself clearly on this point, meant the same thing when he said “we should not rely too much on the order of succession of the kings given in the Vāyalūr inscription after Virakūrcha (11).”¹

Passing on after 32 (14) Buddhavarman to eight other kings and in the interim identifying Vishṇugōpa 37 (19) with Vishṇugōpa of Kāñchi, the well-known Pallava (?) contemporary of Samudragupta about the end of the 4th Century A.D., Professor Dubreuil says that from Viravarman 41 (No. 23) the Vāyalūr inscription becomes trustworthy, evidently again in the sense that it supplies a complete list of kings in the order of succession down to Rājasimha Narasimhavarman II. This is also extremely doubtful. The Sanskrit grants even though we may exclude the Chendalūr plates, which according to the Professor must be a copy of an older inscription giving some early names that have to be placed before the time of Viravarman, supply us with the names of only six kings whose succession in the order given below may be taken as certain :—



Of these, the Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa may not have ruled. The information obtained from the Udayēndiram² and the Churā³ copper-plates, both of which are decidedly later by reason of their palæography and are otherwise also untrustworthy, cannot be used, as has been done by Professor Dubreuil, for the purpose of obtaining a continuous Pallava succession after Simhavarman I or Simhavarman II. If this could be done, there is no reason why the names Simhavarman, Nandivarman and Simhavishṇu which occur in the Amarāvati pillar inscription of about the 12th Century A.D.⁴ should not be utilised for a similar purpose. Again, the assumption, in the first place, of two simultaneously ruling families, one at Kāñchi and the other in the Telugu country, and in the second place, the statement that Simhavarman 43 (25) of the

¹ “*The Pallavas*,” p. 23.

² *Epigraphical Report (Madras)* for 1914, p. 82.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 144.

⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 25.

Uruvupalli plates probably resumed possession of Kāñchi are not founded on any sure ground. We very well know that the early Pallava kings while ruling at their capital Kāñchi had their Viceroy at Dhāññakaḍa (Dhānyakaṭa) in the Telugu country. Why the later kings succeeding Skandavarman II should have chosen a different course of administration, dividing the kingdom between two ruling dynasties and why, even if this were so, the Vāyalūr inscription whose definite purpose is to describe the ancestry of king Rājasimha-Narasimhavarman II of the Palakkāḍa branch should go out of the way to include the names of the collateral Kāñchi branch 43 to 46 (Nos. 25 to 28) which according to Professor Dubreuil was altogether unconnected with it, are questions that require to be explained satisfactorily before we could follow the theory of Professor Dubreuil postulating two separate dynasties simultaneously ruling in the Telugu country and in the Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam. Again, in the set of names enumerated one after the other from Nos. 43 to 50 (25 to 32), what authority does the Professor discover to presume that while the first four ruled in a given order, the second five (omitting the first of them) ruled, not after them as should be expected, but simultaneously with them? Do not these kings possibly stand to each other in the relation of father and son as the first and the last sets of names in the list suggest or again, as the partial coincidence in the order Virakūṛcha to Buddhavarman (Vēlūrpālaiyam plates) and full coincidence in Skandavarman to Nandivarman (Udayēndiram plates), indicate? In fact, therefore, the list of the names given by the Vāyalūr inscription remains to be as indefinite as those supplied by the Kāsākuḍi, Udayēndiram and the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates and there is not the least possibility of finding therein a succession list either whole or partial except after No. 49 (31) Simhavarman, the father of Simhavishṇu. Professor Dubreuil's arguments are thus seen to be vitiated by wrong identifications and gratuitous assumptions and by his acceptance as genuine material of what still remains only tentative and requires further careful examination and scrutiny.

One positive and important result, however, derived from a study of the Vāyalūr list, is that certain conclusions arrived at in my contribution on the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates require correction. The identification of Kālabhartṛi with Kāṇagōpa on page 503 of the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume II, is now untenable since both these names occur in the Vāyalūr list as Nos. 21 and 28 (3 and 10); similarly, the identification of Chūtapallava with Skandavarman and Virakūṛcha with Viravarman of the Pīkīra and the Māṅgaḍūr grants cannot any more be upheld. The three kings Kālabhartṛi, Chūtapallava and Virakūṛcha mentioned in the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates must be some traditionally known very early kings of the Pallava family. Skandaśishya (possibly same as Skandavarman), Kumāravishṇu and Buddhavarman, who are mentioned in order of succession next in the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates, do not find the same place in the Vāyalūr list. There must evidently be a mistake due to the carelessness of the author of the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates in describing the relationship of Skandaśishya to Virakūṛcha. Perhaps these three kings also must have been some forgotten old kings with whom the later genealogy derived from the Sanskrit copper-plate grants cannot be connected. Consequently, the probable period of about the middle of the 4th century or thereabouts for kings Simhavarman and his son Skandavarman, who, one after another, were crowned on their thrones by Āryavarman and Mādhavarman II of the Western Gaṅga dynasty and the beginning of the 7th century fixed for Mahēndravarmān I, the author of the rock-cut shrines of South India, must remain still as the only two milestones in Pallava chronology.

The two verses recorded in lines 9 to 14 of the inscription are respectively in the *Vasantatilakā* and the *Sragdharā* metres and are rather corrupt. They give the king the already known titles Rājasimha, Kshatrasimha, Yuddhārjuna, Atyantakāma, Śrīmēgha, Mahāmalla, Raṇajaya and Śrīnidhi. The adjunct नृपतिमणिकुण्डलः which occurs in these verses and which, literally rendered, means 'one whose diadem shines with the head-jewel, viz. Mahēśvara (Siva),' is rather perplexing. Comparing this with titles like Śivachūḍāmaṇi etc.

and the verse यसाङ्गमराक्रान्ता, etc. which occurs in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume I, Nos. 18 and 19 (v. 3) and अविषेकजलापूर्ण etc. in *ibid.*, Nos. 21 and 22 (v. 2)—all with reference to king Rājasimha—it looks as if the king did actually wear a figure of Śiva or rather his symbol, the *linga*, on his head. This fact is evidently also hinted in the verse युष्मन्नमनि राजन्नेव सिङ्गेन लिङ्गिनि etc. (*ibid.*, No. 33, v. 2), which refers to the conversion of the Pallava king Mahēndravarma I Guṇabhara from Jainism to Śaivism. Again, v. 4 of No. 34 in the same volume speaks of “Śiva fixed in the mind, being worn on the head.” All these references clearly point to the existence of a *linga*-cult long before the revival of the Vira-Śaiva faith under the auspices of the famous Kalachuri minister Basava (Chenna-Basava) in which the wearing of the *linga* plays a prominent part. Again, the sense of the two verses, particularly that of the second, is such that it suggests the occasion for the engraving of this record to be the accession of king Rājasimha to the throne. This, if it were so meant, would indeed have been a fitting opportunity to eulogise his many acts of heroism, charity and piety, and to proclaim to all subjects his assumption of power over his hereditary dominions.

TEXT.¹

- 1 ब्रह्मा ॥ अङ्गिरः[ः ॥] बृहस्पतिः ॥ शंयुः ॥ म]रहाजः ॥ द्रोणः ॥
अश्वत्थामा ॥*
- 2 पञ्चवः ॥ अशोकः ॥ हरिगुप्तः ॥ [भूत]दत्तः ॥ [सूर्य]वर्मा
[॥] . . . विष्णु]गोपः ॥ घृत-
- 3 [कः] ॥* [क]ळिन्दः ॥ ज्यामलः[ः ॥ रि]पुमलः [*॥] विमलः
॥ कीङ्कणिः [॥ क]ळभर्ता ॥* चूतपञ्चवः[॥] वीरकूर्चः[ः] ॥
चन्द्रवर्मा
- 4 ॥ कराळः ॥ विष्णुगोपः ॥ स्कन्दमूलः [॥] काणगोपः ॥ वीरकूर्चः ॥
[स्क]न्दवर्मा[ः] ॥ कुमारविष्णुः
- 5 ॥ बुद्धवर्मा [॥] स्कन्दवर्मा ॥ कुमारविष्णुः ॥ बुद्धवर्मा ॥ स्कन्दवर्मा
॥ विष्णुगो-
- 6 पः ॥ विष्णुदा[सः] ॥ स्कन्दवर्मा[ः] ॥ सिंहवर्मा ॥ वीरवर्मा ॥
स्कन्दवर्मा ॥ सिं-
- 7 हवर्मा ॥ स्कन्दवर्मा ॥ नन्दिवर्मा ॥ सिंहवर्मा [॥] सिंहवर्मा
विष्णुगोपः ॥
- 8 सिंहवर्मा ॥ सिंहविष्णुः ॥ महेन्द्रवर्मा ॥ नरसिंहवर्मा ॥ महेन्द्रव-
- 9 र्मा ॥ परमेश्वरवर्मा ॥² श्रीपञ्चवान्वयकुलाचलराजसिंहो

¹ Direct from the stone.

² This symbol which is evidently intended as a mark of punctuation is followed by another which is rather complicated. It is seen on the facsimile plate though indistinctly.

- 10 यः चत्रसिंह इति ¹विश[त]पुण्यकीर्तिः [1*] जीयात्महे²खरशिख[1]मणिदीप्त-
मौलि[र्यु]-
11 बार्जुने[1] [स] ख[लु]³ लोकनरेन्द्रसिंहः [०] [१*][श]भोः पादार[विन्ददय]-
परिचरणे नित्यमत्य-
12 न्तकामः श्रीमेघो विप्रसखाकरविभवकरे⁴ [व्यो]मरद्वोषच[न्द्रः]⁵ [1*] राज्या-
न्त[1]राव[गा]हवि-⁶
13 दोतमहामल्लशब्द[ः*] प्रजानां रक्ष[1]दीक्षाधिकारं वहतु रणजय[ः*] श्रीनि-
14 धिदोपलक्षम् ०[२*]

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1 to 9)

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Brahman. | 28. Kāṇagōpa. |
| 2. Aṅgiras. | 29. Virakūṛcha. |
| 3. Bṛihaspati. | 30. Skandavarman. |
| 4. Śaṁyu. | 31. Kumāravishṇu. |
| 5. Bharadvāja. | 32. Buddhavarman. |
| 6. Drōṇa. | 33. Skandavarman. |
| 7. Aśvatthāman. | 34. Kumāravishṇu. |
| 8. Pallava. | 35. Buddhavarman. |
| 9. Aśoka. | 36. Skandavarman. |
| 10. Harigupta. | 37. Viṣṇugōpa. |
| 11. Bhūtadatta. | 38. Viṣṇudāsa. |
| 12. Sūryavarman. | 39. Skandavarman. |
| 13. | 40. Simhavarman. |
| 14. Viṣṇugōpa. | 41. Viravarman. |
| 15. Dhṛitaka. | 42. Skandavarman. |
| 16. Kaṇḍa. | 43. Simhavarman. |
| 17. Jyāmalla. | 44. Skandavarman. |
| 18. Ripumalla. | 45. Nandivarman. |
| 19. Vimāla. | 46. Simhavarman. |
| 20. Kōṅkaṇi. | 47. Simhavarman. |
| 21. Kālābhartṛi. | 48. Viṣṇugōpa. |
| 22. Chūtāpallava. | 49. Simhavarman. |
| 23. Virakūṛcha. | 50. Simhavishṇu. |
| 24. Chandrarvarman. | 51. Mahēndrarvarman. |
| 25. Karāḷa. | 52. Narasimhavarman. |
| 26. Viṣṇugōpa. | 53. Mahēndrarvarman. |
| 27. Skandamūla. | 54. Paramēśvaravarman |

¹ Read विशुत°.² Read जीयान्महे°.³ Read °बार्जुनस्यकल°.⁴ Read करो.

⁵ It is difficult to rectify this corrupt passage. व्योम is perhaps a mistake for वंश and रदोष corrected into रदोष perhaps stands for रदाकर, an ocean. Among the numerous titles of Rājasimha given in the Conjeeveram inscriptions the only one which ends in *chandra* is Udayachandraḥ. [Analogy with परिचरणे...काम; and the epithets like *avanidivākara*, *chandadaṇḍa* and *udayachandra* would suggest that the reading might be श्रीमेघो विप्रसखे करविभवकरे व्योमरदोष चन्द्रः — Ed.].

⁶ This is again corrupt. Metrically one long and one short syllables are wanting. श्रीद्वोषादित दामल्लशब्दः appears to be a possible emendation of the latter part of the compound. Can the first part be रनादाच

(Ll. 9 to 11.) Be he victorious, the royal lion (*Rājasimha*) on (*the top of*) the chief mountain of the glorious Pallava race, whose spotless fame as the lion of warriors (*Kshatrasimha*) is widely known, whose crown is resplendent with the crest-jewel, viz. Mahēśvara (Śiva), the lion among lords of kings (*Narēndrasimha*) of the whole earth, and an Arjuna in battle (*Yuddhārjuna*).

(Ll. 11 to 14.) May he exercise the royal prerogative and take up the vow of administering (his) subjects up to the extremities of his kingdom, as even to include the thousand-islands,¹ he, who is known by the name "the great wrestler" (*Mahāmalla*) on account of his (skill in) hand-to-hand fight, who is excessively devoted (*Atyantakāma*) ever to serve at the pair of the lotus-feet of Śambhu (Śiva), who is the blessed cloud (*Śrī-Mēgha*) that makes the mass of crops, the Brahmans, prosperous, who is the Moon to the ocean of (his) race, "the victorious in battle" (*Ranajaya*) and "the storehouse of prosperity" (*Śrinidhi*) !

No. 19.—BRAHMI INSCRIPTION ON A WOODEN PILLAR FROM KIRARI.

BY HIRANANDA SASTRI, M.A., M.O.L.

Kirārī is a small village in the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces. It lies some ten miles to the west of Chandarpur and about twenty miles to the south-east of Kharsīā, which leads to the Jogīmārā cave, so well known for its very ancient fresco-paintings as well as early Brāhmī inscriptions. The river Mahānādī flows some four miles to the south of it. Outside this village there lies a large and old tank called Hīrābandh which is rather an embankment meant to collect the overflowing rain water at the time of floods. Owing to draught this tank had dried up and in April 1921 the agriculturists of the village began digging its bed to throw the fertilizing silt over their fields. On the 29th or 30th of that month they hit upon a wooden pillar which they removed from the mud and placed in the sun, not knowing the disservice they were doing thereby to the cause of Indian Epigraphy for, the moment the pillar began to dry a good deal of its surface peeled off carrying with it the major portion of the invaluable record which was incised on the pillar. Noticing that the pillar bore some letters on it some of the villagers called their Pandit, named Lakshmīprasāda Upādhyāya, to see if he could read the writing. Failing to make it out he very carefully took an eye-copy of all the letters which he noticed on the pillar at the time of his arrival, not omitting even the faintest traces of a letter over it. Apparently, he was not aware how the record ran, which side came first or which was the top or bottom of the letters. Like a true copyist he wrote out each line separately on sheets of paper available to him at the time according to the maxim of writers :—

यादृशं पुस्तकं दृष्टं तादृशं लिखितं मया । यदि शुद्धमशुद्धं वा मम दोषो न विद्यते ॥

¹ This is a doubtful translation of the word दीपलक्षम्. I propose to take it as an *asyayibhāva* deriving it दीपा लक्ष्यने यस्मिन् कर्मणि इति. [दीपाः लक्ष् यस्मिन्, etc., is another suggestion—H. S.] If this interpretation is correct, it shows that the Pallava rule must have extended in the time of Rājasimha even to the distant islands in the ocean. The word दीपलक्षम् may also be corrected into दीपलक्षत and with वा repeated we may translate 'up to the thousand islands.'

Could there be a reference by *dāvaṇi* in the word दीपलक्षम् to the Laccadive Islands called लक्षदीप in Sanskrit ? The exact relation that might have then existed between the Pallava king Rājasimha and the Laccadive Islands has nowhere been found. In this connection it may not be out of place to point out that Dr. Vogel in his learned contribution on the Yūpa inscriptions of king Mūlavarman from Koetei (East-Borneo) (*Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1918, p. 192) asks :—"Supposed the powerful Pallava princes of Kāñchipura had equipped armadas and carried their arms to the remote shores of Champā and Java, may we not assume that their conquests on the far side of the ocean would have been extolled in their *prastāva* with no less effusion than we find lavished on their victories over the Chālukyas ?" Here we have, though not a *prastāva*, at least a significant hint that the Pallava dominion was ambitious enough to extend to the distant islands.

so often found at the end of the manuscript copies of Sanskrit books. How faithful his copy is can be judged from the facsimile of the mechanical impressions of the portions which were copied when I first inspected the pillar in 1921 and which were still intact when I again examined it in 1924 at the Nagpur Museum. Comparison will show that the eye-copy can be taken as quite trustworthy in the case of the portions which are now lost for ever. The fact that the copyist did not even understand which side represented the top and which the bottom of the lettering precludes the suspicion of forgery altogether. How he succeeded in bringing out the shapes of the letters accurately is, I think, due to the little knowledge of drawing which he possessed and to his intelligence. But as the fact remains that those portions of the epigraph do not exist now, we would naturally feel hesitant to draw large conclusions from the hand-copy. The Pandit took a copy of not less than 349 *aksharas* whereas at the time of my first inspection the pillar had not more than 60 or 70 letters and now not more than 30 or 40 including the traces of vowel marks. The Pandit's eye-copy was handed over to my draftsman at the time of my visit to Kirārī and I have used it in preparing the comparative facsimile plate as well as in reading the lost portion for which it was the only source now to depend upon.

The find was next brought to the notice of Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandeyā of Balpur, a village attached to the Chandarpur Post Office, not very far off from Kirārī. He promptly brought it to the notice of Sir John Marshall under whose instructions the pillar was immersed in water in a tank at Kirārī where it lay till it was finally removed to the Government Museum at Nagpur after being very carefully treated chemically for the preservation of the writing on it. The Museum authorities have now cut it into two parts, one of which, *i.e.*, the upper portion, they have placed in a glazed case, accommodating the other in an outer verandah of the Museum. The former still shows not less than twenty-two continuous letters more or less distinctly, while the latter retains traces of lettering here and there and some three or four complete *aksharas* as well. The fate of the lower portion cannot fail to remind us of the all powerful law of nature which permits the survival of the fittest only!

As has been stated above, the pillar is wooden and measures about 13' 9" from top to bottom. It is surmounted by a solid *kalāśa* which is about 1' 2" high. The *kalāśa* has a narrow neck, a broad and almost flat mouth, the body being more elliptical than round. I am reproducing here two of the photographs which were taken at the time of my inspection during 1921 to replace further description of this interesting find. The surface of the pillar has badly flaked and I cannot positively say if it was shaped into facets and planed, at least at the middle, for writing the inscription. The lower portion, in all probability, must have been left unshaped, as it was meant for insertion in the ground. I got a few chips of the pillar examined and am told that the tree of which it was made belongs to the order of Leguminosae papilionaceae and its botanical name is *Pterocarpus marsupium*, the Hindi name being Bijā Sāl. This tree gives a handsome and useful timber of Central India and is almost as good as teak.

This find, I believe, is the first of its kind yet made in India. So far some four sacrificial posts have been found in this country and perhaps a similar number in Koetei in the Indian Archipelago. All these have recently been noticed by Dr. Vogel in his paper on the Yūpa Inscriptions of king Mūlavarmman. They are all of stone and appear to be memorial *yūpas* for, sacrificial *yūpas*, as would be shown by the terms *yūpa-dru*, *yūpa-druma* or *yūpa-dāru*, were usually made of wood. Possibly these were put up instead of the wooden pillars or *yūpas* and were their exact copies in stone. A close comparison of the illustrations of these pillars and of the one represented on the *asvamedha* coins of Samudragupta the Great, with the photograph of the Kirārī pillar, herein reproduced, will show that the latter cannot be a *yūpa* or sacrificial post. The description given of a *yūpa* in the *Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa* would point towards the same inference

According to this authority¹ the shaft of a *yūpa*, except for the lower portion, should be octagonal¹ and bent at the top. At the same time a *yūpa* is distinguished by a head-piece or top-ring (*cha. shāla*) and marked by a girdle rope (*raśanā*) which winds round it. The Kirārī pillar reveals none of these characteristics. Taking it for granted that all the eight corners and the 17 cloths with which, according to this authority, a sacrificial post is to be wrapt or bound, have disappeared, we cannot account for the absence of the hollow at the top and the disagreement in height which ought to be 17 cubits in the case of a *yūpa*. But as the *Brāhmaṇa* gives different heights for different purposes and says that "the sacrificial stake of the (ordinary) animal sacrifice is either three or four cubits long and one above that belongs to the Sōma sacrifice" we cannot depend on the length of the pillar for its identification. That it cannot be a *yūpa* or pillar connected with animal sacrifice will be shown by a reference to Patañjali who in his *Mahābhāṣya* clearly puts down² that a *yūpa* must be made of either *Bilva* (*Ægle marmelos*) or *Khadira* (*Acacia catechu*)—

“वैल्वः खादिरा वा यूपः स्यात्” इत्युच्यते । यूपश्च नाम पञ्चनुबन्धार्थमुपादीयते ।
शक्यं चानेन यत्किञ्चिदेव काष्ठमुच्छ्रित्यानुच्छ्रित्य वा पञ्चनुबन्धम् । तत्र नियमः क्रियते ॥”

As I have already stated, the Kirārī pillar is made neither of *Ægle marmelos* nor of *Acacia catechu* but of *Pterocarpus marsupium*. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*³ of Vālmiki, however, it is stated that 21 *yūpas* were erected at the time when a horse sacrifice or *Āśvamedha* was performed by Daśaratha. Out of these six were made of *Bilva* (*Ægle marmelos*), six of *Khadira* (*Acacia catechu*), six of *Palāśa* (*Butea frondosa*), one of *Śleshmātaka* (*Cordia Myxa* or *Latifolia*) and two of *Dēvadāru* (*Avaria longifolia* and *Ervthroxyton sideroxyloides* or *Pinus deodar*). Including the one added by Monier Williams in his *Sanskrit Dictionary*⁴ we find that the pillar under examination cannot come within the category of *yūpas* as far as the tree of which it is made is concerned. In other words the Kirārī pillar cannot be connected with any animal sacrifice (*paśu-anubandha*) on the authority of Vālmiki and Patañjali at least. The description given in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* is not free from confusion and if we follow it, I think, the Kirārī pillar might be connected with the *Vājapēya* rites. The top portion does not provide a very convenient seat for the householder to occupy at the time he has to hold a dialogue with his wife in reference to their mounting to heaven. Still, as we learn from the *Brāhmaṇa*,⁵ in

¹ *Śatapatha Br.* S.B.E., Vol. XLI, p. 31, and Vol. XLIV, p. 124. The height of a sacrificial stake has to vary, for the *Brāhmaṇa* says: "When he who is about to perform an animal sacrifice makes a stake one cubit long, he thereby gains this (terrestrial) world; and when he makes one two cubits long, he thereby gains the air world; and when he makes one three cubits long, he thereby gains the heavens; and when he makes one four cubits long, he thereby gains the region."

² *Adhyāya* 1, *Pāda* 1, *Āhnika* 1.

³ 1, 14, *ślo.* 22—25.

⁴ Under the word *yūpa* and in reference to the *Rāmāyaṇa* he has brought in one *yūpa* of *Udumbara* (*Ficus glomera*) saying 6 of *Bilva*, 6 of *Khadira*, 6 of *Palāśa*, one of *Udumbara*, one of *Śleshmātaka* and one of *Dēvadāru*. The text would not support this division for, it makes no mention of the *Udumbara yūpa*. It runs as follows:—

प्राप्तं यूपाञ्जये तस्मिन् षड्वैल्वः खादिराकथा ।

तान्ना विस्वसद्भिः पर्विणश्च तथा परे ॥

त्रिभूतकमयी दिष्टी देवदाहमयकथा ।

हावेव तव विद्वतो बाहुव्यस्तपरिपद्यौ ॥

The words *diṣṭī* as explained by the commentator Rāma (*drau dēvadārumayan viṣṭāu*) mean: two of *Dēvadāru* and make no room for *Udumbara*. Possibly Mon. Williams had another edition before him.

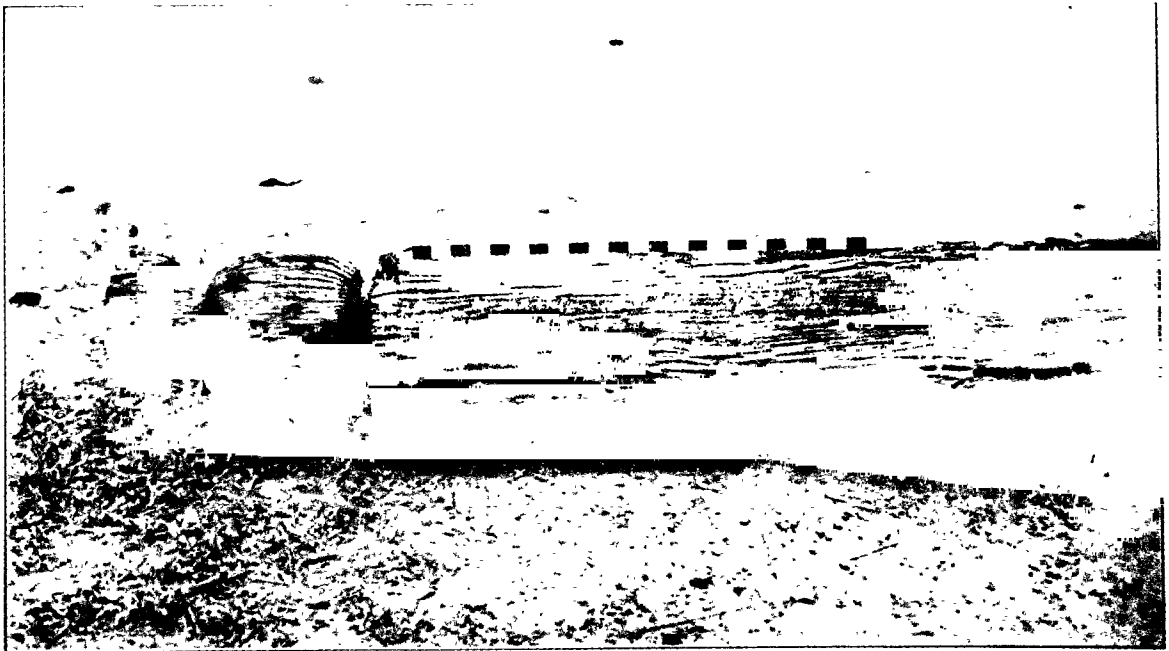
⁵ See S. B. E., Vol. XLI, p. 31, and footnotes, etc.; also Barnett's *Antiquities of India*, p. 167, and references given above.

WOODEN PILLAR WITH A BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM KIRARI.

A — COMPLETE.



B — UPPER PORTION (DETAIL).



some cases he has to ascend a *yīpa* by a ladder, touch the mortar-shaped top-piece made of wheaten dough, rise by the measure of his head over the post and descend after performing certain rites. Our pillar could serve such a purpose very well. But here we should remember that *Vājapēya* is one of the several *Sōma* sacrifices which kings or Brāhman have to offer before celebrating the *Rājasūya* and the *Bṛihaspatisava*. Why should a sacrificer select a thing connected with a rite which is after all a minor one as compared to the principal *Yajña* and write a large inscription on it giving the names of very high officials such as this pillar bears? To solve such a question satisfactorily one would like to explore the site where the pillar was unearthed and see if any vestiges of some other sacrifice or sacrifices are to be found there.

The association of a reservoir or tank (*Hirābandh*) might suggest this pillar to be an ordinary tank-pillar, such as we see erected in the midst of tanks in the Central Provinces or elsewhere. But then, we have to remember that such columns are generally of stone. Besides, there would be no reason why such an important record should be incised on it mostly to remain hidden under water. Another likelihood may be that it was a *jayastambha* or column of victory, but there too, looking at the position of the personage responsible for its setting up and of the officers connected with him, it will be quite reasonable to expect a more permanent and dignified material than an ordinary *bija* tree of which the pillar is made. The other alternative would be that it was a *dhvajastambha* or a flagstaff connected with some temple for, that may be made of stone or wood, circular, sixteen- or eight-sided and shaped like a *kumbha* (pot) at the middle or at the beginning. Its height varies according to its nature. The emblem (*vāhana*) of the god to whom it is dedicated is to be put on it together with the banner cloth (*dhvaja-paṭa*). Such an assumption would naturally suggest the existence of some structure close by and until we find any traces of it we are not in a position to call the pillar a *dhvajastambha*. Whether it is a post connected with the *Vājapēya* or similar rites or a *dhvajastambha*, the fact remains that it is a unique find yet made in India.

The writing on this pillar very closely resembles that of the Nāsik cave inscriptions.² Leaving aside other symbols the one for *khi* is particularly noteworthy. In the two impressions reproduced here this is represented by the fifth letter while in the Nāsik cave inscriptions it is to be seen in the word *dhamarakkhiṭēna* though in another word, i.e., in *bhikhusaṅghasa*, it is written in a different manner. Regarding the age, I am to remark that on palæographic grounds the record is to be assigned to about the second century of the Christian era. The extant portion shows no trace of any date in it. It is chiefly on account of its age that this relic of the past possesses considerable epigraphical value for. early Brāhmī inscriptions are rather very rare. As an historical document, however, one will be sorry to find that whatever importance it had originally is now irretrievably lost with the portion that has peeled off. What we may now surmise from the nature of the contents as they are at present is that the inscription must have been connected with some mighty ruler of a very high rank who had a well-organized staff of officers such as the Commander-in-Chief, the Accountant, the Treasurer, etc., etc.

The language in which the document is couched is Prakrit, or one might call it corrupt Sanskrit prose. It is like the language of the Nāsik inscriptions alluded to above.

As to the nature of its contents I am to observe that the record now mostly consists of official titles or designations and the names of some of the individuals who must have held them.

¹ Cf. *Śilparatna* (Trivandrum S. S. No. LXXV), p. 234 :—

त्रिलया दासबाबाय उताकारमवापि वा ।

वीडबाभं तु बाबायं कुम्भमध्यादिसंयुतम् ॥ etc., etc.

² See above, Vol. VIII, No. 18, plate V (n. 3).

Such of the designations as are practically certain together with the names of a few of the incumbents as are still intact or can be made out are these: **Nagararakhins** (city-guards or police-inspectors) named Virapālita and Chiragōhaka; **Sēnāpati** (commander of army) named Bāma'dēya¹ (?) (l. 1, estampage and eye-copy); **Pratihāra** (door-keeper) named Khipatti; **Gaṇaka** (accountant) called Hēasi, a **Nāga**; **Gāhapātiya** (?=gārhapatīya, keeper of the household fire) named Gharika; **Bhāṇḍākā(gā)rika** (store-keeper) called Asādhia; **Hāthārōha** (?=hastyārōha or ? the king's elephant-driver); **Āśvārōha** (horseman, perhaps Superintendent of horses); **Pādamūlika**² (temple attendant); **Rathika** (possibly the Superintendent of chariots); **Mahānasika** (kitchen-officer), (l. ii, estampage and eye-copy); **Hath.vaka** (=hastipaka, perhaps Superintendent of elephant); **Dhāvaka** (fore-runner); **Sa[u]ga[ndh]aka** (=Saugandhika, officer in charge of perfumery?); **Gōma[ndi]lika** (=gōmāṇḍalika, or officer in charge of cows or cattle?); **Yāna[ś]ālāyudhagharika** (officer in charge of carriage-shed and armoury); **Palavithida(ka?)vā-(pā)lika** (Inspector of meat-stalls); **Lēhahāraka** (=lēkhahāraka, letter-carrier); **Kulaputraka**³ (perhaps chief architect); and **Mahāsēnāni** or Commander-in-Chief (l. 4). It is interesting to observe here in passing that these designations do not fail to remind us of the several functionaries like Āśvā hyaksha, Hastyādhyaksha, Rathādhyaksha mentioned in the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya. As I have already remarked above the mention of all such persons of rank would show that our pillar must have been set up in connection with some extraordinary ceremony performed by a very high personage who was, in all probability, not less than a great king of renown, whose name is now cast into oblivion but, perhaps, would have been preserved had photographs or mechanical copies been carefully taken the moment this important relic of the hoary past was dug out. In line 4 of the eye-copy there is a name which comes after the title of Mahāsēnāni and reads like **Siṭha(dha)rāja**. A few letters after it we have a word which reads *putasa* (*putrasya*), and then comes a verb which may be taken to be *arpayati*. This might indicate that the pillar was in some way connected with Si[dha]rāja or his son. The proper names of some of the officers, which are fully preserved on the pillar, like **Khipatti** or **Hēasi** are, apparently, non-Sanskritic. The latter, i.e., Hēasi, is distinctly called a **Nāga** or a member of the Serpent tribe. Possibly these people were non-Aryan or aboriginal.

The portions of the two lines which were copied at the time of my first inspection and are represented in the facsimiles may be transcribed as follows :—

No. 1.

(PART OF LINE 1.)

Text.

Nagar[a]rakhiṇō V[i]rapa(ā)lita-Ch[i]ragōhaka-[Sēnāpatid]ēva.

Remarks.—*Nagararakhinō* possibly stands for *nagara-rakshināu* and means the two guardians of the city or police-officers. These were named Virapālita and Chiragōhaka. The first is more an attribute than a proper name. The second looks to be of non-Sanskritic origin. The name of the Sēnāpati or commander of the army is not certain but might have been **Deval**.

¹ See footnote 2 on page 157.

² *Pādamūlika* is a derivative of *pādamūla* which occurs both in Sanskrit (see Kielhorn's note in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVII, p. 252) and Tamil inscriptions (see *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 138 n. and p. 250) apparently in the sense of a temple attendant—one attached to the feet (of the god). It frequently occurs in the *Jātakas*. From the *Parantapa Jātaka* (*Jātaka*, Vol. III, p. 417, lines 2 and 3) it would appear that *pādamūlikas* were associated with *purōhitas* for it says 'dēviṇ cha purōhitaṇ cha Paratapaṇ nāmekaṇ pādamūlikaṇ cha gahēlvā,' etc. In this inscription the term comes after the word *dēvathāyaka*, which reminds us of *dēva-sthānika*. So the word seems to signify a priestly attendant or one whose function is to attend to the feet of (i.e. worship) god or do some such duties.

³ See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 58; Vol. IX, p. 58. The word usually means 'sons of noblemen.'

I.



II.



(From impressions).

No. 2.

(PART OF LINE 2.)

Text.

P[r]ati[hā]ra-Khipat[tji]-gaṇakā(a)—Nāgō(a)-Hēasi-gāhapātiva-Gharika-bh[ā]ṇḍāk(g)ēri[ka].

Remarks.—The first word is certainly *pratihāra* which means door-keeper. The second word may read *vaipatti* signifying good foot soldier but comparison with the Nāsik cave inscription, referred to above, would show that it must be read as *Khipatti*. The conjunct *t* is partly visible in the impression but clear on the eye-copy. What follows must be *gaṇaka*. Had the preceding word been *vaipatti* one could take it, in reference to the *Kirātārjunīyam* (XV. 16), in the sense of 'an officer whose chief function is to muster the infantry or superior foot-soldiers.' But I prefer to read the first *akshara* as *khi* and would take *gaṇaka* in the sense of 'accountant'. The word that follows, *i.e.*, Nāga, indicates the tribe to which Hēasi belonged. Hēasi is apparently an aboriginal term. *Gāhapātiya*¹ I would connect with the word *Gārhapatya* and translate as the keeper of the household or *gārhapatya* fire. **Gharika** must have been the name of this officer and is perhaps an *apabhraṃśa* of *grihika* (?) as is *gharīṇī*, the Pālī form of *grihiṇī*. The word that follows is certainly the equivalent of Sanskrit *bhāṇḍāgārika* and means 'store-keeper'.

Now I give a transcript of the eye-copy, as far as I have been able to make it out, for what it is worth, or rather to satisfy a curiosity. In the facsimiles the impressions of the existing portions of the epigraph and the whole of the eye-copy are reproduced. The paper used by the Pandit was of a small size. So lines could not be brought out in their full length. Taking the entire lines into consideration, the inscribed portion of the pillar measures about 8 feet and the eye-copy approximately supplies $\frac{1}{2}$ of the actual size of the letters on it. The text given below follows the order in which Pandit Lakshmi Prasād copied the inscription.

Text.

(Line 1.) Naga[ra]-rakhiṇo-V[i]rap[ā]lita Chirag[ō]hakē Sē[n]āpa[ti]-[Dē]va² bama[dē]-yādhi....g(?)...nautāvasa(b?)hathi bama [dē]yikama . sa paṭali . i i sã . i . i . . . sã . i sã . ā . nō bhaṭāya kēs[a]va=viṭhidakāmik(a or ē) tatē (or bhabhē) sāviḍa (n)im[i]tta.

(Line 2.) P[r]atih[ā]ra Khipatti ga[ṇa]ka-Nāga Hēasi gāhapātiya Gharika-bhaṇḍākārika Asādhia vaihādhādhāra hathārōhē asārōhē dēvathayaka pādāmūlika rathika sisāra khakhimāla (?) butanamaka tabhaka mahānasika kukudabata.

(Line 3.) Hāthivaka yamasrika dhāvaka sagandhakē gōmaṇḍilika yānasālāyudhagharikē daliakhēmha (?) palaviṭhida vālikē avasakāraka sava(or kha)radāpa(or ha)dēaka vadi Kēsavanāshō(?) vacharē anu . yinō ḍunuvṛitta lēhahārakē pētsa (?) payutasāva (?) kuli(la)puttra kuli(la)puttramanusēn[ā]pati.

(Line 4.) Vu . . . salinama . [bu] . hēsara mah[ā]sēnāni Siṭhar[ā]ja . . Kudva (?) putasa piṭta (?) . . rapayati game puvaraṭhi kavayu . . . sē . na k[u]m[ā]rō ḍa . nāyaka

(Line 5.) Bhayayu (or ghē ?)ra (da)pā . ṭa(?) (a?) . . puna[vi?]yā ma

¹ Gāhapātiya is a proper name, also, see Burgess, *Cave Temples*, p. 89.

² Dēva may be taken as a proper name, and *bamadēya* may stand for *brahmadēya*. That will give us one more official, to wit, one in charge of charities ?

No. 20.—THREE BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM KOSAM.

BY DAYA RAM SAHNI, M.A., RAI BAHADUR.

The three inscriptions discussed in this paper were discovered by me in the cold weather of 1921-22 when I was engaged on the preliminary operations connected with the re-erection of the ancient pillar in the ruined fort at Kosam¹, District Allahabad. These inscriptions were found in the villages in the vicinity of Kosam and I am glad to say that at my request the owners have presented all the three records to the Archaeological Department and they have been placed as exhibits on loan in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow. Along with these inscriptions I was fortunate enough to bring to light a fourth inscription of the time of king Jayachandra of Kanauj which furnishes final corroboration of General Cunningham's identification of the remains at Kosam with the ancient city of Kauśāmbi. This inscription is being dealt with in a separate article.

The impressions reproduced in this paper have been supplied by Mr. Prayag Dayal, Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

Inscription No. I.

This epigraph is incised on a stone slab measuring 2' 10½" high, 1' wide and 2½" in thickness. The stone was fixed in the parapet of a well in the village of Masharfa situated about a mile and a half to the north-west of the stone pillar at Kosam. The inscription is engraved on the front face of the slab and consists of fourteen lines. Each line consists of five to seven *aksharas* except the last line which probably contained only three characters, now mostly defaced. For the rest, the epigraph is in an excellent state of preservation. The inscription is written in Brāhmi characters, which closely resemble the alphabet used in the inscriptions of the Mahākshatraps Śōdāsa², like which it is drawn up throughout in pure Prākṛit. The inscription is not dated, nor does it mention the name of the ruler of the time. The object of the document is to record the erection of a stone railing (*vēdikā*) by a certain householder named Gōtiputa, son of Kusapāla and grandson of Vāri who was a caravan-merchant and a votary of Maṇibhadra. The inscription begins with a salutation to a certain Bhagavat whose name unfortunately is not given and ends with the wish that "the deity may be pleased". Here too, unfortunately, the name of the deity is not given or, if it was, it has been destroyed in the last line of the inscription. The traces left on the stone, however, seem to favour the reading 'Bhagavā'. We are thus left to guess the identity of this god. I am inclined to think that it was the Yaksha Maṇibhadra, the favourite deity of the grandfather of the donor. We know from other records that this deity³ enjoyed extensive worship in ancient times. The inscription is silent as to the purpose for which the stone balustrade mentioned in it was intended. Probably it surrounded some sacred monument such as an image of the deity Maṇibhadra⁴, a pillar, a *chaitya* or some sacred tree. The stone on

¹ The visible antiquities of Kosam have been described by several scholars:—Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. I, pp. 301—315; F. E. Pargiter, *Two Records on the pillar at Kosam* in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 87 ff.; E. D. Banerji, *Some Sculptures from Kosam* in the *A. S. R.*, 1913-14, part II, pp. 262—264; and the *Annual Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1917*, p. 13.

² Cf. *Memor. A. S. I.*, No. 5, Pl. XXVI, b and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 199, No. II and plate and other inscriptions.

³ Vide *A. S. R.*, 1915-16, Pt. II, pp. 104 ff. and Mr. Ramprasad Chanda's Paper entitled *Four Ancient Yaksha Statues* published in the University of Calcutta, *Anthropological Papers*, No. 3. [For the *dhyaṇa* of Maṇibhadra see *Vishnudharmottarīyam III*, 73. 13.—Ed.]

⁴ Cf. *vēdikā yakṣhō cha kārītā* "the rail pattern and the yaksha have been caused to be made" engraved above the image of a yaksha in Cave No. 18 at Nasik (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 93, No. 2).

which the inscription is engraved must have been one of the posts of the railing, the back portion of which was cut away in later times.

TEXT.

1 Namō Bhagavatē	8 Kusapālō nāma
2 sathavāhasa	9 tasa putēna
3 Maṇibhadasa ¹	10 gahapatikēna
4 gahapatikasa	11 Gōtiputēna ²
5 Ējāvati-putasa	12 asikā ³ yaṁ kārītā
6 Vrrisa ⁴ putō gahapatikō	13 veditā piyatam
7 Sēliya-putō	14 [Bhagavā].

TRANSLATION.

"Salutation to the Blessed One! [There was a certain person] named Kusapāla. a householder, the son of Sēliya. (and) the son of Vāri, a caravan-merchant, (and) householder, the son of Ējāvati. (and) a votary of Maṇibhadra. By his (Kusapāla's) son Gōtiputa, a householder, this railing of stone was caused to be made. May [the Blessed One] be pleased!"

Inscription No. II.

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab, measuring 2' 3½" × 1' 10" × 3' in thickness, which is broken into two pieces across the width. The top and the bottom are irregularly broken and it is difficult to say for what purpose the stone was originally intended. The existing portion of the inscription consists of five lines, measuring 17" to 21" in length. The inscription is incomplete. The first line is undoubtedly the beginning of the document but how many lines are lost at the end owing to the peeling off of the surface it is impossible to say. The surviving portion of the record is in a bad state of preservation. The left halves of the first three lines have completely disappeared, while several letters in the beginning of the 4th line are damaged. The characters are Brāhmī of the Gupta period and the language Sanskrit. The document was engraved on the 1st day of the 2nd fortnight of a certain year which is broken off in the beginning of the 2nd line, in the reign of a certain Mahārāja the illustrious Śivam[ē]gha. This prince is not known from any other source as yet, and it is impossible to say to what dynasty he belonged. Then follow the words "On this occasion" after which we notice the names of certain individuals preceded by their fathers' names. These persons probably did some meritorious work which was recorded in this inscription, but its fragmentary condition prevents our making out what the nature of this work was.

TEXT.

- 1 [Mahā]ra(ā)jasya śrī-Śivama(ē)ghasya sa[mvatsara] . .
- 2 [varsha pīkshē] 2 divasē pa(pra)thamē ē[tasyām]
- 3 [pūrvvāyām*] . . . kasya Sa[m]karava(ba)la p . . .
- 4 dav[ishtḥaka]sya Śamanaka-putrasya Dharakasya [Nam]dava(ba)la-putra . . na
- 5 kasya [Da]manaka-putrasya Dharakasya [Ya]sava(ba)la-putrasya Kukksya [||*]

¹ Cf. *Māṇibhadra-bhaktā(h)* in the Padmāvatī Maṇibhadra Statue Inscription, *A. S. R.*, 1915-16, Pt. II, p. 106, Text.

² This word is engraved between the 5th and 6th lines.

³ *Gōtiputa* = *Gōtiputa* (Sanskrit *Guptiputra*) is here undoubtedly a proper name. We find the word used in other inscriptions both as a metonymic and as a proper name (cf. Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, Nos. 663, 681 and 682).

⁴ *Asikā* = *āśikā* corresponds to the Sanskrit *āśmikā*, the *taddhita* form of *āśmin*.

Inscription No. III.

The slab bearing this inscription was secured from the village of *Ḥasanābād* close to the ancient remains of *Kosam*. It was lying near a well and would appear to have been used for sharpening tools and other utilitarian purposes. The slab is rounded at the top and a portion of it is broken off at the bottom. Its present dimensions are 2' 10" in height and the same in width, the thickness being only 3". Only four lines of the inscription now remain in the upper round portion of the stone, but that originally the record covered some more space of the slab is obvious from the traces of *akṣaras* which have survived in the rest of the defaced surface. The characters are similar to those of inscription No. II, like which the record is composed in *Sanskrit*. The only information of any interest obtainable from the inscription is the name of the ruler which on the analogy of the ruler's name in the preceding epigraph has been read as *Mahārāja Śrī-Bhadram[ēgha]*. It is gratifying to note that in this inscription it is possible to make out the date with a considerable degree of certainty and it is the 5th day of the 3rd fortnight of the rainy season in the year 88. The era unfortunately is not given but if, as seems likely, it was the Gupta era, the corresponding Christian year would be 407 A.D. This, however, is a mere conjecture. *Śivamēgha* mentioned in Inscription No. II and *Bhadram[ēgha]* of the present inscription presumably belonged to the same dynasty about which we at present know nothing more.

TEXT.

- 1 . . Mahārājasya śrī-Bhadram[ēghasya]
- 2 [Samvatsa]rē 80 8 varsha pakṣa 3 divasa 5
- 3 sya Śamarasya(?) puttra Him[i]ṅgana
- 4 ayāādāvadāra¹.

No. 21.—TWO COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF KRISHNADEVARAYA.

By the late T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A., TRIVANDRUM, AND K. AMRITA RAO, M.A., MADRAS.

The two inscriptions edited below are engraved upon two sets of copper-plates belonging to the Raṅganāthasvāmin temple at Śrīraṅgam. They are edited for the first time from impressions prepared under the supervision of one of us.

A.—INSCRIPTION OF SAKA-SAMVAT 1436.

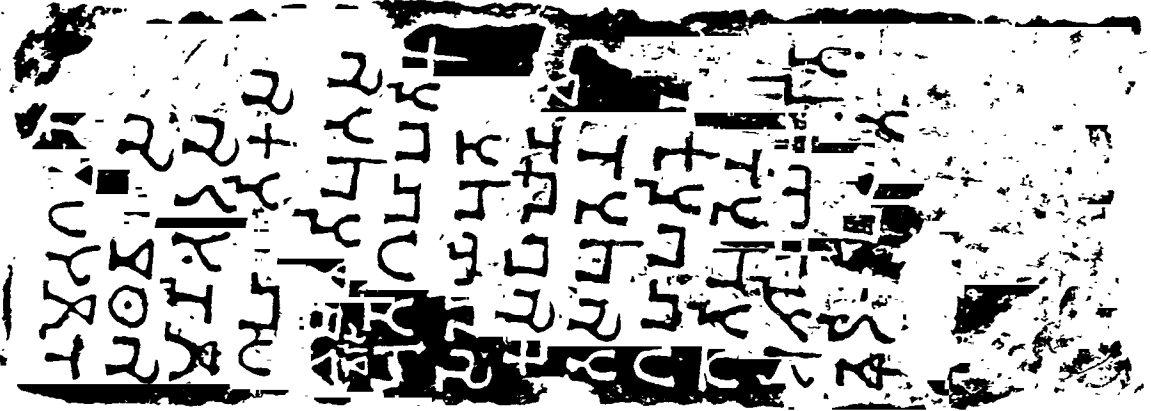
This record (No. 23 of the *Madras Epigraphist's Copper-plate Collection* for 1905-06) is engraved upon three plates, which are strung together on a ring which bears a circular seal. On the seal are shaped in half relief a boar, the sun and the moon—the usual Vijayanagara emblems. The first side of the first plate and the second side of the third are left without writing, and the rims of the plates are raised. The writing is consequently very well preserved. The plates are numbered with the Telugu-Kannada numerals 1, 2 and 3 engraved on the second side of the first, and on the first side of the second and third plates respectively, to the right of the ring-hole.

The alphabet in which the epigraph is written is *Nandināgari*, and the language *Sanskrit*. At the end of the inscription is the word *Śrī-Virūpākṣa*, the sign-manual of the king, written in the Telugu-Kannada alphabet. The inscription almost always employs the *anusvāra*, wherever the nasals have to be used. The *t* in conjunct consonants is usually doubled unnecessarily, as in *prattyūha* in ll. 4 and 52, in *kīrttyā* in ll. 28 and 44, in *vrajēdittya*^o in l. 45, in *āvarttyā*^o in l. 55, in *ittiyuktō* in l. 60, *ittiyādi* in l. 62 and *nīttiyā* in l. 65. There occur also omissions of letters in some places, due to the carelessness of the engraver, e.g., *t* in *vyatānt* in

¹ My attention has been kindly drawn to the existence of the first *dā* in this word by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri. The meaning of the compound is uncertain. It may perhaps be interpreted as *ārya-yādava-dārāh*, the wife of the noble Yādava, who ever he was.

Three Brahmi Inscriptions from Kosam.

No. I.



No. II.

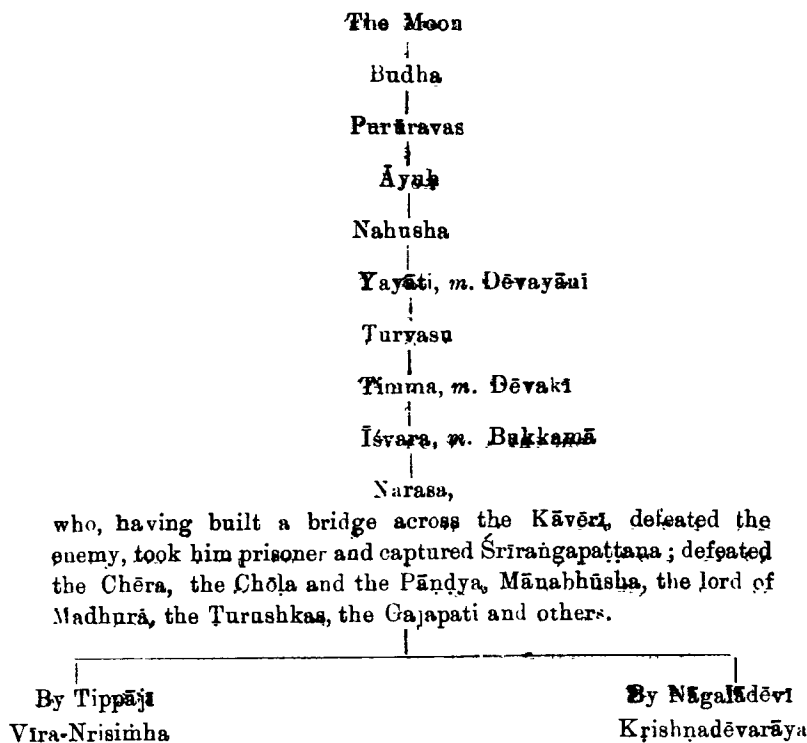


No. III.



l. 21, *āt* in *Nṛsimhēndrāt* in l. 25, *t* in *akārshīt* in l. 31, the secondary *ā* symbol in *yā* in *hīraṇyā* in l. 40, *t* in *bāṅgaḥyatānīt* in l. 41 and so on; these omissions are supplied in the transcript with an asterisk. The *visarga* is also omitted in a large number of instances where it is wanted and there again it is inserted similarly in our transcript. Besides these cases, there are here and there verbal errors, and the corrections of these are effected in foot-notes.

In both the records the genealogy of the king Krishnadēvarāya is given as follows :-



The record is dated Ś. 1436, which corresponds to the cyclic year Bhāva, in the reign of Krishnadēva-Mahārāya of Vijayanagara. In this year, on a Wednesday which coincided with the Gō-dvādaśī tithi in the month Kārtika, the nakshatra for that day being Bharanī, the king granted the village of Ennakudi to the Brāhmana Allāla-Bhaṭṭa. Regarding this date the Hon'ble Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, Dewan Bahadur, writes :-

"Ś. 1436, Bhāva, Wednesday, Gō-dvādaśī-tithi in the month Kārtika, Bharanī nakshatra.

Āśvina Sukla Dvādaśī is called Gō-dvādaśī (*Ind. Ephemeris*, p. XIX); but in A.D. 1514-15=Ś. 1436, Bhāva, Āśvina Śu. 12 fell on Saturday, 30th September, 1514, and the nakshatra was Śatabhishaj. The day intended was probably Mārgaśīra Śu. 12, Wednesday, 29th November, A.D. 1514, when the nakshatra was Bharanī."

The name Gō-dvādaśī occurs in other documents also. We meet with it, for instance, in the ancient record of the Āy chieftain, Vikramāditya Varaguna (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. 1, p. 192); what observances there are on this particular dvādaśī is not known. On the date specified the king Krishnadēvarāya, being in the presence of the god Virūpākṣa in the temple at Vijayanagara (Hampi), standing upon the bank of the Tungabhadra and near the hill Hōmakūṭa, granted the village of Ennakudi under the name of Krishnarajapuram to Allāla-Bhaṭṭa, son of Varadarajārya, of the Ātrēya gōtra, of the Āpastamba sūtra and of the Yajna sākhā, who was a master in the six systems of philosophy. The occasion on which this

grant was made was the giving of the *mahādāna* called the *Gō-sahasra*. The village granted is said to be situated in the *Chōlamanḍala-rājya*, that is, that province of the empire which was known by the name of *Chōlamanḍala*; the village was in the western portion of the division called the *Uyyagondachōlendra-vaṇaṇḍu*, which belonged to the [Tiruv]ārūr-chāvaḍi and was situated in the *Tirumihachchūr-paṭṭu*; the village was situated on the bank of the river *Kāvēri* and was to the east of *Karkaktai* (?), to the south of the canal *Nāṭṭāvākkāl*, to the west of *Pēlaikuḍi* (*Mēlaikkuḍi*) and to the north of the river *Virāntanāru*.

It is not quite patent how a document issued to a private person found its way into the treasury of the temple of *Raṅganāthasvāmin* at *Śrīraṅgam*. Perhaps the donor, a *Śrīvaishnava*, was a native of *Śrīraṅgam*, and he may have either deposited the copper-plates in the temple treasury for safe custody or have presented the village with its original deed of gift to the god *Raṅganātha*. As regards the donee, nothing can be said definitely, as no distinguishing family names are affixed to his name; to which of the *āchārya-purusha* families he belonged is not easy to ascertain.

At the end of the document it is stated that the composer of the inscription is *Sabhāpati* and the engraver *Mallaṇāchārya*, the son of *Virāṇāchārya*.

The names of places, etc., which occur in the document are:—*Uyyagondachōlendra-vaṇaṇḍu*, [Tiruv]ārūr, *Tirumihachchūr*, *Enṇakuḍi*, *Karkaktai*, *Pēlaikuḍi* and the rivers *Kāvēri*, *Virāntanāru* and *Nāṭṭāvākkāl*. Of these *Uyyagondachōlendra-vaṇaṇḍu* is the same as *Uyyakkondachōla-vaṇaṇḍu*, an ancient division of the *Chōla* days. *Tiruvārūr* is a town of great importance for the large *Śiva* temple situated in it; it is in the *Negapatam Taluk* of the *Tanjore District*. *Tirumihachchūr*, same as *Tirumiyachchūr*, a place whose praises are sung by the *Śaiva* saints *Tiru-Jñānasambandha* and *Appar*, is situated in the *Nannilam Taluk*. The river *Kāvēri* is too well known to need any comment. The *Nāṭṭāvākkāl* is the same as the *Nāṭṭār*, which runs through the *Nannilam Taluk* and the French territory of *Kāraikkāl*. The river *Virāntanāru* seems to be the same as the *Virāṣōṇāru*, which runs through the *Māyavaram Taluk* and disembogues south of *Tranquebar*. We are not able to identify *Karkaktai* (here the reading itself appears to be wrong) and *Pēlaikuḍi* (*Mēlaikkuḍi*) and *Enṇakuḍi*.

The portions of the inscriptions A and B which contain the genealogy of *Krishnadēvarāya* are similar to those found in other inscriptions of this king. For instance, vv. 1-28 of A are identical with those of the *Conjeeveram Plates* of *Krishnadēvarāya* edited in Vol. XIII, pp. 126-129. Vv. 9-11 found in A are omitted in B. Therefore vv. 1-8 of B agree with vv. 1-8 of A, and vv. 9-24 of B with vv. 12-23 of A. Since the genealogical portion of the inscriptions A and B have been printed in the *Epigraphia Indica* more than once, they are omitted in the transcripts of the texts given below.

A.

TEXT.¹

[Metres : v. 28, *Sragdharā*; vv. 29-45½, 47½-50½, *Anushtubh*; v. 46½, *Giti*; v. 51½, *Śalinī*.]

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 63 * * * * * सुखै[र*]दा[र्यः]
 64 [सु]घोभिः स विजयनगरे रत्नसिंहासनस्तः² क्षापालान् कण्णराय-
 65 क्षितिपतिरधरोक्तय नोत्था नृगादीत्³ [र*] च पूर्वाद्रेरथास्तः(ः)क्षितिधर-

¹ From inked impressions prepared under the supervision of Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao.

² Read व्यः.

³ Read अ.

[illegible]

52 ॥ ... ॥
54 ॥ ... ॥
56 ॥ ... ॥
58 ॥ ... ॥
60 ॥ ... ॥
62 ॥ ... ॥
64 ॥ ... ॥
66 ॥ ... ॥
68 ॥ ... ॥
70 ॥ ... ॥
72 ॥ ... ॥
74 ॥ ... ॥
76 ॥ ... ॥
78 ॥ ... ॥

80 ॥ ... ॥
82 ॥ ... ॥
84 ॥ ... ॥
86 ॥ ... ॥
88 ॥ ... ॥
90 ॥ ... ॥
92 ॥ ... ॥
94 ॥ ... ॥
96 ॥ ... ॥
98 ॥ ... ॥
100 ॥ ... ॥

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

- 66 कटकादा च हेमाचलाता¹(1)दा सेतोरथिसार्थः(ः)त्रियमिह बहलीकस्थ
 67 कोर्त्था समिधे(ः) ॥[२८*] शालिवाहननिर्नते² शकादे सचतुः[*]शतैः
 षष्टि³[श]-
 68 ता च संयुक्तैः संख्याते दशभिः[*] शतैः ॥[२९*] भावसंवत्सरे मास-
 कार्तिके बुधवा-
 69 सरं । गोदादस्यां च पुण्यायां भरण्यां समये शुभे ॥[३०*] तुंग-
 भद्रापग[र]-
 70 तीरे हेमकु⁴टोपशोभिते । ओविरूपाक्षदेवस्य संनिधौ मुक्ति[दा]-
 71 इ⁵नि ॥[३१*] आत्रेयगोत्रजाताय वरापस्तंबसु⁶त्रिणे । यशस्विने यक्षुः[*]-
 72 शाखा[ध्या]यिने गुणशा[लि]ने ॥[३२*] ष[ड्]ग्रन्थबुधेः पारदृश्यने श⁷त-
 73 शोभिने । श्रीमद्वरदराजार्थसुनवे सुनृ⁸तोक्तये ॥[३३*] गोसहस्र¹⁰मह[र]-
 74 दाने विश्रुते शुभदायिनि । आचार्य्याय विशुं¹¹धा¹²य वाचार्य्याय म-
 75 ह्वा¹³ने ॥[३४*] पुरु[षा]यै¹² सरस्वत्ये पुं¹³स्थश्रीलाय धीमते । चक्षाल-
 76 भट्टवेषाय शेषाय गुरवे धिया ॥[३५*] चोलमंडलराज्यांत[र्भू]तदक्षि-
 77 णरोधसि । पुण्ये[र] कवेरकन्याया दृश्यमाननिजस्थितिं ॥[३६*] आरु¹⁴-
 78 रुचावडेरंतर्भावं चापि समाश्री¹⁵तं । विख्यातमुख्यपौंडरीको[ल]¹⁶-
 79 [द्र]वळना[डु]के ॥[३७*] तस्यैव पश्चिमो भाग इति ख्यातिमुपाश्रीतं¹⁷[र] [र]-

Third Plate : First Side.

- 80 [म्ये] तिरुमिहचरुपट्टुके¹⁸ विहितस्थितिं ॥[३८*] कर्कत्तेयामतः प्रा[चं]
 81 नाट्टावाक्क[र]*लप्रदेशतः । दक्षिणत्वं श्रीतं¹⁹ पेलैकुडियामाच्च पश्चि-
 82 मं ॥[३९*] वीरांतनात्तुश्री²⁰माया उत्तरस्यां दिशि स्थितं । कृष्णरायपुरं चे-
 83 ति प्रतिनाम समाश्रितं ॥[४०*] ग्राममेणकुडीत्याख्यां विख्यातामाश्रि[तं]
 84 वरं । सर्वमा[न्यं] चतुः[*]सीमास²¹युतं च समंततः ॥[४१*] निधिनिक्ष²²-
 पपाषाण-
 85 [सि]द्धशा²³ध्यजलान्वितं । अक्षिण्यागामिसंयुक्त²⁴मेकभोग्यं सभूरु-

¹ Read ना.

⁴ Read °श्री च.

⁷ Read सु.

¹⁰ Read च.

¹² [The actual reading on the plate is पुं रुपायै.—which has to be corrected into पुं रुपायै.—Ed.]

¹³ Read पु.

¹⁶ Read °मुख्यगोडश्रीकोले.

¹⁹ Read रं शतं.

²³ Read चै.

² Read °नीते.

⁵ Read कू.

⁸ Read यु.

¹¹ Read °गुडा.

¹⁴ Read क.

¹⁷ Read °मुणजिने.

²⁰ Read रु.

²¹ Read रु.

³ Read षट्ति°.

⁶ Read यि.

⁹ Read °सुनवे सुट°.

¹⁵ Read श्रि.

¹⁸ Read तिरुमिहचरु°.

²¹ Read रु.

²⁴ Read क

- 86 ई [॥ ४३*] वापीकूपतट^१कौश कच्छेमापि [स]मन्वि[तम् १*] पुनपोचादि-
मि[ः]र्भी[ग्य] क्र-
- 87 मादाचंद्रतारकं [॥ ४३*] दानस्याधमनस्यापि विक्रयस्यापि चोचितं । प-
- 88 रीतः प्रवृत्ते[ः]* शिन^२गधे[ः]* पुरोहितपुरोगमैः [॥ ४४*] विविधै[ः]विंशु-
धै[ः]* औतप-
- 89 विकैरधिकैर्गिरा । कृष्णदेवमहारायो मामनीयी ममस्त्रिनी^३ [॥ ४५*] स-
- 90 हिर^४स्त्रपयोधारापू[र्व]कं दत्तवान्मुदा [॥ ४५॥]* तदिदमवनीषनीपकविनु-
- 91 तधरायस्त्र कृष्णरायस्त्र [१*] शासनमतिवले^५शासनतद्वत्करदान-
- 92 स्त्र सा[प]दानस्त्र [॥ ४६॥]* कृष्णदेवमहारायशासनेन समापति[ः]*
यमा-
- 93 कोष्ट^६[दुस]इर्भे तदिदं ताम्रशासन^७ [॥ ४७॥]* त्वष्टा ओमल्लाचाचार्य[१*]
वीर[वा]-
- 94 चार्यनंदन[१*] आकल्यमन्त्रतेचैका हृत्ति शासन^८लीखक[ः] [॥ ४८॥]*
- 95 दानपालनयोर्मध्ये दाना[च्छे]योनुपालनं [१*] दानास्त्र^९गमवा-
- 96 प्रीति पालनादृष्ट^{१०}तं पदं [॥ ४८॥]* स्वदत्तादिगुचं पुंस्त्र^{११} परदत्ता-
- 97 नुपालनं [१*] परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं निष्फलं भवे[त्] [॥ ५०॥]*
- 98 सामाज्योयं धर्मसेतु^{१२}दृपाणां काले काले पालनोयो भव[द्भिः] [१*]
- 99 सवा^{१३}नेतान् भाविनः पार्थिवेद्रान् भूयो भूयो गच्छते रामचंद्रः [॥ ५१॥]*
- 100 ओविदपाच [॥*]^{१४}

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

(Vv. 25 to 28.) King Krishnarāya ruled the earth, being seated upon the jewelled throne at Vijāyanagara, in as glorious a fashion as (the ancient kings) Nṛiga and others granting ample sums of money to suppliants throughout the length and breadth of the land, from Seta to the Mēru mountain, from the Mountain of the rising Sun to that of the setting Sun.

(Vv. 29-35.) In the year one thousand four hundred and thirty-six of the Śaka era, corresponding to the (cyclic) year Bhava, in the month of Kartika, on a Wednesday, the Gō-dvādaśī tithi and the Bharanī nakshatra, the king granted, in the presence of the god Virū-pāksha, on the bank of the river Tuṅgabhadrā and near the Hēmakūṭa hill (at Vijāyanagara), the village of Enṇakuṇḍi under the new name of Krishnarāyapuram, to Allāla-Bhaṭṭa, son of Varadarājarya, of the Atrēya gōtra, Āpastamba sūtra and Yajus śākhā, who was a master

^१ Read टा^२ Read र^३ Read वाट नालकम्.^४ Read वृ.^५ Read वा.^६ Read वि.^७ Read व.^८ Read व.^९ Read 'विमृचं पुंस्त्र'.^{१०} Written in Telugu-Kannada characters. Read ओविदपाच.^{११} Read 'स्त्रना'.^{१२} Read वृ.^{१३} Read 'स्त्र'.^{१४} Read वृ.

in the Six Systems of philosophy and the *Śruti* (i.e. the *Vēdas*), who was ever veracious, who officiated as priest during the *Gōsahasra-mahādāna*, who was pure, praiseworthy, the goddess *Sarasvatī* in male form, of good conduct and intelligent and in wisdom like the teacher *Śeṣha* (i.e. the serpent *Ādiśeṣha*).

(Vv. 36 to 45½.) The village granted was in the *Chōlamanḍala-rājya*, on the south bank of the *Kāvēri*. It belonged to the (jurisdiction of the) *Ārūru-chāvaḍi* (*Tiruvārūr*) and was in the *Tirumihachchūru-paṭṭu* the western half of *Uyyagondachōlēndra-vaḷanāḍu*. It was situated to the east of the village of *Karkaktai*, to the south of the *Nāṭṭavākkal*, to the west of the village of *Pēlaikuḍi* (*Mēlaikkūḍi*?) and to the north of *Virāntanāru*. It was granted with the enjoyment of the eight items of proprietorship, such as *nidhi*, *nikshēpa*, etc., as a freehold to be enjoyed by the donee and his descendants as long as the Moon and the Sun subsist, with the rights of gift, sale, mortgage, etc., by the illustrious *Kṛishṇadēva-Mahārāya*, who was surrounded (at the time of the gift) by his *Purōhitas* and a number of *Brāhmanas* well versed in the *Śrauta* learning, with pouring of water together with gold.

(V. 46½.) This is the *sāsana* of king *Kṛishṇarāya*, whose income from land is praised by suppliants for munificence, which is equal to that of the tree (*Kalpa-vriksha*) of *Indra's* region.

(V. 47½.) The copper-plate document was composed by *Sabhāpati* at the command of *Kṛishṇadēva-Mahārāya*.

(V. 48½.) *Mallanāchārya*, the son of *Viranāchārya*, the artificer, who engraved this document on the copper-plates, obtained one share in the gift.

(Vv. 49½ to 51½.) The usual admonitory verses.

Line 100. (Sign-manual of the kings of *Vijayanagara*, the word) *Śri-Vir[ā]p[ā]ksha*

B.—INSCRIPTION OF SAKA-SAMVAT 1450.

This inscription also is engraved on a set of three plates, of which the first side of the first and the second side of the third plates are left unengraved; the rims of the plates are raised. The writing is very well preserved. This set also, like the other set A above, has a ring and seal. The plates are not numbered.

The alphabet in which the record is engraved is *Nandināgari*, and the languages *Sanskrit* and *Tamiḷ*; the earlier portion, describing the genealogy, the praises of the donor and the donee and the village granted, is in the *Sanskrit* language, while the latter portion describing the boundaries, etc., of the village granted, is in *Tamiḷ*. The sign-manual, *Śri-Virūpāksha*, at the end of the document is written in the *Telugu-Kannaḍa* alphabet. The orthographical peculiarities of this epigraph are almost the same as those of the other. In addition to those already detailed under A, this inscription introduces *visargas* in a number of places where they are superfluous, and in these instances they are marked off in the transcript by round brackets. The engraver has done his business in a rather slovenly manner, allowing many omissions and errors to occur in the document.

The inscription belongs to the reign of *Kṛishṇadēva-Mahārāya* and is dated *Saka* 1450 which corresponded to the cyclic year *Sarvajit*. In this year, on a *Monday*, which was also the *Uttāna-dvādaśī tithi* in the month of *Kārttika*, the king made a grant of an *agrahāra* to a number of *Brāhmanas* of various *gōtras*, *sūtras* and *Vēdas*. The village granted was *Vaḍambūr-Ēkāmbarapuram*—its name being changed into *Kṛishṇarāyapuram* at the time of the grant. The village was situated on the south bank of the river *Kāvēri* in the *Tiruvālūr-sīmā* of the *Chōla-maṇḍala*, belonged to the *Śuttavāḷichōḍa-vaḷanāḍu* and was in the *sthala* (sub-division) of *Ālaṅguḍi*; it was bounded on the west by *Mānāvarinallūr*, on the north by *Kōṅgarāyanallūr*, on the east by *Tirukaḷambūdūr*, and on the south by *Vēlaṅguḍi*.

The village itself seems to have been situated on the bank of the rivulet called the *Rushī* river. In the Tamil portion the boundaries of *Veḍambūr-Yēkāmbārapuram* are given as follows :—*Tirukaḷambūr* on the east; *Tirukaḷambūr* and *Vēlānguḍi* on the south-east; *Vēlānguḍi*, and *Śēdirāyanallūr* on the south; on the south-west *Śēdirāyanallūr* and *Mānāvarinallūr*; on the west *Mānāvarinallūr*; on the north-west the same (?); on the north *Kōṅgarāyanallūr*, and the same on the north-east. It was divided into thirty-two shares and distributed among *Brāhmaṇas* who had different *gōtras*, *sūtras* and *śākhās*. The names of the *Brāhmaṇas*, however, are not given as promised. One share each was given to the gods *Vishṇu* and *Śiva* in the village; and the *sāsana*-engraver *Mallaṇāchārya* gets, as usual, one share for his work.

Regarding the date, the Hon'ble Mr. L. D. Swamikkanun Pillai, C.I.E., kindly furnishes us with the following note :—

" Ś. 1450, Sarvajit; Monday, Utthāna-Dvādaśī, in the month of Kārttika.

Kārttika Śu. 12 is called Utthāna-Dvādaśī (*Ind. Ephemeris*, p. XIX). In A.D. 1527=Ś. 1450 (current) Sarvajit, Utthāna-Dvādaśī or Kārttika Śu. 12 fell on Monday, 4th November A.D. 1527: the *tithi* commenced at 19 *ghaṭikās* after mean sun-rise on Monday and came to end on Tuesday at 15½ *ghaṭikās* after mean sun-rise."

At the end of the inscription we are told that the composer of the document was *Sabhāpati*, and the engraver *Mallaṇāchārya*, son of *Viraṇāchārya*.

The following are the names of places, etc., mentioned in the record :—*Ēkāmbārapuram*, *Vaḍambūr* or *Veḍambūr*, *Tiruvālūr*, *Śūttavaḷichōḍa-vaḷanāḍu*, *Ālaṅguḍi*, *Mānāvarinallūr*, *Kōṅgarāyanallūr*, *Tirukaḷambūdūr* or *Tirukaḷambūr*, *Śēdirāyanallūr*, *Vēlānguḍi* and the rivers *Kāvērī* and *Rushī*. Of these *Tiruvālūr* has already been identified with the town of that name in the *Negapatam* Taluk; *Śūttavaḷichōḍa-vaḷanāḍu*, which is one of the divisions of the *Chōḷa* days, takes its name from the village whose modern spelling is *Śittamalli* and which is situated in the *Mannārguḍi* Taluk; *Ālaṅguḍi*, *Kōṅgarāyanallūr*, *Tirukaḷambūr* and *Vēlānguḍi* are in the *Nannilam* Taluk of the *Tanjore* District. We are not able to identify *Vaḍambūr*, *Ēkāmbārapuram*, *Mānāvarinallūr*, *Śēdirāyanallūr* and the river *Rushī*.

B.

TEXT.¹

[Metres : v. 25, *Sragdharā*; vv. 26-43, 45-46, *Anuṣṭubh*; v. 44, *Śalini*.]

(Lines 1 to 52 have been omitted, as they agree with the text of the *Conjeeveram* Plates of the same king published on pp. 126-29 of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII.)

Second Plate: First Side.

- 53 * * * सुयौदार्यं सुधोमिः स विजयनगरे रत्नशि³हासन-
 54 [ख] [ः*] क्षमापालः⁴ कण्ठरायः(ः)चित्तिपतिरधरीकृत्य नीत्या वृगादो-
 55 [न्] । [आ]पूर्वाद्रेरथास्तुचितिधरकटकादा च हेमा[च]लाता⁵[दा से]-
 56 तार(र)र्थिसार्थः(ः)श्रियमिह बह्वीकृत्य कीर्ति⁶समिधे ॥ २५* ॥ शालिवा-
 57 [ह]ननिनी⁷[ते*] शकादे सचतुः[*]शतैः[*] । पंचाशद्वर्षकै⁸[युंते*] सख्या-
 तं [द*]शभिः[*] शतैः[ते] । २६*

¹ From inked impressions prepared under the supervision of Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao.

² Read सुयौदार्यः.

³ Read शि.

⁴ Read क्षमापालान्.

⁵ Read न.।

⁶ [का.] कीर्त्यासामिधे ..

⁷ Read शै.

⁸ Read २.

⁹ Read संख्याते.

- 58 सर्वजिह्वरे श्लाघ्ये कार्तिके चंद्रवासरे । चथा²नद्वादशीति-
 59 [इ]यापुं³स्थकाले शुभे दिने ।[२७*] तंगभद्रानदीतीर(रे) विरुपाक्ष⁴
 संनि-
 60 धौ । अयहारचकीर्षायो⁵ परमप्रीतिमां(।)⁶ तदा ।[२८*] विचित्राणि
 च [गो]-
 61 [त्र]ाणि [सूत्राणि*] विविधानि च । शास्त्राश्च विविधास्त्वानि⁷ नामानि
 विवि-
 62 [ध]ानि च ।[२९*] विभ्राणेभ्या⁸ द्विजाति[भ्यो] वेदविद्भ्यो विश⁹ षत[ः।*]
 भूदान-
 63 [प]ाचभूतेभ्यो विभूतेभ्योधिमेदिनी¹⁰ ।[३०*] चाडमंडलसंमध¹¹तिह-]
 64 [व]ालूरिसीमनि । ¹²शुत्तवकीचोडवळना[डु]भासंगुडिस्थले ।[३१*] क[र]-
 65 वेरिदक्षिणझागे सर्वसंस्थापशाभिते¹³ । मानवारोचने[झू]रुप्रा-¹⁴
 66 थां दिशिमुपाशितुं¹⁵ ।[३२*] कोम¹⁶रायास्थने[झू]रुदक्षिण[स्थां दिशि]

Second Plate: Second Side.

- 67 [स्त्रि]तुं¹⁷ । ¹⁸तिहकळंश्रीवूदूरुपचमायां दिशि स्थित¹⁹ [॥ ३३*]
 68 वेलांगुडिवर(।)ग्रामादुदीच्या दिशिमा²⁰श्रितं [।*] वृषीन[द्या]-
 69 स्थिततीरग्रामपचमत²¹श्रितं ।[३४*] वडंबूरिसमं²² नाम येकां-
 70 वरपुरं तथा । प्रतिनाम क्रिष्णरायपुरमित्यभिशाभितं²³ ।[३५*] ग्राम[म]-²⁴
 71 ग्रामार्थं मस्यव²⁵ चारग्राममज्जोतकं । ²⁶तग्रामपूर्वदिग्भागे सुच[च]-
 72 [वलि]मासकं²⁷ ।[३६*] निधनिचपपाषाणसिध²⁸साध्यजलान्वयः²⁹ । अक्षि-
 73 स्थागामिसंयुक्तं समस्तवलयान्वित[म्*] [॥ ३७*] पुत्रपौत्रादिभिः(ः)भोष्यं क्र[मा]-

¹ [The reading is चंद्र and must be corrected into चंद्र.--Ed.]

² Read °त्वा.

⁵ Read प्या: पु.

⁴ Read °कस्य.

³ Read यां.

⁶ Read °मांसं.

⁷ Read °सानि.

⁸ Read थी.

⁹ Read श्री.

¹⁰ Read विष्° and °मेदिनि.

¹¹ Read °वीक्ष° and °संवक्ष°.

¹² Read °माडावा°.

¹³ Read कावेर्या दक्षिणे भागे सर्वसंस्थोपश्रीभिते.

¹⁴ Read मानावरिनझू as in ll. 84 and 86 below.

¹⁵ Read प्राचीं दिक्षमुपाशितम्.

¹⁶ Read क.

¹⁷ Read तम्.

¹⁸ Lines 80 and 82 below read तिहकळंश्रीवूदूरु without the penultimate consonant दू.

¹⁹ Read पक्ष° and °स्थितम्.

²⁰ Read °दीचीं दिक्षमा°.

²¹ Read दिसतःस्त्रि° [स्थ at the beginning of the line must be changed into व°.—Ed.]

²² The *anusvāra* on म is merged slightly in the top line of the next letter. Read एकां.

²³ Read प्रतिनामा कक्ष and श्रीभितम्.

²⁴ There is a dot on श्री resembling an *anusvāra*.

²⁵ Read °मस्येव.

²⁶ Read तद्गम°.

²⁷ Read सुचेमावलिमसक.

²⁸ Read निक्षेप and सिद्ध.

²⁹ Read °नितम्.

- 74 [दा]चंद्रतारव । सङ्घि[र*]स्वपयोधारापूर्वकं दक्षबाण्यदा¹ ।[३८*] तथ
 75 [दा]चिंशतिं² त्रिजितिकक्षा[र]त्वा समाहितः । त्रिजितिमंतो विनि[क्ष्यं]-
 76 ते [वे]दवेदांगपारगाः ॥[३९*] स्वयामदेवयोखेव शैववैष्णवया³रपि
 77 । ब्रूवानेवेत्यभोगार्थं त्रिजितिराद्या [स*]मर्पितं ॥[४०*]

Third Plate : First Side.

- 78 तैस्त⁴समन्विताखिलै दिक्षु प्राच्यादिष⁵ क्रमात् । सोमनुसा⁶यद्या-
 79 रण्य लिख्य[न*]ते द्वेष्टभाषया ॥ ४१*] वेडंबूरयेकांवरपुरतुक्¹⁰ प्रतिनाम-
 80 मान कि¹¹ण्णरायपुरतुक्¹² येस्ते¹³ विवर¹⁴ [।*] किळकि¹⁵ तिरुक्कळंबूरिति¹⁶
 81 येस्ते चंदु¹⁷ मंनेरु नडुविलु वामनमुद्रक¹⁸ ॥ चा[ग्ने]यत्त[कु]¹⁹ ति[र]-
 82 कळंबूरि²⁰ वलाळंडि वेडंबूरि[र*] यत्त चंदु¹⁷ [कु]ळडिन वामनमुद्रक¹⁸-
 83 कु ॥ तिरुक्क वे[लां]कुडि शेरिरायनक²² वेड(।)बूर[रं][न*] येस्ते चेंदु¹⁷ कूडि-
 84 न वामनमुद्रक²³ ॥ तेंमेलमूले²⁴ शेरिरायनक²⁵ मानावरी-²⁶
 85 नकूर वेडंबूरि[न*] येस्ते चेंदु¹⁷ कूडिन²⁷ मुक्कशि²⁸ वामनमुद्र[क*]कु²⁹ ॥
 86 मेकु मानावरिनकू[र*] येस्ते चेंदु¹⁷ कूडिन²⁷ वामनमुद्रक²³ ॥ ते-
 87 कु²⁸ वडमळ मूलशार²⁹ येस्ते चेंदु¹⁷ कूडिन वामनमुद्रक²³ ॥ वड[कु]-
 88 शार [को]गरायनेकू[र*] यत्त चेंदु¹⁷ कूडिन वामनमुद्रक²³ ॥ वडके-
 89 डकमूले³⁰ कोगरायनेकू[र*] वेडंबूरि³¹ येस्ते चंदु¹⁷ कूडिन वामनमु[द्र]-
 90 क²³ ॥ —॥ येस्ते³³ भगिनो लाके सर्वधामा³³व भूभुजां [।*] न भोज्या
 न कर-
- 91 याज्ञा विप्रदत्ता³⁴ वसंधरा ॥[४२*] दानपालनयोमं ध्ये दानाच्छेयोनुपा-
 92 लनं । दानात्स्वर्गमवाप्नोति पालनाद[च्छु]तं पदं ॥[४३*] सामान्योयं ध-

¹ Read °मुदा.

² Read ख.

³ Read ठति° and °र्पिता.

⁴ Read तैस्ते.

⁵ Read प्राच्यादिषु. The secondary ऽ symbol of प्रा looks like a line representing a stop rather than like the secondary symbol.

⁶ Read सीमानोसा°.

⁷ Read °तुक्.

⁸ Read लिख्ये.

⁹ Read नडुविलु and °मुद्रक.

¹⁰ Read तैस्ते वे°.

¹¹ Read तैस्ते मूले.

¹² Read मुक्कशि.

¹³ Read वेडंबूरि.

¹⁴ Read चा.

¹⁵ Read चाचिंशतं ठती; कण्णयिरवा.

¹⁶ Read यो.

¹⁷ Read तैस्ते ख° and °दिक्षु.

¹⁸ Read तैस्ते ख° and °दिक्षु.

¹⁹ Read तैस्ते ख° and °दिक्षु.

²⁰ Read तैस्ते ख° and °दिक्षु.

²¹ Read तैस्ते ख° and °दिक्षु.

²² Read तैस्ते ख° and °दिक्षु.

²³ Read तैस्ते ख° and °दिक्षु.

²⁴ Read तैस्ते ख° and °दिक्षु.

²⁵ Read तैस्ते ख° and °दिक्षु.

²⁶ Read तैस्ते ख° and °दिक्षु.

²⁷ Read तैस्ते ख° and °दिक्षु.

²⁸ Read तैस्ते ख° and °दिक्षु.

²⁹ Read ठति°.

³⁰ Read ख.

³¹ Read ख.

³² Read ख.

³³ Read ख.

³⁴ Read ख.

³⁵ Read ख.

³⁶ Read ख.

³⁷ Read ख.

³⁸ Read ख.

³⁹ Read ख.

⁴⁰ Read ख.

⁴¹ Read ख.

⁴² Read ख.

- 93 मयतुं नृ^१पासां [काले*] काल^२ 'पोलनीया भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतां^३ भाविनः [पा]-
 94 र्विवेद्रा^४ भूयो भूयो याचते रामचंद्रः ॥[४४*] कृष्णदेवमहारायशासने-
 95 न सभापतिः । 'युक्तवाङ्मुदसंदत्तं तदिदं तांबुशासनं ॥[४५] मङ्गणाचा-
 96 [र्य]वर्य्य[*] श्रीवीरणाचार्य्यनंदनः । आकल्पमश्रुतायेक^५ त्रित्ति^६ शास-
 97 नलेखकः ॥—॥ [४६*]
 98 श्रीविरुपक्ष^७ ॥[*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

(Verses 26-40.) In the year one thousand four hundred and fifty of the Śaka era, corresponding to the (cyclic) year Sarvajit, on Monday in the month Kārttika and the Uttara-dvādaśī tithi, the king Kṛishṇadēva-Mahārāya granted as an *agrahāra* the village of Vaḍambūr-Ēkāmbārapuram to a number of Brāhmaṇas of various *gōtras*, *sūtras*, *śākhās* and of different names, who are well versed in the *Vēdas*, fit to receive land-grant and well known. The village granted was in the Tiruvālūr-sima and belonged to the Chōla-maṇḍala; it was situated in the Ālaṅguḍi-sthala in the Śuttavāliḥōḍa-vaḷanāḍu, on the south of the river Kāvēri. It stood to the east of Mānāvarinallūr, to the south of Koṅgarāyanellūr, to the west of Tirukaḷambūdūr and to the north of the village of Vēlāṅguḍi, on the river Rushi. The village was divided into thirty-two shares and given to learned Brāhmaṇas by the pouring of water together with gold. One share was given to each of the gods Śiva and Viṣṇu in that village. (The rest of the plate is left unengraved, perhaps it was meant to fill up the names of donees.)

[V. 41 states that the boundaries, etc., will be given in the language of the country in which the village is situated.]

(Ll. 79-90.) The details of the boundaries, of Kṛishṇarāyapuram alias Vaḍambūr-Ēkāmbārapuram are:—

On the east the boundary line joins the boundary of Tirukaḷambūr and touches the stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā* in the middle of Munnēru.

On the south-east the stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā* at the point where Tirukaḷambūr and Vēlāṅguḍi join the boundary of Veḍambūr.

On the south the stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā* at the point where Vēlāṅguḍi and Śēdiyarāyanallūr join the boundary of Veḍambūr.

At the south-west corner the stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā* at the meeting point where Śēdiyarāyanallūr and Mānāvarinallūr join the boundary of Veḍambūr.

On the west the boundary line joins the boundary of Mānāvarinallūr and touches the stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā*.

At the north-west corner the stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā*.

On the north the boundary line joins the boundary of Koṅgarāyanellūr and touches the stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā*; and

On the north-east the stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā* at the point where Koṅgarāyanellūr meets the boundary of Veḍambūr.

[Vv. 41-43. The usual admonitory verses.]

[V. 44 states that Sabhāpati composed the document at the command of Kṛishṇadēva-Mahārāya.]

[V. 45. Allots one share to the engraver of the *śīsana*, Mallanāchārya, son of Viranāchārya.]

(L. 98.) Śrī-Virūpāksha, (the sign-manual of the king.)

^१ Read 'मेतु नृ'.

^२ Read काले पालनीयो.

^३ Read दान्.

^४ Read 'वेन्द्रान्.

^५ Read 'उक्तवाङ्मुदसंदत्तं' तदिदं तांबुशासनं.

^६ Read 'तलेखक'.

^७ Read वृत्ति.

^८ Written in Telugu-Kannada script. Read 'विरुपक्ष'.

No. 22.—INSCRIPTIONS OF HULI.

By LIONEL D. BARNETT.

The village of **Hūli**, anciently termed **Pūli**, lies in circa long. 75° 14', lat. 15° 47½',¹ about five miles east-by-north of Saundatti, the chief town of the Parasgaḍ Taluk of the Belgaum District. It was formerly a town of considerable importance, and was one of the "Eighteen Agrahāras" (*Dynasties of the Kan. Distr.*, p. 443n.), as some of its inscriptions testify. In his *Archæological Survey of Western India: Report of the First Season's Operations* (1874), pp. 12-14, Dr. Burgess has given an account of its chief architectural remains; and in 1882 the late Dr. Fleet made a survey of its epigraphic records, as a result of which a number of ink-impressions were prepared for him, which are now in the possession of the Trustees of the British Museum.² Of this collection the texts published below are the most important. Their provenance is as follows :—

- A (a *vīra-gal*), of A.D. 985, from the north of the Bhīmēśvara or Andhakēśvara temple.
- B (Jain), of A.D. 1044-45 and 1145, from the temple of Virabhadra.
- C (Vaishṇava), of A.D. 1082, from the same temple.
- D (of the cult of Harihara), of A.D. 1097, from the same temple.
- E (Śaiva), of A.D. 1104, 1162, 1184, and 1224, from the temple of Madanēśvara.
- F (Śaiva), of A.D. 1107, from the temple of Kere-Siddhappa.
- G (a *vīra-gal*), of A.D. 1107, from a site north of the Bhīmēśvara temple.
- H (Jain), date lost, from the Pañcha-līṅga temple.
- I-J (Śaiva), from the same temple.
- K (Śaiva), from the Bhīmēśvara temple.
- L (Vaishṇava), of A.D. 1162, from the Virakta-maṭha.
- M (Vaishṇava), of A.D. 1162, from the Agastyēśvara temple.

Of these temples the largest is the **Pañcha-līṅga**, on which see Burgess, *First Arch. Report*, pl. xv and xvi. Burgess attributes it to about A.D. 1100. It was originally Jain, as is shown by the figure of a Jina on the lintel, and by some Jain inscriptions, one of which, carved over the lintel of a door, records some building executed by the lay-disciples of Prabhāchandra Siddhāntadēva in the Śaka year (lapsed) 114[2], corresponding to the cyclic year Vikrama, i.e. A.D. 1220-21. Now, as the name implies, it has been converted to the service of the Śaiva cult. The temple of **Virabhadra** is a modern and insignificant building near the tank, which lies on the north-east of the village. That of **Bhīmēśvara**, which the villagers seemed inclined to call **Andhakēśvara**, lies on the north of the village, in Survey No. 693. It was already partially ruined in 1882, and was covered by a rank growth of prickly pear. It is in the Dravidian style, without porch, and contains two shrines, one at the east end and one at the west. The temple of **Madanēśvara**, as the villagers call it (it is termed **Andhakēśvara** by Sir Walter Elliot, but the inscriptions call it the temple of **Andhāsura**), lies to the north of the village, a little way up the hill, in Survey No. 688. It is a Śaiva sanctuary of the Dravidian order, containing a porch, open *maṇṭapa*, and shrine with *līṅga*. The **Agastyēśvara** is a sandstone temple, situated on the eastern bank of the Nāgara Bhāvi, a well or small tank on the north of the tank marked in Survey No. 694; it is of the Dravidian order, and consists of a porch (now ruined), walled *maṇṭapa*, and shrine with *līṅga*. The temple of **Kere-Siddhap-**

¹ This is the situation according to the Bombay Survey sheet No. 305, where it is entered as "Kaaba Huli." In the Indian Atlas sheet 41 (1852), where the name is spelt "Hoolee," it is a little further towards the east.

² To the same departed friend I owe drafts of the texts, which have greatly lightened the labour of making my own transcripts, and some notes on the archæological remains of Hūli.

pa, or "Siddhappa of the Tank," stands on the eastern side of the tank marked in Survey No. 694, towards the north-east of the village. It is of sandstone, of the Dravidian order, containing a shrine with *līṅga*, walled *maṇṭapa*, and porch (now in ruins). The **Virakṭa-maṭha** is (or was) a building in the north-eastern part of the village, which served for lodging ascetics.

The Elliot Collection (Royal Asiatic Society's copy) contains transcripts of nine of these inscriptions: D. is given in vol. 1, fol. 233a, E. ib., fol. 284b, F. ib., fol. 307a, G. ib., fol. 306b, H. ib., fol. 412a, I. in vol. 2, fol. 374b, J. ib., fol. 374b, K. ib., fol. 375a, and M. ib., fol. 11a. As usual, these transcripts leave much to be desired.

A.—OF THE REIGN OF TAILA II : SAKA 907.

The following inscription is incised upon a black stone which was found to the north of the Bhīmēśvara or Andhakēśvara temple, on the west bank of the Akkataṅgēra-bhāvi, in Survey No. 693. The slab was set in a base, and was 5 ft. 2 in. in height and 2 ft. 1 in. broad. It was a *vīra-gal*, or hero's monument, and in accordance with the usual practice was divided into horizontal compartments, four containing sculptures and three writing. Of the sculptures I have been unable to obtain particulars. The first compartment of the writing (about $5\frac{1}{4}$ " high) contains ll. 1-4, the second (about $3\frac{1}{4}$ " high) ll. 5-9, the third (about $2\frac{1}{2}$ " high) ll. 10-11. The inscription is fairly well preserved, and is in good Kanarese script, with letters between $\frac{1}{2}$ " and $\frac{3}{4}$ " in height. The special form of *y* noted above, Vol. XII, p. 336, seems to occur in *bhaṇḍiy*, l. 3.—The language is Old Kanarese: ll. 1-4 are in prose, and then come three verses. The forms are those of a transitional period: thus we find the short accusative and genitive, the locative in *-oḷ* (ll. 5-8, 10), and the verbal forms *irdan* (l. 5), *īldan* (l. 7), *sandar* (l. 4), beside the archaic verbal forms *āntoran* (l. 5) and *kūḍidon* (l. 8). The word *eltus* apparently the original of the later *ettu*, seems to occur in *bhaṇḍiy=eltam*, l. 3. The *l* is not preserved, except in *negaḷda* (ll. 8-9).

The record is of the usual type of *vīra-gal*. It announces that on a certain date Dadda payya, a *pergaḍe* or official in the service of Sōbhanayya, made a raid upon Pāli, whereupon Kendara Kēta, Eṇevitta, and Tambada Kēta attacked his party, slew the leader, his horse, and three of his men, and died the death of heroes. Verses 1-2 (ll. 5-9) eulogise Kendara Kēta; the mutilated and obscure verse 3 mentions a certain Kendara Maṇasiṅga as dying heroically in battle.

The date of this record is: Śaka 907 expired, the cyclic year Pārthiva; the full moon of Chaitra; Budhavāra, or Wednesday (ll. 1-2). These details are slightly irregular: the *tithi* Chaitra *śukla* 15 of the given year corresponded to Monday, 9 March, A.D. 985, on which day it ended about 16 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise, and it cannot have been connected with the Wednesday.¹

The only place mentioned is Pāli, i.e. Hūli (l. 2).

TEXT.²

[The metres are: verse 1, *Mattēbha-vikrīḍita*; verse 2, *Kanda*. The fragmentary verse 3 may possibly be a *Dvipada*.]

- 1 (©) Svasti [! *] Sa(śa)ka-nṛipa-kāḷ-ātita-samvatsaramga³ 907neya Pārthiva-samvatsarada
2 Chaitrada puṇṇame Budhavāradandu Sōbhanayyana pergaḍe Daddapayyam
Pūliya po-

¹ I am indebted to Mr. R. Sewell for the verification of my calculations of this and the other dates in the present paper.

² From the ink-impression.

³ Abbreviated for *samvatsara-saṁgaṅga*.

- 3 lada bhaṇḍiy¹=e|taṁ kemman=akāraṇaṁ koṇḍu pōge Kendara Kētanuṁ Ereviṭ-
tanuṁ Tambada
- 4 Kētanuṁ parichchē(chchhē)daṁ-geyda māvaruṁ mēl-ā|uṁ kudureyuma[m*].
kondu mōkshakke sandar [||*]
- 5 Durado|kāydu kaḍaṁgi poṁgi maled=ōr-ant=iḍdan=eytanda² machcharadind=
ātoran=Anta-
- 6 kaṁg=iḍaḍ[e*] kol-chand=ikki mikki vasuṁ[dh]areyo|tan[n]=adaṭuṁ patāpamu=
ad=ā rāj-ōttamaṁ pe[r]chchi³
- 7 Kendara Kēta[m*] vara-Vāsav-ā[m*]ganeyaro| kūḍ-i|dan-ā svarggado| || [1*]
Tōḍuṁ bīḍuṁ=ad=uḍuga-
- 8 de pād=arid=echch=āji-raṁgado| vājiya[n]=a|k-āḍi sur-ā[m*]ganeyaro|aṁ kūḍidon=
ēm kaliye nega-
- 9 lda Ken[dara Kētaṁ ||] [2*]
- 10 Si[m]gam=ibhaṁgaṁ nuḡuv=ante⁴ tara⁵ . . gi saṁgado| kaḷida Kendara
Maṛasiṁ-
- 11 gaṁ me . . . m gaṇḍan=adaṭaṇō || [3*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-4.) Hail! On Wednesday, the full-moon day of Chaitra of the 907th (year) of the centuries elapsed from the time of the Śaka king, the cyclic year Pārthiva, when Śōbhanayya's officer Daddapayya without right or reason was carrying away the cart-oxen(?) of the fields of Pāli, Kendara Kēta and Ereviṭta and Tambada Kēta, slaying the three men forming the division, the leader, and his horse, attained salvation.

(Verse 1.) He stood worthily fighting in the fray, burning, striving, boiling: when, advancing,⁶ with indignation he despatched his adversaries to the Death-god, exercising the opportunity for slaughter (?), his prowess and majesty were extraordinary on this earth; and this noble prince becoming great, Kendara Kēta was united in paradise to Indra's goodly damsels.

(V. 2.) Shooting on the stage of battle his arrows with understanding of the right manner, so that the fitting (of the shafts on the bow-string) and their discharge did not slacken, when he was exhausted he espoused the celestial ladies: what a hero is the illustrious Kendara Kēta!

(V. 3.) As a lion crushes elephants . . . Kendara Maṛasiṁga, who passed away in battle . . . what a man of valour and spirit!

B.—OF THE REIGNS OF SOMESVARA I AND JAGADEKAMALLA II:

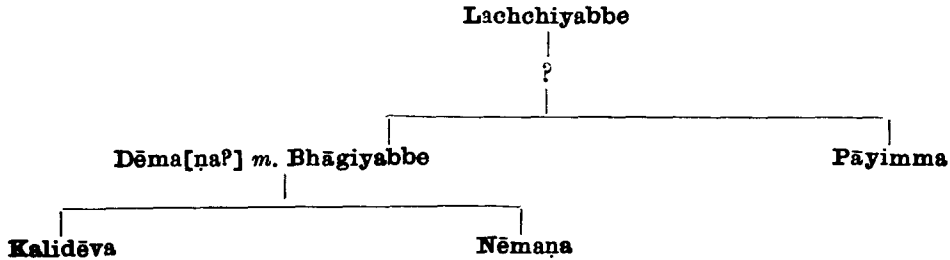
SAKA 966 AND 1067.

This record is carved on a black stone set upright in the ground against the outside of the western face of the Virabhadra temple (see above). The stone when found was 4 ft. 7 in. high and 1 ft. 8 in. wide. The upper compartment, which was rounded on the top, contained sculptures, viz., in the centre, a squatting Jina facing to the front, with a cow and calf on the proper right and a scimitar on the left, while above these was the sun (to left) and moon (to right). The inscribed area below this is 3 ft. 1 in. high and 1 ft. 7½ in. wide.—The character is Old Kanarese, the average height of the letters in ll. 1-2 being from ⅞ in. to ⅝ in.

¹ The *y* is uncertain.² For *perchche*?³ The *t* is somewhat uncertain: it is written very small, below the line.⁴ Reading *eytanda* for the *eytanda* of the stone.⁵ Perhaps to be corrected to *eytanda*.⁶ The *e* is not quite clear.

and in l. 3 from $\frac{5}{16}$ in. to $\frac{3}{8}$ in., after which it increases gradually to between $\frac{1}{4}$ in. to $\frac{1}{2}$ in. It is a fairly good type of the script used in the middle of the 12th century A.D. (see below).—The language is throughout Old Kanarese, verse and prose, with the exception of the introductory Sanskrit verse. The *l* is not preserved : instead we find *ḷ* in *ḷḷgeyam* (l. 12), *pogaḷut-* (l. 13), *podalḍa* (l. 16), *nālke* (l. 16), *pēḷu* (l. 20), *pēḷ* (l. 54), and on the other hand *r* in *erḍḍa* (l. 6) and *negarḍḍa* (ll. 12, 18). On the instrumental *artthiye* (l. 14) see above, Vol. XIV, p. 27, n. 9. Of some lexical interest are the words *chaṭṭa-samaya* (l. 9), (ʔ)*āyavana* (l. 9), *linḱad-amka-pālaka* (l. 14), and *aḍḍa-chinna* (ll. 35, 49).

The record is a double one, containing two endowments, the first of which is dated in Śaka 966 and the second in Śaka 1067. It was actually written in its present form in the latter year, as is proved by the absence of comminatory formulæ and the character of the script. The first part refers itself to the reign of Āhavamalla (Sōmēśvara I) in ll. 3-5, and then proceeds to celebrate in verse his feudatory Kāladiya Bōḷgaḍi (or Bōḍgaḍi), the governor of a Ninety-six district, whose son Pāyimma married Hammikabbe and by her had two daughters, Bhāgeṇabbe and Lachchale or Lachchiyabbe. Lachchale married a governor of the Kūṇḍi Three-thousand, and was a generous benefactress of religion (ll. 5-15). After some verses in praise of Pūli and the thousand Brāhmaṇ burgesses of that town (ll. 15-20) comes a prose statement that these burgesses sold to Lachchiyabbe an estate, on which she constructed a Jain sanctuary, assigning certain lands for the maintenance thereof, and appointing as trustee Baḷachandra-Bhaṭṭarakadēva (ll. 20-37). Then begins the second document (ll. 37-54), which announces that in the reign of Jḡgadēkamalla (II) a local *pergaḍe* named Nēmaṇa or Nēmayya, having purchased some land from the burgesses of Pūli, made a further endowment to the same sanctuary for the maintenance of the ascetics residing in it, the trustee being a certain Rāmachandradēva. This Nēmaṇa was a great-grandson of the above-mentioned Lachchiyabbe, his pedigree being as follows :—



The document then ends somewhat abruptly, without any concluding formulæ.

This record, being twofold, contains two dates. The first is given on ll. 20-22 as : Śaka 966 expired, the cyclic year Tāraṇa, Pushya śuddha 10, Ādivāra (Sunday), the *uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti*. These details have been recently examined by Mr. A. Venkatasubbiah in *Some Śaka Dates in Inscriptions*, p. 129, who remarks as follows : "Tāraṇa by the northern luni-solar system = Ś. 966 = A.D. 1042. In this year, śu. 10 of the lunar month Pushya ended at 44 gh. 21 p. after mean sunrise on 24th December, on which day, the Makara-saṅkrānti occurred at 14 gh. 38 p. after mean sunrise according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta. The week-day however was Friday and not Sunday. In the solar month Pushya, i.e. Makara or Tai, [Māgha]-śu. 10 ended at 11 gh. 36 p. after mean sunrise on Sunday, 23rd January, A.D. 1043. The [Kumbha]-saṅkrānti, which occurred at 41 gh. 32 p. (S.S.) after mean sunrise on the preceding Saturday, fell, i.e. was observed, on this Sunday. This day, therefore,—Sunday, 23rd January, A.D. 1043—is the regular equivalent of the given date."¹

¹ Kielhorn in his *List of Southern Inscriptions* (above, Vol. VII, App., No. 159) gives as the equivalent Sunday 23 December, A.D. 1044. [But the *tiṭhi* ought to be the first and not the 10th; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV, p. 6, No. 148.—Ed.].

The second date is given on ll. 40-41 as: Śaka 1067 (expired), the cyclic year Krōdhana, the *uttarāyana-saṁkrānti*. Naturally this cannot be verified. The *saṁkrānti* took place 20 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise on Monday, 24 December, A.D. 1145, and 1 Makara was accordingly reckoned as corresponding to Tuesday, 25 December.

The places mentioned, besides Pūli, are Kūṇḍi (l. 14), the Beḷvala-nāḍu (l. 16), Śiveyagēri (ll. 34, 47), Kaḷaśavalligēri (l. 48), and a nameless Ninety-six district (l. 6). For Beḷvala see above, Vol. XIII, p. 40. On the Kūṇḍi Three-thousand see I. A., Vol. XXIX, p. 278. The other places I am unable to identify. Kaḷaśavalligēri was a parish (*kēri*) in Pūli.

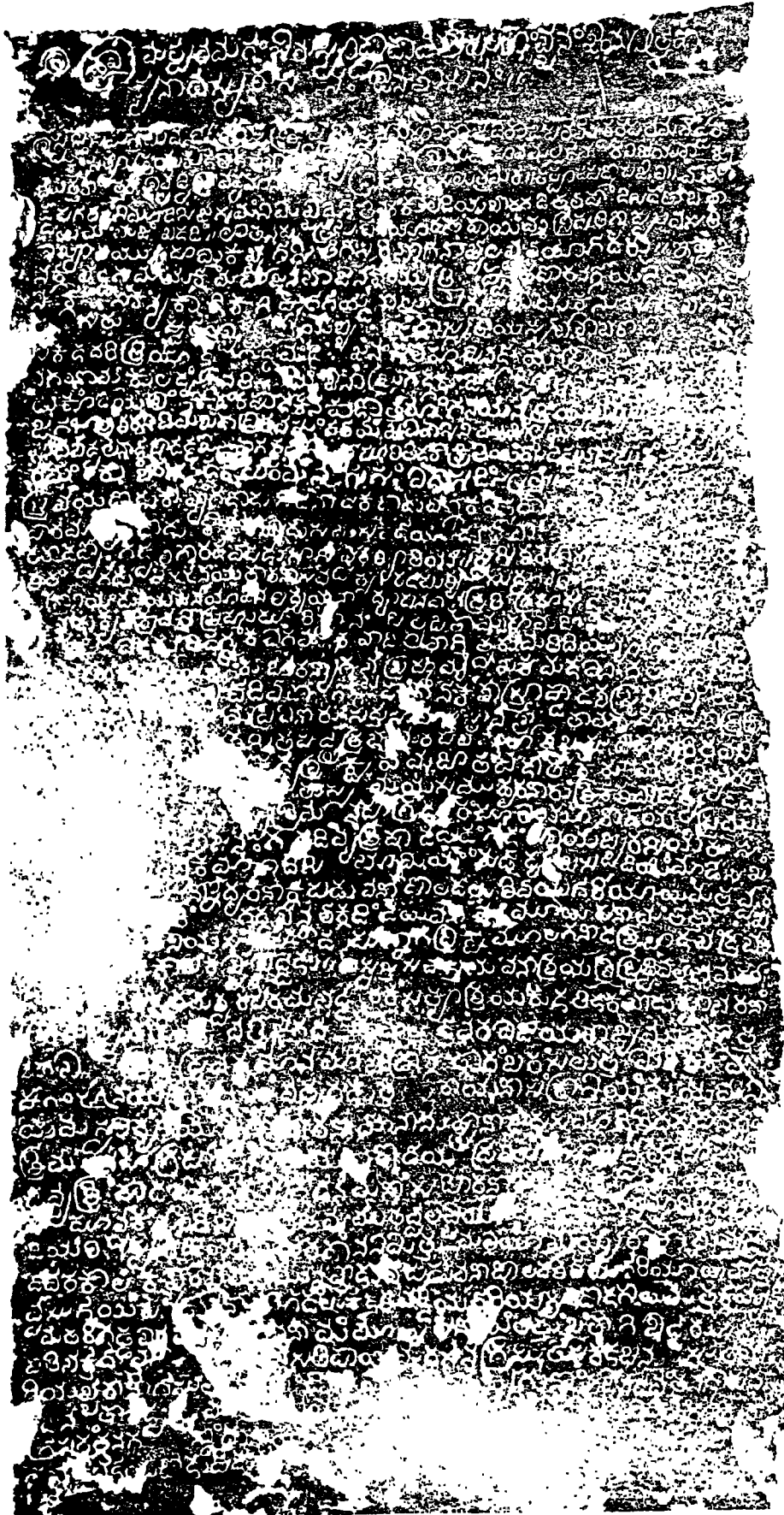
TEXT.¹

[The metres are as follows: verse 1, *Anuṣṭubh*; verses 2, 3, and 8, *Kanda*; verse 4, *Uṭpala-mālā*; verses 5 and 6, *Champaka-mālā*; verses 7 and 9, *Mattēbha-vikrīḍita*.]

- 1 ① Śrīmat-parama-gaṁbhīra-syādvād-āmōgha-lāṁchcha(chchha)naṁ [1*] jiyā[t*]
trailō-
- 2 kya-nāthasya śāsanam Jina-śāsanam || [1*]
- 3 ② Svasti [1*] Samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Pṛthvi-vallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara
paramabhaṭṭāra-
- 4 kaṁ Satyāśraya-kuḷa-tīlakam Chāḷuky-ābharaṇam śrīmad-Āhavamalladēvara
vijaya-rājya-
- 5 m=uttar-ōttar-ābhivṛddhi-pravarddhamānam=ā-chandr-ārka-tāram saluttam=ire ||
Tat-pāda-padma-ōpajīvi || Mēl-e-
- 6 rddā² pagevaram nirmūḷi(li)si jasamaṁ nimircchi dig-bhitti-varam Kāḷaḍiya
Bōḷagaḍi³ tale⁴ pāli(li)sidaṁ Tombat-ā-
- 7 ṛumam bhuja-baḷadim || [2*] Ātana putram vinay-ōpētam Pāyimmma-nri(nṛi)patig-
oppuva sati
- 8 vikhyāti-yute Hammikabbege Sitege sari Bhāgeṇabbe Lachchaley=ogedaru ||
[3*] Ishta-ja-
- 9 nakke chaṭṭa-samayakke mahājana-bhōjanakkey=utkri(kṛi)ṣṭa-tapōra(dha)narggey-
alid=āyava-
- 10 nakke sa-kaṁnyak-ālik-a(a)gnisṭageg=eyde nālku-samayakk=anurāgade bēgav⁵=im-
tu saṁtushṭate Lachchiyabbarasig=ār=ssati(ri)yar=ssa-char-āchar-ōrvviyoḷu || [4*]
- 12 Sakāḷa-dharitriyoḷ=negardda(lda) vaṁdi-janam sale rūpin=ēḷgeyam prakāṭate-vetta dā-
na-guṇamaṁ kuḷad=umnatyam Jin-āṁghrigalg=akuṭiḷa-chittamaṁ pogalut-i[r]ppu-
- 13 du Kūṁḍiya⁶ līṁkad=aṁka-pāḷakana kuḷ-ōttam-āṁganeyan=artthiye Lachchaladēvi-
yam
- 15 jagam [③ 5*] ③ Śaranidhi-mēkhaḷ-āvri(vṛi)ta-vasumdharey=emba viḷāsini-mukh-
āmburuhava(da)vōl=virāji-
- 16 suva Beḷvala-nālke(lge) podalḍa śōbheg=āgaram=eni[s-i]rppa Pūli tīlak-ākri(kṛi)-
tiyiṁd=esed-irppud=ā puram sura-pu-
- 17 ramam Kubēran=Aḷakāpuramaṁ nagugum viḷāsadiṁ ④ [6*] Alli || Sakāḷa-
vyākaraṇ-ārthha-śā-
- 18 ātra-chayadoḷu kāvyamgaḷoḷu saṁda nāṭakadoḷu varṇa-kavitvadoḷ=negardda(lda)
vēdāntamgaḷoḷu
- 19 pāramā[rt]th[ika]doḷu lauki[ka]doḷu samasta-kaḷeyoḷu Vāgīśanimdam yaśo-dhi-

¹ From the ink-impression.² i.e., *elḍa*.³ Or possibly *Bōdagaḍi*.⁴ For *sale*?⁵ Or possibly *chāgav*.⁶ [The *akṣara li* looks like *bi* on the plate—Ed.]

Huli Stone Inscription of the reigns of Somesvara I and
Jagadekamalla II : Saka 966 and 1067.



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- 20 kar=ādar=ppoga|va'lig=ār=a|ave pē|u sāsirvvara khyātiyam || [7*] Svasti Śaka-
nri(nri)pa-kā|ātita-samvatsara-
- 21 śatamga|u 968neya Tāraṇa-samvatsara|da Puśya-sudhdha¹ 10 Ādivāram=
a(u)ttarayana-
- 22 samkrāntiyamdu || Yajana-yājana-adhyayan-ādhyāpana-dāna-pratigraha-shaṭ-karma-
niratarum śri-
- 23 [ma]ch-Chālukya-chakravartti-Brahmu(hma)puri-sthānam(na)-pitri-pitāmaha - mahim-ās-
pada-rakshaṇ-ā-
- 24 rtha-kōvidarum vidagdha-kavi-gamak[ī*]-vādi-vāgmitvarum=atithiy-abhyāgata-viśiṣṭa-
jana-pūjana-priyarum Hiraṇyagarbhā-Brahma-mukha-kama|a-vinirggata-Ru(Ri)g-Yaju-
- 25 s-Sām-Atharvvaṇa-samasta-vēdi(da)-vēdāṅg-ōpāṅg-ānēka-śāstr-āṣṭādaśa-smri (smṛi)ti-pu-
rāna-
- 27 kāvya-nāṭaka-dharmm-āgama-pravīparum sapta-sōma-samsth-āvabhṛit(th)-āvagāhana-
pavitrikri(kṛi)-
- 28 ta-gātrarum kāmchana-ka[la]śa-sita-shaṭ-chhatra-chāmara-paṇcha-mahā-śabda-ghaṭikā-
bhēri-rava-ni-
- 29 nam(nā)ditarum=āsri[ta-jana]-kalpa-vri(vṛi)ksharum=abita-Kā|āntakarum=ēka-vākyarum
30 śaraṇ-āgata-vajra-pa[m]ja[rarum cha]tus-samaya-samudhdharanarum śri-Kēśavāditya-
dēva-
- 31 labdha-vara-prasādarum=appa śrīman-mah-āgrahāram Pūliy=ūr-oḍeya-pramu-
32 kha sāsirvvar=mmahājanaṅga|a divya-śrī-pāda-padmaṅga|am [La]chchiyabbarasiyaru
sa-
- 33 hiraṇya-pūrvvakam=ārādhisi bhūmiyam paḍedu basadiyam māḍisi kham-
34 ḍa-sphu[ti]ta-jirṇa-ōdhhdharanake paḍuvana poladalu Śiveyagēriy=āru-mattar=vva-
35 sugeyam ma[t]taviṅg=aḍḍa-chinna-lekkadimdu=aru-vaṇamam mūru paṇamam tetta-
unib-am-
- 36 t=āgi śri-Yāpaniya-saṅghada Punnāgavri(vṛi)ksha-mūla-gaṇada śri-Bā|achamdra-Bha-
37 ṭṭarakadēvara kālam karchchi biṭṭalu || Svasti [1*] Samasta-bhuvan-āsraya
Śri-Pri(pri)thvi-vallabha mahā-
- 38 rājādhirāja paramēśvara paramabhaṭṭarakam Satyāsraya-kula-ti|akam Chāluky-
ābharanam
- 39 śrīmat-pratāpa-chakri(kra)vartti Jagadēkamalladēvara vijaya-rājyam=uttar-ōtta-
40 r-ābhivri(vṛi)dhdi-pravardhdhamānam=ā-chamdr-ārka-tāram baran saluttam=ire [1*]
Śaka-va-
- 41 rsha 1067neya Krōdhana-samvatsarad=uttarāyana-samkrāntiyamdu(du) yama-
ni-
- 42 yama-svādhyāya-dhyāna-dhāraṇa-mō(man)n-ānushṭhāna(na)-japa-samādhi-śi|a-
sampaṇnar=appa
- 43 śrīma[n]-mah-āgrahāram Pūliy=ūr-oḍeya-pramukha sāsirvvar=mmahājanaṅga[la]
44 divya-śrī-pāda-padmaṅga|am pergaḍe Nōmanam sa-hiraṇya-pūrvvakam=ārādhisi
[dhā]-
- 45 [rā]-pūrvvakam māḍisi kom[ḍu] tamma mu[t*]tavve Laechhiyabbarasiyaru
māḍisida basa-
- 46 diyal=irppa ri(ri)shiyar=āhāra-dāna-nimittam=alliy=āchāryaru Rāmachamdra-
47 dēvara kālam karchchiy=avaru munnav=ā|uva paḍuvana polada Śiveyagēriy-
āru-matta-

¹ Read *Pushya-suddha*.

- 48 r=vvasugeyim paḍu[va]ṇa [bhā]gadalū Kaḷaśavalliyagēriya¹ sthā[na]d=olag=āru mattar=kkeyyam
 49 mat[t*]aring=aḍḍa-chinna-l[ekkadimū=aru]-vaṇamaṁ mūru paṇamaṁ tett=umb=amt=āgi biṭṭaru ||
 50 Pati-bhakte Dhē(Dē)ma . . . sati Pāyimarasan=agra-sute sakaḷa-jana-stute Bhā-
 51 giyabbe-rāṇige sut . . . ind=i [Nēma]yyan=audāryya-guṇam ॐ [8*]
 Jina-dēvaṁ tanag=āptan=a-
 52 [rtthi]-janatā-kaḷpa-druma[m— —]yyane tamm=ayyan=anūna-dāni Kalidēvaṁ
 s-ākshar-ā-
 53 gr̥saraṁ tanag=aṇṇaṁ guṇa-ratna-bhūṣaṇa=e[—] saṁd-irḍa Nēmaṁg=enalk-
 anavady-ācha[raṇaṁ]-
 54 ge bhā-vaḷe(ḷa)yadoḷu pēl [— — — —] || [9*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Victorious be the teaching of the Lord of the Three Worlds, enjoined by the Jinas, which bears the infallible token of the blessed and supremely profound doctrine of alter-natives !

(Lines 3-5.) When the victorious reign of—hail !—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of **Satyāśraya's** race, embellishment of the **Chālukyas**, king **Āhavamalla**, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (to endure) as long as moon, sun, and stars :—

(L. 5.) One who finds his sustenance at his lotus-feet—

(V. 2.) Uprooting high-rising foes, spreading abroad his fame as far as the walls of the sky-quarters, **Kāḷadiya Bōḷagaḍi** perfectly (?) protected the **Ninety-six** by the might of his arm.

(V. 3.) To the renowned **Hammikabbe**, the distinguished wife of his son the cultured prince **Pāyimma**, a peer of **Sitā**, were born **Bhāgeṇabbe** and **Lachchale**.

(V. 4.) In the *chaffa-samaya*² of agreeable persons, in the feeding of Brāhmaṇ householders, in (the supply of) measured spoons³ to distinguished ascetics, in (furnishing) fire-places with rows of maidens, indeed, the four churches⁴ straightway were delighted with affection : who are equal to **Lachchiyabbarasi** on the earth with its stock of living and lifeless things ?

(V. 5.) While illustrious eulogists are active over the whole earth, the world with joy praises for excellence of beauty, eminent generosity, distinction of race, and sincere devotion to the Jinas' feet **Lachchaladēvi**, the exceedingly high-born wife of the *līmkaḍ-amka-pāḷaka* of **Kūṇḍi**.⁵

¹ Read *Kaḷaśavalligēriya*.

² This phrase is obscure. It seems most probable that *chaffa* is to be taken as a derivative of Sanskrit *śhaḍ* (cf. Tamil *saḍḍa-varggam*). Six *samayas* (schools of religion or philosophy) are often mentioned. The Śaivas recognise as orthodox the Bhairava, Vāma, Kāḷāmukha, Māhāvratā, Pāśupata, and Śaiva *samayas*, and as unorthodox the Lōkāyatas, Buddhists, Jains, Mīmāṃsakas, Pāṇcharātras, and Bhāṭṭāchāryas. Another group is: Buddhists, Jains, Bhairavas, Kāḷāmukhas, Lōkāyatas, and Sūnyavādins. Six Vaidic *samayas* are recognised, viz. Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Śākta, Saura, Gāṇapata, and Kaumāra; and there are six Vēdāntic *samayas*, viz. Kāpila, Kāṇāda, Pītāṇīala, Ākhaṇpāda or Nyāya, Vaiyāsa, and Jaiminiya. The Vaiṣṇavas admit 6 *samayas* as orthodox, viz. those of Śaṅkara, Yādava Miśra, Rāmānuja, Madhva, Bhāskara, and Hiraṇyagarbha.

³ The reading here is certain, but the division and sense are not. *Agarana* is a rare Atharva-vedic word explained as "stirring-spoon"; but here it seems to have another meaning.

⁴ The four *samayas* are the Māhēśvaras, Vaiṣṇavas, Buddhists, and Jains.

⁵ I can only conjecture that *līmka* is connected with *lēmka*, "servant," and that *amka* is used in the sense of "war" (cf. *amkākāra*); the phrase would then mean something like "Commander of the military forces of Kūṇḍi" [See foot-note 6. p. 174. above—Ed.]

(V. 6.) Pāli, which is indeed a site of conspicuous charm, appears with the aspect of a beauty-spot upon the county of Belvala, which is radiant like the lotus-face of that fair lady the ocean-girdled earth. This town by its bright appearance laughs to scorn the city of the Gods and Kubēra's city of Alakā.

(L 17.) In this (town)—

(V. 7.) In the series of all grammars and treatises on economic science, in poems, in goodly drama, in panegyric poetry, in the illustrious Upanishads, in transcendental and secular lore, in all arts, they have become superior in glory to the Lord of Speech [Brahman]: say, who are equal to praising the renown of the Thousand?

(Ll. 20-22.) Hail! on Sunday, the occasion of the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*, being the 10th of the bright fortnight of Pushya in the cyclic year Tārana, the 966th of the centuries elapsed since the time of the Śaka king:—

(Ll. 22-23.) Lachchiyabbarasi, having adored with (offering of) gold the divinely blest lotus-feet of the Thousand Mahājanas, headed by the mayor, of the great Agrahāra of Pāli, who are constant in the six duties of sacrifice by themselves and by others, study, teaching, alms-giving, and acceptance (of charity),¹ skilful for the purpose of maintaining the rank of honour of father and grandfather at the establishment of the Chālukya Emperor's Brahmapuri,² accomplished as wits, poets, reciters, disputants, and rhetoricians, fond of serving guests, visitors, and men of culture, versed in all the Vēdas, the Ṛik, Yajus, Sāma, and Ātharvaṇa, which have issued from the lotus-mouth of Hiranyagarbha-Brahman, and in the Vēdāṅgas, the subsidiary sciences, all books of teaching, the eighteen sacred law-books and Purāṇas, poems, dramas, and traditional rules of religion; whose bodies are purified by plunging in the baths of the seven *soma-samsthās*³; who are (honoured) with golden pitchers, six white parasols, and yak-tail fans and saluted with the five great musical sounds, gongs, and drums; who are trees of desire to clients, Kālāntakas to adversaries, uniform of speech, adamant chambers to refuge-seekers, restorers of the four churches,⁴ and recipients of the grace of boons from the god Kēśavāditya,

(Ll. 33-37.) and having obtained (from them) land and constructed a sanctuary, laved the feet of Bālachandra-Bhaṭṭārakadēva, of the Punnāgavṛksha Mūla-Gaṇa in the Yāpaniya-Saṁgha, and granted for the restoration of broken, burst, and outworn (buildings) six *mattar* of *vasuge*⁵ at Śiveyagēri in the western field, to be enjoyed on payment of an *aru-vaṇa*⁶ of three *paṇas*, at the rate of half a gold piece on each *mattar*.

(Ll. 37-40.) When the victorious reign of—hail!—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of Satyāśraya's race, embellishment of the Chālukyas, the august Emperor Jagadēkamalladēva, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (to endure) as long as moon, sun, and stars:—

(Ll 40-41.) on the occasion of the *uttarāyana-samkrānti* in the Śaka year 1067, the cyclic year Krōdhana,

(Lines 41-49.) the sheriff Nēmaṇa, having adored with (offering of) gold the divinely blest lotus-feet of the thousand Mahājanas, headed by the mayor, of the great Agrahāra of Pāli, who practise the major and minor disciplines, scriptural study, spiritual concentration, observance of

¹ See Mann, i. 88.

² A quarter for the residence of Brāhmins in connection with a temple.

³ These rites are enumerated in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII. i. Sk. 74.

⁴ See above, on v. 4 of this inscription.

⁵ See Kittel, s. v. *vasuge*, and above, Vol. XIII p. 37.

⁶ The *aru-vaṇa* is a quit-rent for tenancy of land in connection with a religious establishment; here it amounted to $\frac{1}{2}$ *paṇa* per *mattar*, in all amounting to 3 *paṇas*.

the vow of silence, prayer, and absorption, and having arranged for purchase with pouring of water, for the purpose of furnishing food for the Rishis resident in the sanctuary constructed by his great-grandmother **Lachchiyabbarasi**, laved the feet of **Hāmachandradēva** and granted six *mattar* of meadow in the grounds of **Kaṣaśavaḷligēri**, in the part west of the six *mattar* of *vasuge* in **Śiveyagēri** in the western field formerly under his seigniorage, to be enjoyed on payment of an *aṇu-vaṇa* of three *paṇas*, at the rate of half a gold piece per *mattar*.

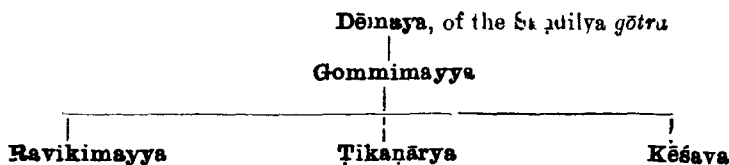
(V. 8.) This **Nēmāyya**, illustrious in virtues, is . . . son of the universally praised **Bhāgiyabbe-rāṇi**, the chaste wife of **Dēma** . . . and elder sister of **Pāyimma-rasa**.

(V. 9.) As the Lord Jina is his friend, that tree of desire to the needy . . . his father, **Kalidēva** the unstintingly bountiful and foremost among men of letters his elder brother, say, [who is equal] to **Nēma**, who is adorned by the jewels of virtue . . . and is blameless of conduct, on the circling earth ?

C.—OF THE REIGN OF VIKRAMADITYA VI: THE 7TH YEAR.

This inscription is on a black stone built into the western wall inside the temple of **Virabhadra**, at its north-western corner. The stone itself was 4 ft. 11 in. high and 2 ft. 2½ in. broad. On the upper compartment, which was rounded, were the following sculptures : in the centre a standing figure of **Vishṇu**, facing full front ; to the proper right of this, a kneeling **Garuḍa**, facing half towards **Vishṇu** and half towards the front ; to the left of **Vishṇu**, a cow with calf ; above these, the sun (on left) and moon (on right). There may have been some other details concealed under the coating of *chunam* upon the stone. Under this is the inscribed area, 3 ft. 3 in. high and 2 ft. 2½ in. wide.—The character is Kanarese of the period, a fine ornamental hand with a tendency towards flourishes. The letters, which are generally well preserved, are from ⅔ in. to ⅞ in. high.—The language, with the exception of the formal Sanskrit verses 1, 12, and 13, is Old Kanarese. Initial *p* is preserved. The archaic *ḷ* remains in *negalḍar* (l. 22) and *negalḍa* (l. 23), where the vowel before it is metrically short ; on this point I may refer to my observations above, Vol. XIII, p. 327. On the other hand, *ḷ* is changed to *l* in *alidaṅge* (l. 15), *bilguṁ* (l. 17), *bēḷpadav* (l. 26). The double *l* in *Shāṇḍillya*, for *Śiṇḍilya*, (l. 21), is worth notice : cf. Pāṇini VIII. iv. 47, *Siddhanta-kaumudī* 48.

The record, after referring itself in ll. 2-5 to the reign of **Tribhuvanamalla** (**Vikramāditya VI**), gives in ll. 5-11 details of an endowment, consisting of certain lands, which were purchased by **Kisuvāyara Ravikimayya-Nāyaka**, a distinguished member of the Hundred Brāhmaṇ burgesses of **Raviyaṇagēri** (a subdivision of the Thousand burgesses of **Pāli**), for the upkeep of a temple of **Vishṇu** which he had built. After some hortatory matter in prose (ll. 11-14) and verse (ll. 15-17) the author proceeds to celebrate in verse **Bēḷvala**, **Pūli**, the Thousand Brāhmaṇs of **Pāli**, the Hundred of **Raviyaṇagēri** forming a part of them, the family of the donor, and the latter personally (ll. 17-30). The pedigree is as follows :—







The date of this record is given on ll. 4-5 as : the 7th year of the **Chāḷukya-Vikrama** era, the cyclic year **Dundubhi** ; the *uttarāyana-saṁkrānti*. The *saṁkrānti* in question

occurred on **Sunday, 25 December, A.D. 1082**, at 13 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise, and 1 **Makara** was accordingly reckoned as corresponding to the following Monday.







The **places** mentioned, besides Pāli and the *tīrthas* in l. 15, are **Raviyaṇagēri** (ll. 9, 20), the **Beḷvala-nāḍu** (l. 17), **Bhaṭṭara-koḷa** or "The Bhaṭṭas' Lake" (l. 11), and **Kalkuṭigagere** or "The Stonemasons' Tank" (l. 11). On Beḷvala see above, Vol. XIII, p. 40. The other places seem to have been in or about Pāli, and can no longer be traced; Raviyaṇagēri was a parish (*kēri*, literally "street") of Pāli, as will appear below.

TEXT.¹

[The metres are as follows : verses 1, 13, *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 2, *Mattēbha-vikrīḍita* ; verses 3-9, 11, *Kāṇḍa* ; verse 10, *Chāpaka-mālā* ; verse 12, *Śālinī*.]

- 1  Svasti [*] Jayaty=āvishkṛitam Vishṇor=vvārāham kshōbhita-ārṇavam [*]
dakṣiṇōnnata-damshṭr-āgra-viśrānta-bhuvanam vapu[h*] [1*] 
- 2  Svasti [*] Samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śri-Prithvi-vallabha mahārājādhirāja
paramēśvara paramabhaṭṭarakam Satyā-
3 śraya-kuḷa-tīlakam Chālukya-ābharanam śrīmat-Tri(Tri)bhuvanamalladēvara vijaya-
rājyam=uttar-ōttar-ābhi-
4 vṛiddhi-pravarddhamānam=ā-chāndr-ārka-tāram saluttam=ire [*] Śrīmach-
Chālukya-Vikrama-varshada 7neya
5 Duṁḍubhi-samvatsarad=uttarāyana-samkrāntiyandu | Svasti [*] Yama-niyama-
svādhyāya-dhyā-
6 na-dhāraṇa-mō(mau)n-ānushṭhāṇa(na)-japa-hōma-samādhi-sampannar=appa śrīmad-
agrahāram Pāli-
7 y=ūr-odeya-pramukha sāsirvvarum śrī-Kisuvāyara Ravikimayya-nāyakam
māḍisi-
8 da śrī-Nārāyaṇa-dēvargge dharmm-ābhivṛiddhi-nimitta[m dēva]ra jirṇṇ-ōdhdhāraṇa-
khaṇḍa-sphuṭitakkam snāna-
9 gandha-dhūpa-dīpa-nivēdyakkamv=aṁga-bhōgakkam satrakkam Raviyaṇagēriya
nūrvvara kayyo! Ravikima-
10 yya-nāyakam dravya-pārvvakam dhārā-pārvvakam māḍisi koṇḍu śrī-Nārāyaṇa-
dēvargge Bhaṭṭa-
11 ra-koḷadalli biṭṭa mattar=āru Kalkuṭigagereyalli paralu mattar=ondu | Int-i
dharmmamam sarvva-nama-
12 āya(sya)m=āgi sāsirvvarum pratipālisuvar=Idam pratipālisidargge Vāraṇāsi
Kurukshētrav=Argghyatīrttham
13 Prayāge Gayey=emba tīrttha-sthānamgaḷoḷ=mahā-dēnamgaḷam māḍida puṇyam-
akkum=int=appudan=aridu sā-
14 sirvvarum dharmm-ōttar-ōttar-ābhivṛiddhiy=app=amt=ā-chāndr-ārka-tāram-barām
pratipālisuvar || Vṛitta || 

¹ From the ink-impression.

- 15  Ivan=iy=amdadine=eyde pālisidavaṃg=ishṭ-ārttha-samsiddhi sambhaviṇum
koṇḍ=aḷidamge Gaṃge Gaye Khē(Kē)dāraṃ Kuru-
- 16 kshētram=emb=ivaṇol=pēsade pārvaram goravaram gō-bṛindamam peṇḍiram tave
koṇḍ=ikkida pāpam=eydugum=a-
- 17 vaṃ bilguṃ nigōdaṃgaḷol | [2*]  Ambudhi-vṛita-dharaṇige vadanam
Beḷvala-nād(d)=adarkke tiḷakada vōl=chelvaṃ-bīruva Pū-
- 18 li-grāmaṃ budha-jana-niḷayam=enipud=ā puravaradoḷ || [3*] Amita-guṇ-ānvita-
vipr-ōttamar=ishṭā-pūrtta-va-
- 19 rttanar=ssāsirvvar=yyama-niyama-svādhyāya-pramukh-āchārar=ssamasta-dōsha-vidūrar ||
[4*] Avar=olage vēda-śā-
- 20 stra-pravarar=shaṭ-karma-niratar=enip=unnatiyīm Raviyaṇagēriya nūrvvar-
bhbbhuvanadoḷ=ativisada-kirttiyaṃ
- 21 prakāṭisidar || [5*] Alli || Shā(Śā)ṇḍillya-gōtra vaṇaruha-chaṇḍakara[m*]
brahma-vidyeyol=sakala-jagan-maṇḍanan=eni-
- 22 sida peṃp=ola-koṇḍ-ire Dēmaya-panaṃgiyar¹=ssaḷe negaḷdar || [6*] Avar-
āt-rajan-akhila-kalā-praviṇan=animi-
- 23 tta-bāndhavam Manu-charitaṃ dhavaḷa-yaśō-nidhiy=ene peṃpu-vaḍedu jagad=olage
Gommimayyaṃ negaḷda || [7*] 
- 24  Tat-tanujātam śrī-Puruṣhōttama-pada-kamala-yugaḷa-bhṛiṃgam dharmm-
ōdātta-manam vibhu sakala-jaga-
- 25 t-tiḷakam Ravikimayyar=amaḷa-charitra || [8*] Tad-annjar=aśēsha-vibhav-
āspadha(da)r=ishṭa-viśiṣṭa-janake Su-
- 26 rabhiya vōl=bēḷpadav=ittu peṃpu-vaḍedar=ssad-amaḷar=ene Tikaṇāryyanum
Kēśavanum || [9*] Vṛitta || Anupama-
- 27 kirttiyaṃ paḍeda mūvarolaṃ prabhu Raikimayyan=olpina kaṇi dharmma-
chittamane bhāvisi chelvina Viṣṇu-gē-
- 28 hamam jana-nutama[m*] paratre(tra)-hitamaṃ bhuvana-tritayakke pūjyam=āyt=ene
kaḍu-sēvyam=ādud=ene māḍisi-
- 29 d=andam=id=ārgge ti[rttha?]mō || [10*] Vanadhigaḷum chaṇḍr-ārkkaruv-
animisha-nāgēndra-lōkamu[m] vasu-ratiyūṃ Kanak-
- 30 mahā[cha]lamu[m*] [u]ḷinegaṃ sale nilke Ravikimayyana dharmma || [11*]
 Sāmānyō-yam dharmma-śē(sē)tur=nṛipāṇā[m]
- 31 k[ālē kā]lē pālaniyō bhavadbhiḥ [1*] sarvvān-ētām(n) bhāgi(vi)naḥ pārtthivēm-
drām(n) bhūyō bhūyō yāchatō
- 32 Rā[macham]draḥ || [12*] Sva-datt[ā*]m para-datt[ā*]m vā yō harēti(ta)
vasundharā[m*] shashtir(tiṃ)-vvarsha-sahasrāṇi viśṭhāyām jā-
- 33 yatō kṛimih || [13*] 

¹ Read *śaḍaṅgiyar*.

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Victorious is the manifested Boar-form of Viṣṇu that stirs up the ocean and holds the earth at rest upon the tip of his uplifted right tusk.

(Lines 2-4.) When the victorious reign of—hail!—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of Satyaśraya's race, embellishment of the Chālukyas, king Tribhuvanamalla, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (*to endure*) as long as moon, sun, and stars :—

(Ll. 4-5.) on the *uttarāyana-samkrānti* of the 7th year of the Chālukya-Vikrama era, the cyclic year Dundubhi :—

(Ll. 5-11.) the Thousand, headed by the mayor, of the Agrahāra of Pūli, who practise the major and minor disciplines, scriptural study, spiritual concentration, observance of the vow of silence, prayer, oblation, and absorption,¹ for the purpose of fostering the religious practice of (*the temple of*) the god Nārāyaṇa constructed by Kisuvāyara Ravikimayya-Nāyaka, for the restoration of outworn (*buildings*) and (*renewal of*) broken and burst (*masonry*) belonging to the god, for baths, perfumes, incense, lights, and oblations, for the personal enjoyment (*of the god*), and for the choultry, Ravikimayya-Nāyaka made over to the god Nārāyaṇa six *matṭar* at the Bhaṭṭas' Lake (*and*) one *matṭar* of gravel soil (?) at the Stonemasons' Tank, for which he had arranged the purchase with pouring of water and gift of money from the Hundred of Raviyaṇagēri.

(Ll. 11-14.) So the Thousand shall protect this pious foundation as a *sarva-namasya* holding. To those who protect it shall accrue the merit of making the great gifts at the holy places of Benares, Kurukshētra, Arghyatīrtha, Prayāga, and Gaya ; knowing this to be so, the Thousand shall protect it for the continuous increase of religion as long as moon, sun, and stars endure.

(V. 2.) To him who protects (*the foundation*) duly as it was given by him (*who established it*) shall befall the fulfilment of the objects of his desire. To him who appropriates and destroys it shall accrue the guilt of dourright cold-blooded slaughter of Brāhmanas, Goravas² herds of kine, and women ; he shall fall into (*degraded*) forms of rebirth.

(V. 3.) The county of Belvala is the face of the ocean-girt Earth. Like a beauty-spot thereon is the town of Pūli, overspread with loveliness ; a home of sages there is in this excellent town.

(V. 4.) The Thousand (*of Pūli*) are noble Brāhmanas possessing boundless virtues, active in works of kindness and beneficence, practising the major and minor disciplines, scriptural study, and other duties, far removed from all sin.

(V. 5.) Among them, the Hundred of Raviyaṇagēri, who are eminent in the lore of the Vēdas and devoted to the six practices,³ have displayed to an exalted degree exceedingly brilliant glory on earth.

(L. 21.) Among them—

(V. 6.) As he possessed such eminence as to be called a sun to the lotuses of the Śaṇḍilya *gōtra*, an ornament of the whole world in divine lore, Dēmaya the Shadaṅgi⁴ was truly illustrious.

(V. 7.) His son Gommimayya was illustrious in the world, attaining distinction as one who was expert in all arts, a kinsman without (*selfish*) object, following the practices of Manu, a treasure of white glory.

¹ The construction seems to be an anacoluthon, the subject *sāṁsvaṇam* being left as a *nominativus pendens*.

² A class of Saiva ascetics.

³ See Mann. i. 88.

⁴ A master of the six *āṅgas* or ancillary sciences of the Vēdas.

(V. 8.) His son is the lord **Ravikimayya**, a bee to the two lotus-feet of the blest Purushōttama, having a soul exalted in godliness, an ornament of the whole world, stainless in conduct.

(V. 9.) His younger brothers **Tikanārya** and **Kēśava**, truly stainless men, have attained eminence, holding rank in perfect dignity, like Surabhi granting their desires to agreeable and cultured persons.

(V. 10.) Among (*these*) three (*brethren*) possessing incomparable fame, the lord **Ravikimayya**, a mine of excellence, inspired by a godly spirit, constructed a beautiful house of Vishṇu renowned among folk, bringing welfare in the other world, so that it has become an object of worship to the three worlds, an object of intense reverence: who are there that have a holy place of such sort?

(V. 11.) As long as the oceans, the moon and sun, the worlds of Gods and Nāgas, the earth, and the great Golden Mountain exist, so long forsooth may **Ravikimayya's** pious foundation stand.

Vv. 12-13: two common Sanskrit formulæ.

D.—OF THE REIGN OF VIKRAMADITYA VI: SAKA 1019

This document is cut upon a slab of black stone that was found built into the outside of the northern or front face of the temple of Virabhadra, on the western side of the door. The stone is 3 ft. 10½ in. above the ground, and 2 ft. in width. It has a rounded top, with the following sculptures in the uppermost compartment: in the centre Vishṇu¹ standing, and facing full front; to his proper right successively, beginning from him, Nandi, a priest behind Nandi standing facing Vishṇu, and two kneeling worshippers likewise facing the god; to the god's left, successively a kneeling Garuḍa (half turned towards Vishṇu and half to front), a cow with calf, and a scimitar; above all these are the sun (on right) and moon (on left). Below this is the inscribed area, measuring 2 ft. 10½ in. in height and 1 ft. 11 in. in breadth. It is on the whole well preserved. The character is good Kanarese, but of a type about a century later than the alleged date of the record (Śaka 1019); it may be a genuine later copy of the original grant, but in estimating its authenticity we must note also the irregularity of the date. The letters in lines 1-4 are about ¼ in. high; then they begin to increase in height, and from line 6 onward are on the average about ⅔ in. The letter *ri* in *ṛishi* (l. 13) is apparently represented by a modified *ri*. The special cursive form of *v* (above, Vol. XII, pp. 335, n. 1 and 337) appears 39 times, as far as the text is legible.—The language, except in lines 1-2 (verses 1-3, followed by the formula *namō Nārāyaṇāya*), which are in Sanskrit, is Kanarese, verging on the medieval dialect. The archaic *ḷ* is always changed to *l* (*mālkeyin*, l. 15; *mālpar*, l. 22; *hāḷa*, ll. 35, 51-53; *alidham[ge]*, l. 58; *bīḷg[um]*, l. 60). *V* is changed sporadically to *b* (*brajad=*, l. 13; *dibyām*, l. 23; *bya[ti]pātamum*, l. 25; *dibya-*, l. 32; *drabya-*, l. 37). The *upadhmāṇīya* is falsely written in *hpuṭita* (l. 33), for *spuṭita*. The consonant *t* is doubled before *y* in *attiyāyata-* (l. 18) and *attiyāmta-* (l. 20); cf. above, on inscr. C. Initial *ā* is written *yā* (l. 36). In the prose parts final *m* before a vowel is occasionally changed to *v*, and initial *p* becomes *h* in *hāḷa* (ll. 35, 51-53), *hasuge* (ll. 35, 51), *heb-baḷḷe* (l. 36), *haralalli* (l. 38), *hannomdu* (ll. 39, 43), *hāringe* (l. 55), *horege* (ib.), *hottalimge* (ib.), *honnām* (l. 56 f.), while it remains in *paḍeda*, *paṇa*, *paḍuvaṇa*, *paḍuvalu*. As regards flexion, we find an accusative plural in final *-a* three times (*-pādaṅgaḷa*, ll. 37, 39, 42), and a corresponding adverb (*-pūrvvaka*, ll. 42, 50); that this is the genuine medieval form, and not a mere slip, is suggested by the adverb *saṁtata* (l. 22) and the dative *-nāyakaṅga* (l. 16), where the vocalic ending is guaranteed by the metre. There are a few words of lexical interest,

¹ [Probably Harihara, as suggested by vv. 2 and 14 of the inscription and the figure of Nandi to the proper right side.—Ed.]

such as *udgrāhakar*, l. 9 (spelt *udgrāhakarū*), "studying successfully" (cf. the Sinhalese *ugannavā*, "to learn"), and the technical terms *karuva*, ll. 39, 43 (from *kurma* ?), *śatu*, ll. 52-3, *soṭi* (?), l. 54, and *hottalu*, l. 55.


The record, after three introductory verses, refers itself to the reign of **Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI)**, and then launches out into verse in praise of Kuntala, Beḷvala, Pūli, the Thousand Mahājanas of Pūli, and the Hundred of Kaḷaśavaḷligēri (ll. 1-13). Among the last-named was a distinguished Brāhmaṇ family, the **Ajjas**, belonging to the Ātrēya *gōtra*; to this stock belonged **Sōbhana-Nāyaka**, who begot by **Muddikavve Nākimayya (Nākarasa or Nākiyanṇa)**. Nākimayya begot by **Nāgikavve Nāpimeya, Rāmadēva**, and **Mahādēva** (written *Mahādēva* for the sake of metre), and rebuilt a temple of Viṣṇu in Pūli (ll. 13-23). Then follow specifications of various purchases of land acquired by Nākimayya from the Hundred of Raviyaṇagēri, Kaḷaśavaḷligēri, and Ghaiśāsagēri, and from the Thousand of Pūli (ll. 23-53). Two minor endowments (ll. 53-57) and a hortatory stanza (ll. 58-60) conclude the document.


The date of the record is stated, on ll. 23-25 as : Śaka 1019 (expired), the cyclic year **Īśvara**; Pushya śuddha 5, Ādityavāra (Sunday), the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*, the *vyatipāta*, or *yōga* in which the declination of sun and moon are identical. This date again is irregular. Pushya śuddha 5 of the given year corresponded to **Saturday, December 12, A.D. 1097**; it began about 53 m. after mean sunrise on the preceding Friday, and ended about 34 m. after mean sunrise on the Saturday. It could not be connected with the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*, which occurred 10 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise on **Thursday, 24 December**—twelve days after it.




The places mentioned, besides Pūli and the *tīrthas* in l. 58, are **Kuntala** (l. 4), **Beḷvala** (l. 5), **Kaḷaśavaḷligēri** (ll. 12, 37, 38), **Raviyaṇagēri** (ll. 34, 53), **Ghaiśāsagēri** (l. 40), **Koṇaḷagēri** (? l. 50), **Kattiyagēri** (l. 52), and some minor localities; see above.


TEXT.¹

[The metres are as follows: verses 1-3, *Anuṣṭubh*; verses 4, 5, 16, *Muttēbha-vikrīḍita*; verse 6, *Mahā-sragdharā*; verses 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 15, *Kanda*; verses 9, 10, *Champakā-mālā*, verse 13, *Utpalā-mālā*.]

1  Namas=tuṅga-śiraś-chumbi-chandra-chamara-chāravō [*] traṇṇōkya-napaṇ-aram-

bha-mūla-stambhāya Sa(Śa)m bhavē || [1*]  Śrīmatu-Harihar²-ākhyasya
pād-āmburha(ruha)m-akshayaṁ [*] bhakti-namra-janānām

2 cha śānti-puṣṭi-karam sadā || [2*]  Jayaty=a(ā)vishkri(kṛ)taṁ Viṣṇor=
vv[ā*]rāham kshōbhīt-ārṇna(rṇa)vaṁ [*] dakṣiṇ-ōnnata-damśhṛ-āgra-viśrānta-bhuva-
naṁ vapuḥ [||] [3*]  Namō Nārāyaṇāya || 

3  Svasti [*] Samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Pṛithvi-vallabha mahārājādhirāja
paramēśvara paramabhaṭṭāraka Satyāśraya-kuḷa-tilaka Chāḷuky-ābharaṇa
śrīma[t*]-Tribhuvana-

¹ From the ink-impression.

² Read *Śrīmad-Dhārikar*.

- 4 malladēva[ra*] rājyam=uttar-ōttar-ābhivṛiddhi-pravardhdhamānam=ā-chaṁdr-ārka-
tāram-baram saluttam-ire || Vasudhā-visṛi(śru)tam=appa Kuntaḷa-vadhū-
saumy-ā-
- 5 nanam tām=enalu pesaram-betta mah-āgrahāra-nagara-śrī-paṭṭaṇ-ākīrṇa(rṇa)dim
rasāvad-dhānya-samasta-vastu-chayadim śrī-Beḷvelam sō(śō)-
- 6 bhisalk=esev=ā Pūli mah-āgrahāra-tīlakam tad-dēśadoḷu rājikum || [4*] Alli ||
Alad=ambhōrha(ruḥa)-rājyīm parimaḷa-śrī-mallik-ārāma-
- 7 dim sale saṁd-irdda taṭāka-kūpa-vibhava-prākīrṇa(rṇa)dim suttī-gond(ṇḍ)=
elasutt=irppa sahaśra(sra)-ramya-Śiva-kūṭ-ānōka-kōṭi-prabh-ōj[j*]valitam ta-
- 8 tu(d)-bahiraṁga-sēvyā-vibhavam śrī-Pūli=int=oppugu || [5*] Mudadim śrī-Kēśavā-
dityara pada-vinu(na)tar=vvēda-vēdāṁga-vidyā-vidi-
- 9 tar shaṭu-tarkka-śatu-pravudiyol²=atisayad=udugrāhakaru nitya-yajñaru mada-
mātsaryy-ādi-dārar sakala-vibhu bu)dha-
- 10 samrakshakar pūjyar=emduṁ sadayar sāsirvvar=urvvi-vinutar=akhiḷa-sāstr-ārttha-
kāvyā-praviṇar || [6*] Ka || Dinapam tam-
- 11 nna karaṁgaḷan=anupamadim Pūliyalli puṁjisi niratam jana-vinutar=ssāsirvvaran=
anavaratam paḍedan=am̐t=av(d?)=em̐ kri(kṛi)ta-kri(kṛi)tyaru || [7*]
- 12 Palav=agrahārakk(k)=ellam salalitadim Pūli tīlakam=allige³ kaḷaśam sale
Kaḷaśavalligēriye viḷa(la)sitam=āg=oppal=ese-
- 13 dar=am̐t=ā nūrvvaru || [8*] Avaroḷ || Tīḷi-goḷad=ante tan-mukutaḍ=am̐te riśi⁴-
brajad=am̐te kūḍe nirmmaḷam=enis-irddud=Ajjava-
- 14 kulam sale puṭṭidan=alli permmeiyim salalita⁵-chāru-sach-charitadim prabhu
Śōbhana-Nāyakam mahā-baḷa-yuta-gōtra-
- 15 vardhdhanan=udātta-guṇam Śiva-pāda-śēkharam || [9*] Sphuriyise sippinalli sale
muttina māḷkeyin=im̐tu puṭṭidam su-
- 16 ruchire Muddikavve-satigam sale Sō(śō)bhana-Nāyakamga vistaratara-punya-
mūrtti puruś(sh)-ārttha-śikhāmaṇi Nā-
- 17 kimayyan=udhdharisidan=im̐tu Pūli-pura-madhyadoḷ=ūrjita-Vishṇu-gēhamam || [10*]
Ka || Āyana sati bhuvanado-
- 18 ḷ=attyāyata-pati-bhakte Nāgikavve viśēśa(sha)-śrī-yute mahante ni[chcha]m
śrēyaskara-mūrtti putravati bahu-
- 19 guṇadim || [11*] Ka || Ātrēya-vam̐śan=em̐duṁ mitra-prōtsāhi dāna-tatupara-
vibhavam pātrav-arid=ivan=udya-
- 20 du-gōtra-pavitram prasidhdha-vibhu Nākerasam || [12*] Vṛi || Tat-tanujar
śu(su)śōbha-vibhu Nāṇimeyam sale Rāmadēvan=attyam-
- 21 ta-manōjña-mūrtti Mahadēva-mahā-prabhu nālku-vēda-vēdāṁta-samasta-sāstra-vidaram
parishō(po)shisi dāna-dharmma-
- 22 mam sam̐tata māḷpar=am̐t=avara sam̐tati rājisal=uttar-ōttaram || [13*] Tad-anam̐-
tara || Ka || Sale nālvar=irddaḍ=alliye nelas-i-
- 23 kkuṁ deyvam=ante vipra-sahaśra(sra)m salalita-vidyā-vibhavaru vviḷasitar⁶=ire
Harihar-ākhyā-niḷayame dibyam || [14*] Svasti śrī-
- 24 matu-Sa(śa)ka-varsha 1019 neya Iśva(śva)ra-sam̐vatsarada Puśya(shya)-śudhdha
paṁchami Ādityavāradaṁduv=uttarā-
- 25 yaṇa-sa[m*]kramā(ma)ṇamum bya[ti]pātamum baṁda puṇya-dinadoḷu [i*]
yajja[na]-yājan-ādhyayan-ādhyāpana-dāna-pra-

¹ The *prās*, *l* and *ḷ*, is irregular.⁴ Read *riśi*-.² Read -sat-pravudhiyoḷ.⁵ The *prās* is irregular, *la* for *ḷa*.³ Or possibly *all-ire*.⁶ Read *vilasitar*.

- 26 tigrāha-śa(sha)ṭ-karmma-niratarum | śrīma[ch*]-Ch[ā*]ḷukya-chakravartti-Brahmapuri-
sthān-ādhipatya(tiya)rum | Hiranyagarbhha-mu-
- 27 kha-vinirggata-chatur-vvēda-vēdāṅga-śāstra-smṛi(smṛi)ti-purāṇa-kāvya-nānā-nāṭaka-pravī-
narum | sva-same(ma)ya-samu-
- 28 dita-saraśchandra¹-chāndrikā-chakōrarum | kāmchana-kalāśa-si(si)ta-śa(sha)ṭu-
chchha(chha)tra-chāmara-paṁcha-mahā-śabuda-ghaṭhika²-bhēri-rav-ā-
- 29 di-rāja-chihṇ-ābhīrājitarum | sapta-sōma-samsth-āvabri(bhri)th-āvagāhana-pavitrikrita-
śarīrarum³ | Hara-hās-ābhāśa(sa)-vi-
- 30 śada-yaśah-kirttigalum | śrīmad-Andhāsura⁴-dēva-pād-ārādhakarum śaraṇ-āgata-
rakshaka[r]um | śrī-Kēśavāditya-dēva-la-
- 31 budha-vara-prasāda-sampannarum=appa śrīmau-mah-āgrahāram Pāliy=ūr-oḍeya-
pramukha sāsirvvar=mma-
- 32 hājanamgala dibya-śrī-pādamgala=ārādhisi | avara samnidhiyalu | Ajchha(jja)vara
Nākimayyam tānu māḍisi-
- 33 da śrī-Harihara-dēvara naivēdyakkam Chayitra-pavitrakkam khaṇḍa-ḥpu(sphu)ṭita-
jirn⁵-ōdhdhārakkam pūjāriya jivitakkam
- 34 Rave(viya)ṇagēriya nūrvva[ra] pādamgalam suvarṇa-pūrvvakam=ārādhisi Būdana-
Moneya Raviyaṇagēriya
- 35 hāla hasugeya baḍagaṇa tale-kamḍikeyalī paḍeda mattaru mūru | ā keyige
paḍuvaṇa sime Kēśava-dēvara ke-
- 36 yi | baḍagalu heb-baṭṭe | mūḍalu Būdana-Gutti | temkalu yā kēriya
bhūmi | ā nūru mattarggam⁶ aṇu-vapa papa-
- 37 v=omdu vi(vi)sam eraḍu kāṇi eraḍu | mattam | Kalāśavaḷḷigēriya nūrvvara
śrī(śrī)-pādamgala ā Nākimayyam dravya-pū-
- 38 rvvakam=ārādi(dhi)si tōṭada haralālī Sēṇigageyem kelage sarvva-namaśya(sya)-
v=āgi paḍeda mattar=omdu | mattam Kalāśavaḷḷigē[ri]-
- 39 ya nūrvvara śrī-pādamgala ā Nākimayyam hiraṇya-pūrvvakam=ārādi(dhi)si
paḍeda karuva-geyi mattaru ha-
- 40 nnoṇdu | ā keyige tiṇuva aṇu-vapa ma[ttarim]ge hāgam eraḍu || Ka ||
Ghaśśasagērig=adhiparu bhāsura-tēja[ru]
- 41 mahamtar=enisida nūrvvaru Kēśava-Mahēśa-dēvara lēs=enisida pūjeg=ittaru
vūrijita-dhareyam⁷ || [15*] Ant=ā
- 42 nūrvvara śrī-pādamgala Ajjavara Nākimayyam dravya-pūrvvaka ārādhisi
paḍeda ma
- 43 mattaru hannomdu | ā keyige ti(ti)ruva aṇu-vapa mattarimge hāgam eraḍu |
ā yeraḍu kēriya karu-
- 44 va-vaney=eraḍumam nālku maneyam māḍi dēvara Brahmapuriyo[lu] gri(gri)ha-
dāna-bhūmi-dānamam Nākimayyam
- 45 āḍida kramam=eṁt=eṁdoḍe | Kēśava-Bhaṭṭarige bhaṭṭa-vri(vri)ttiyaṁ naḍasuv-
am̐t=ire paḍuvaṇa mūḍala mane | avarige keyi
- 46 mattaru ayi[du] | avaru dēvarige ti(ti)ruva aṇu-vapa papa eraḍu hāgam
eraḍu | al[l*]im mūḍaṇa mane [Na]rasimha-
- 47 Sōmayā[i*]yarige | avarige keyi mattaru eraḍakkam aṇu-vapa papav=omdu |
allim mūḍaṇa mane N. rasimha-

¹ Read *śarach-chandra*.² Read *ghatikā*.³ Read *pavitrikrita-śarīrarum*.⁴ Here and below the *dh* is written with the subscript character which usually denotes *dh*.⁵ Read *jirn*.⁶ This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.⁷ Read *ittar=ūrijita-dh*.

- 48 ghaissarige | avarige keyi mattaru eraḍakkam aṟu-vaṇa paṇav=omdu | allim
mūḍaṇa mane |¹ Kōṇeya Ma[lla(?)-kra]mita-
- 49 rige | avarige keyi mattaru mūru | avaru ti(ti)ruva aṟu-vaṇa paṇav=omdu
hāgam eraḍu || Mattam vār-oḍeya-pa-
- 50 mukha sāsirvvar=mmahājanaṅgaḷa divya-śrī-pāda-padmaṅgaḷam A[j]javara
Nākiyaṇṇam dravya-pūrvvaka ārādhisi [? Ko]ṇa-
- 51 laḡēriya hāḷa hasugeyoḷu |² sarvva-namaśya(sya)v=āgi paḍeda mattaru eraḍu |
kammam nā[!]*nūr-ayvattu [!]*
- 52 ā keyige siṁhe baḍaḡaḷu śrīmad-Andhāsura-dēvara keyi | mūḍalu Kattiyagēriya
hāḷa śata | teṁkalu Mūla-
- 53 sthāna-dēvara keyi | paḍuval[u Ra]viyaṇiya hāḷa śata | ☺ Ayivatt=okkalum
sama-chchhāyeyoḷ=irddu dēvara
- 54 divigege soṭige eṇṇeyam biṭṭaru || ☺ Mattam Nākimayya-Nāyakam Rāhara-
morāḍiya
- 55 Chikkarasana eleya sumka hērimge | hoṟege nūru | hottaliṁge
ayivattu mān=akki
- 56 gadyāṇam nālvatt-ayidu honnam ko || paḍuvaṇa bhāḡada
nāvira kāḍayamanu³
- 57 mūru gadyāṇa honnam koḍu paṇa eraḍu hāḡa . . .
. ||
- 58 Ida(va)n=iy=aṁda[din=eyde] pāḷisuvava[ṁg=isṭ-ārttha-samsiddhi sam]bhavikum
koṁḍ=aḷidha(da)m[ge Gaṁge Gaye Kēdāram Ku]ru-
- 59 kshētram=emb-iva[roḷu] pēsade pārvva[raṁ go]ra[varam gō-vṛindama]m peṇḍiram
ta[ve koṁḍ=ikkida pāpam=e]-
- 60 [yḍugu]m=avam bilg[um nigō]daṁḡaḷo[lu ||] [16*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Homage to Śambhu comely with the yak-tail fan that is the moon kissing his lofty head, the foundation-column for the structure of the city of the Triple World !

(V. 2.) The blest Harihara's lotus-foot is eternal, and ever causes increase of peace to those who bow down to him in devotion.

(V. 3 : identical with verse 1 of C.)

(Line 2.) Homage to Nārāyaṇa !

(Ll. 3-4.) When the reign of—hail !—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of **Satyāśraya's** race, embellishment of the **Chāḷukyas**, king **Tribhuvanamalladēva**, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (to endure) as long as moon, sun, and stars :—

(V. 4.) While the blessed **Beḷvala** with its multitude of renowned great *agrahāras*, cities, and happy towns and with its abundance of sapful grain and all kinds of treasures shines indeed, as one may say, as the lovely face of the world-renowned lady **Kuntala**, this bright Pāli, an ornament of great *agrahāras*, is resplendent in that region.

¹ This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

² This *daṇḍa* is also superfluous.

³ These letters are mostly very uncertain : we may read either *kā* or *ko*, and the *ya* is doubtful.

(L. 6.) In that (*Pāli*)—

(V. 5.) Being encompassed by lines of swaying lotuses, by pleasantries of jasmine rich in perfume, indeed, and with a profusion of splendour of appropriate pools and wells, radiant with the brilliance of many pinnacles on thousands of charming sanctuaries of Śiva wherein men find delight, having worshipful majesty in the exterior thereof, thus does the blest Pāli display itself.

(V. 6.) Joyfully bowing at the feet of the blest Kēśavāditya, renowned for lore of Vēdas and Vēdāṅgas, extraordinarily proficient in goodly skill in the six (*courses of*) logic, holding constant sacrifice, remote from conceit, envy, and other (*vices*), protectors of all sages, worshipful ever, gracious, world-famous, versed in the purport of all books of teaching and in poetry are the Thousand (*of Pāli*).

(V. 7.) The sun, massing to an incomparable degree his rays on Pāli, constantly and ceaselessly has engendered the world-famed Thousand : thus have they not fulfilled their end ?

(V. 8.) Pāli by its charmingness is an ornament of all the many *agrahāras* ; as Kaḷaśa-valligēri in truth appears in grace as a pinnacle thereto, thus the Hundred (*of Kaḷaśavalligēri*) are eminent.

(L. 13.) Among them—

(V. 9.) Stainless like a clear pool, like a diadem thereof,¹ like a company of saints together is the **Ajjava** family, in truth ; in it was born the lord Śōbhana-Nāyaka, who by his eminence, his charming and beautiful conduct caused the increase of his mighty *gōtra*, being exalted in virtues, crowned by Śiva's feet.

(V. 10.) In the wise of a pearl in sooth as it flashes in its shell, so was born indeed to the most charming lady **Muddikavve** and to Śōbhana-Nāyaka, **Nākimayya**, an embodiment of most abundant merit, a crest-jewel of mankind's desires : so he restored the splendid house of Viṣṇu in the midst of Pāli.

(V. 11.) His good wife is **Nāgikavve**, immensely devoted to her lord, peculiarly fortunate, great ever, having a form fraught with blessing on earth, a mother of sons through exceeding virtue.

(V. 12.) Of the Ātrēya lineage, ever encouraging friends, having his high estate devoted to charity, one who makes gifts with knowledge of the recipients, a purifier of his noble *gōtra*, is the renowned lord **Nākarasa**.

(V. 13.) His sons, the brilliant lord **Nānimeya**, in truth, **Rāmadēva**, and the great lord **Mahādēva** exceedingly charming of form, foster the masters of all the lore of the Four Vēdas and the Upanishads and practise constantly the duty of charity : as thus their lineage becomes increasingly illustrious :—

(L. 22.) Subsequently to this—

(V. 14.) With the four² present there, in sooth, the divine sanctuary of Harihara stands like a celestial (*building*) with a thousand Brāhmanas magnificent in charming lore displaying themselves in grace therein.

(Ll. 23-25.) Hail ! On Sunday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Pushya in the cyclic year **Īśvara**, the 1019th (*year*) of the Śaka era, on a holy day on which occurred both the *uttarāyana-saṁkrānti* and the *vyatīpātā*,³—

¹ If the text is right, it must mean " a diadem of the Hundred of Kaḷaśavalligēri " ; but the sense seems rather strained, and one is tempted to conjecture *saṁ-mukuta* = .

² Namely Nākimayya and his three sons.

³ A *yōga* in which the declination of the sun and the moon are the same.

(Ll. 25-32.) Having adored the divinely blest feet of the Thousand Mahājanas, headed by the mayor, of the great Agrahāra of Pūli, who are constant in the six duties of sacrifice by themselves and by others, study, teaching, alms-giving, and acceptance (*of charity*), masters of the establishment of the Chālukya Emperor's Brahmapuri,¹ versed in the lore of the Four Vēdas that issued from Hiranyagarbha's mouth, the Upanishads, sacred law, Purāṇas, poetry, and various dramas, who are *chakōra*-birds to the moonlight arising from the autumnal moon of their church, who are decorated with golden pitchers, six white parasols, yak-tail fans, the five great musical sounds, gongs, drums, and other emblems of royalty, whose bodies are purified by plunging in the baths of the seven *sōma-saṁsthās*,² who have glory and renown brilliant as the radiance of Hara's smile,³ who are worshippers of the god Andhāsura's feet, protectors of refuge-seekers, receiving the grace of boons from the god Kēśavāditya,—

(Ll. 32-35.) In their presence, Ajjavara Nākimayya, having adored with (*offering of*) gold the feet of the Hundred of Raviyaṇagēri, purchased three *mattar* in the upper *kaṇḍike* on the north of the waste-land *hasuge*⁴ of Raviyaṇagēri at the Ghost's End for (*the expenses of*) the oblations of (*the temple of*) the god Harihara constructed by himself, the *Chaitra-paviṭra*,⁵ the restoration of broken, burst, and outworn (*masonry*), and the maintenance of a priest.

(Ll. 35-37.) Of this field the western bound is the field of the god Kēśava; on the north, the high-road; on the east, the Ghost's Copse; on the south, the lands of the parish.⁶ For these three *mattar* the *aru-vaṇa*⁷ is one *paṇa*, two *vīsa*, two *kāṇi*.

(Ll. 37-38.) Likewise the same Nākimayya, having adored with (*offering of*) money the blest feet of the Hundred of Kaṣaṣavalligēri, purchased (*of them*) one *mattar* as a *sarva-namasya* holding below the Gildsmen's Tank in the gravel-land of the garden.

(Ll. 38-40.) Likewise the same Nākimayya, having adored with (*offering of*) gold the blest feet of the Hundred of Kaṣaṣavalligēri, purchased a *karuva*-field of eleven *mattar*; the *aru-vaṇa* paid for this field is two *hāga* on each *mattar*.

(V. 15.) The Hundred who are lords of Ghaiśāsagēri, brilliant of splendour, great, have given abundant land for the approved worship of the gods Kēśava and Mahēśa.

(Ll. 41-43.) So Ajjavara Nākimayya, having adored the same Hundred's blest feet with (*offering of*) gold, purchased eleven *mattar* . . . ; the *aru-vaṇa* paid for this field is two *hāga* on each *mattar*.

(Ll. 43-49.) When he had built two *karuva*-houses in (*each of*) these two parishes,⁸ (*altogether*) four houses, the arrangement under which Nākimayya made his grants of houses and land in the Brahmapuri of the god was as follows:—For Kēśava-Bhaṭṭa, houses on the west and east, so as to keep up a professor's stipend; for him a field of five *mattar*; the *aru-vaṇa* paid by him to the god is to be two *paṇa* and two *hāga*. To the east thereof, a house for Narasimha-Sōmayāji; for him a field of two *mattar*, on which the *aru-vaṇa* is to be one *paṇa*. To the east thereof, a house for Narasimha-Ghaissa; for him a field of two *mattar*, on which the *aru-vaṇa* is to be one *paṇa*. To the east thereof, a house for Kōṇeya-Malla(?)—Kramita; for him a field of three *mattar*; the *aru-vaṇa* paid by him is to be one *paṇa* and two *hāga*.

(Ll. 49-53.) Likewise Ajjavara Nākiyaṇṇa, having adored with (*offering of*) money the divinely blest lotus-feet of the Thousand Mahājanas, headed by the mayor, purchased as a *sarva-namasya* holding two *mattar* and four-hundred and fifty *kamma* in the waste-land *hasuge*

¹ Cf. above, on inscr. B.

² A list of these is given in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII. i. Sk. 74.

³ Cf. *Mēg. Lūdāta* I. 58.

⁴ See Kittel, s. v. *hasige*, and above. Vol. XIII, p. 37.

⁵ Apparently the lands of Raviyaṇagēri.

⁶ Namely Kaṣaṣavalligēri and Ghaiśāsagēri.

⁷ See *I. A.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 52.

⁸ See above, on inscr. A.

of *Koṇaḷagēri*(?). Of this field the bounds are : on the north, the god *Andhāsura*'s field ; on the east, the *śata* of the waste-land of *Kattiyagēri* ; on the south, the field of the *Mūla-sthāna* god ; on the west, the *śata* of the waste-land of *Raviyaṇi*.

(L. 53-54.) The fifty households by common agreement granted oil for burning in the god's lamps.

(L. 54-57.) Likewise *Nākimayya-Nāyaka* [assigned] a toll on the betel-leaves of *Chikkarasa* of the *Rāhas'* Hill, . . . on a (*large*) load, a hundred on a (*small*) load, fifty on a bagful ; (*on*) a maund of husked rice, forty-five *gadyāṇa* in gold

(V. 16 : identical with verse 2 of inscription C.)

E.—OF THE REIGN OF VIKRAMADITYA VI: THE 29TH YEAR, ETC.

This is an inscription upon a black stone that was found standing against the east wall of a small empty shrine a little to the south-east of the front (eastern) face of the temple of *Madanēśvara* or *Andhakēśvara*. The stone was 7 ft. 6 in. high, and 3 ft. 0½ in. wide. Its top was a rounded panel containing the following sculptures : in the centre, a *linga* in a shrine ; to the proper right of this, a priest sitting, facing it, in the same shrine ; in the proper right corner, a cow with calf ; in the left corner, the bull *Nandi* ; above these, the sun (to left) and moon (to right). Below this is the inscribed area, 4 ft. 8½ in. high and 3 ft. broad.—The character is Kanarese, a good hand of the last quarter of the twelfth century, with a supplement in a later hand (ll. 53-56). The letters are on the average ½ in. high ; they are generally well preserved. The type of *jḥ* noted on the *Sūḍi* inscription F. above, Vol. XV, p. 86, occurs on ll. 22, 27. The cursive *v* is used in *-chakravartti* (l. 47).—The language, except for the introductory Sanskrit verse, is Old Kanarese, verging on the medieval dialect. The *ḷ* is preserved in *negalḍa*, l. 38, and *īḍuv*, l. 39, and wrongly written in *Beḷvalav*, l. 5 ; on the other hand, it appears as *ḷ* in *pēḷ*, l. 15, *pogaḷguṃ*, l. 30, *ēḷeneya*, l. 40, *ēḷ*, l. 43, *hāḷa*, ll. 37, 42, 50, and as *r* in *negarddar*, l. 8, *negarddam*, l. 25 (both with the second syllable short), and *nōrppaḍa*, l. 24. Initial *p* in the prose is retained in *pēriṃge*, l. 34, *pasuge*, l. 37, but changed to *h* in *hāḷa*, ll. 37, 42, 50, *hasuge*, ll. 43, 45, 50, *haṇa*, l. 43, *haḍuvana*, l. 46, *heb-baṭṭe*, l. 51, *haḷḷada*, l. 52. Lexically interesting are : *bhānasu*, l. 4, *kuttumbitti*, l. 5, *ēkarī*, l. 13, *baḷi*, l. 14, *sojja*, l. 34, *chamḍāvura*, l. 34, *sata*, ll. 44, 47, 51, 52, and *sauṭi*, l. 46.

The record is a consolidated one, comprising three different grants to the same foundation (ll. 1-39, 40-47, and 47-52), with a later supplement (ll. 53-56). When the third grant was executed and written out (A.D. 1184), the two earlier grants were copied and prefixed to it ; and in A.D. 1224 some one began to write as a supplement the fourth grant, but did not complete it. The first grant begins by referring itself to the reign of *Tribhuvanamalla* (*Vikramāditya VI*), and then states that a general and minister, who was also Steward of the Royal Kitchen, by name *Anantapālarasa*, had a son-in-law, *Lakkarasa*, a general who administered *Beḷvala* and *Puligere* ; and this *Lakkarasa*, with the authority of *Anantapālarasa*, commissioned a certain *Siṅgarasa* to assign one share in the proceeds of fines levied in *Pāli* to the treasury of the god *Andhāsura*, a form of *Śiva* (ll. 2-7). This was accordingly done, under the auspices of the *Achārya Tatpurusha*, a disciple of *Jñānaśakti* ; this *Jñānaśakti* was a distinguished divine and scholar, to whom king *Bhuvanaikamalla* (*Sōmēśvara II*) paid particular reverence, in connection with which a fine temple of *Śiva* (probably that bearing the name of *Andhāsura*, with which the present series of grants is concerned) was built (ll. 7-18). Then comes, apparently as a supplement to this grant, a record of two endowments of *Andhāsura*. The first (ll. 18-36) opens with verses praising the town of *Pāli* and its mayor (*ūr-oḍeya*), a scion of the *Chāḷukya* race named *Maṅgaḷārṇava*, who seems to have won some renown in the wars against the *Chōḷas*, *Māḷavas*, and *Gūrjaras*, and is stated to have settled 1,000 *Brāhman*s on an estate granted by

himself; after this come verses in praise of the Thousand, who are said to have built a stately temple of Andhāsura (probably that already mentioned). Then follows another supplement (ll. 36-38), chronicling a donation of land by four persons.

The second main division of the record (ll. 40-47) announces gifts of land to Andhāsura from the above-mentioned **Jñānaśakti** (ll. 40-44) and the Thousand (ll. 44-47). Next comes a third paragraph (ll. 47-52) announcing the gift of some land to the god by the Hundred of Kaśaśavalligēri, the Thousand of Pūli, and a certain **Kalidēvayya-Setti**. Last comes an unfinished paragraph, added long after the preceding, to chronicle a grant by the guild of weavers to the **Āchārya Vāmaśakti** for the expenses of the establishment (ll. 53-56).

Corresponding to its composite character, our inscription contains four **dates**. The first of these is given on ll. 7-8 as: the 29th year of the Chālukya-Vikrama era, the cyclic year **Tāraṇa**; Pushya śuddha 10, Brīhaspativāra (Thursday); the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*. This is irregular. The *tithi* Pushya śuddha 10 corresponded properly to **Wednesday, 28 December, A.D. 1104**, on which it ended about 18 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise, i.e. about 12.25 p.m., so that the connection with the following Thursday is not far wrong. But it cannot possibly have been connected with the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*, which took place about 6 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise on the preceding **Saturday, 24 December**.

The next date is that given in ll. 40-41: the 7th year of the **Kaśachurya Tribhuvanamalla** (Bijjala), the cyclic year Chitrabhānu; Śrāvaṇa full-moon, Sōmavāra (Monday); an eclipse of the moon. This again is irregular, but only to a slight degree. The given *tithi* corresponded to **Friday, 27 July, A.D. 1162**, on which it began about 55 m. before mean sunrise; and it ended about 4.41 a.m. on the following Saturday. On the same Friday there was a lunar eclipse lasting from 21 h. 45 m. to 23 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise (see *Eclipses of the Moon in India*, p. xxvii). The *Simha-samkrānti* took place about 6.13 a.m. on Saturday, 28 July.

The third date is given on ll. 47-48: the 2nd year of **Sōmēśvara** [IV], the cyclic year Krōdhi; the full-moon of Pushya, Sōmavāra (Monday); the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*. This is also irregular. The given *tithi* corresponded to **Wednesday, 19 December, A.D. 1184**; it began about 4 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise on the preceding Tuesday. The *uttarāyana-samkrānti* did not occur until several days later; it took place about 22 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise on **Monday, 24 December**. Thus we see that the details of our date are a conflation of two distinct dates, as is often the case.

The last date is stated on l. 53 as: Śaka 1146 (expired), the cyclic year **Tāraṇa**, Jyāishṭha śuddha 8, Sōmavāra (Monday). This is correct. The given *tithi* corresponded to **Monday, 27 May, A.D. 1224**, on which it ended about 19 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

The **places** mentioned, besides Pūli, are **Beḷvala** and the Six-hundred of the "Two Beḷvalas" (ll. 5, 19), **Śiveyagēri** (l. 37), **Kokkuligēri** (ll. 42, 49), **Kattiyagēri** (ll. 44, 52), **Ghaisāśagēri** (l. 46), **Kaśaśavalligēri** (l. 48), **Raviyaṇi** and **Raviyaṇagēri** (ll. 44, 51), **Būragutti** (l. 51), and some minor localities.

TEXT.¹

[The metres are as follows: verse 1, *Anuṣṭubh*; verses 5, 7, 9, 10, 12-15, 18, *Kanda*; verses 4, 17, *Mahā-sragdharā*; verses 6, 8, 11, *Champakā-mālā*.]

- 1 (C) Namas=tuṅga-sīraś-chuṁbi-chāndra-chāmara-chāravē [*] trailōkya-nagar-ārambhā-mūla-stambhāya Śambhavē [||1*] (C)


¹ From the ink-impression.

- 2 ॐ Svasti [*] Samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Pri(pri)thvi-vallabha mahārājādhirājam
paramēśvaraṁ paramabhaṭṭārakaṁ **Satyāśraya**-kuḷa-tīlakam **Chālukya**-ābharaṇam
śrī-
- 3 ma[t*]-**Tribhuvanamalladēvara** vijaya-rājyam=uttar-ōttar-ābhivri(vri)ddhi-pravarddha-
mānam=ā-chamdr-ārka-tāram saluttam=ire [*] Tat-pāda-padm-ō-
- 4 pajivi¹ samadhigata-paṁcha-mahā-śabda-mahāsāmantādhīpati mahāprachaṇḍa-daṇḍa-
nāyakaṁ śrīman-mahāpradhānam bhāṇasu-
- 5 verggaḍe **Anantapālarasara** deseyin=avar=aḷiyam daṇḍanāyaka **Lakkarasaṁ** kut-
tumbitti bhatta-gāvey=ōlag-āgi **Beḷvalav=eraḍ-arū-nū-**
- 6 **rumam** dushṭa-nigraha-śiṣṭa-pratipālanadim̄d=āḷuttam-irddu va(dha)rmmā-kāryy-ōddē-
śadim̄ tanna paḷihataṁ **Simgarasanaṁ** kared=agrahāraṁ Pāliya
- 7 śrīmad-Andhāsura-dēvargge Pāliya daṇḍa-dōshad=ōlag=ōndu bhāgama[m*] biḍ=ēndu
sama[r*]ppise śrīmach-**Chālukya-Vikrama-kālada** 29neya Tāra-
- 8 ṇa-saṁvatsarada Pushya-suddha daśami Bri(Bri)haspativārād=uttarāyana-saṁkra-
maṇada divya-tithiyol || I mahiyol=negardda(ḷda)r=vidyā-mahi-
- 9 m-ōnnatiyol=ugra-tapadol=mukti(kti)-śrī(śrī)- mukha-maṇi-makurar = Kkālāmukhar = ēnō-
(naḷ)-parān(ū)mukhar=mmuni-mukhyar || [2*] Vṛitta || Avaroḷ=Pāliya-
- 10 **dēvar**=ēmbaṛ=esedar=nniṣṭh-āgragaṇyar=bbaḷikk = avariṇdam **Lakuḷiśadēvar** = avariṁ
Vakhkā(kkhā)ṇidēvar=gguṇa-pravarar=ssarvva-kaḷ-āgama-prathita-Vidyēśāna-yōgīm-
dra-
- 11 r=ant=avarim̄ pe[m]pina **Sōmadēva**-munipar=vviśvambharā-bhāgadol || [3*] Ruchir-
ōdyad-ratna-rōchi[s*]-stabaka-vīlasit-ānēka-bhūpāla-chūdā(dā)-nichaya-prōdghriṣṭa-pā-
- 12 da-dvayan=upagata-sārasvataṁ nūtna-va(ka)rmm-ōpachay - āmbhōrāśi - Kālānana(la ?)-
nikhila-muniṁdr-ōttamaṁ mōksha-lakshmi-kucha-kumbh-āḷam̄krit-ōra[s*]-sthaḷa-
- 13 n=amala-yaśa[m*] **Jñānaśakti**-vratim̄dra || [4*] Ēkariy=ire bahu-tarkka-vyākaraṇam̄
Jñānaśakti-paṇḍita-dēvargg=ēkāksharam=ēndu mahi-lōkam̄ baṇṇisuvud²=avara
- 14 mahim-ōnnatiya || [5*] Vitata-yaśam̄ **Chālukya**-kuḷa-tigmakaram̄ **Bhuvanay(a)ka[ma]**
lla-bhūpati baliy-aṭṭi tan-muni-paḍ-ābja-yugakke vinamna-
- 15 n=āgi niśchita-mati koṭṭa pūjeyole māḍisidar=Śśiva-gēhamam̄ siḷ-āyatanaman=intu
māḍipare pēl=enutun̄ va(dha)re baṇṇip-annega || [6*] Avar=aṇugi-
- 16 na śiṣhyar=iḷā-pravarar=gguṇa-gaṇa-samanvitar=nnānā-sāstra-vidar = **Ttatpurushar**=ddig-
vivaraṁgaḷan=amala-kirttiyim̄ dhavaḷisidar || [7*] Int=enisida sthān-āchā-
- 17 ryyar=appa **Tatpurusha**-paṇḍitara samakshadolam̄ ūr-ōḍeya-pramukha sāsirvvar
mmahājanaṁgaḷa sannidhānadalum̄ śrīmad-Andhāsura-dēvara pā-
- 18 da-prakshālanam̄-geydu dēvar=aṁga-bhōgakkam̄ khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-jirṇa-ōddhārakkam̄
daṇḍa-dōshad=ōlag=ōndu bhāgamaṁ pergggaḍe **Simgarasaṁ** biṭṭa ॐ Vanadhi-
parita-
- 19 bhūtaḷa-viḷāsavati-mukhad=ante tōrppa chelvine kaṇi **Beḷvalakke** tīlak-ākri(kri)-
tiyim̄d=esed-irppa Pāliy=ēn=Animisha-rājan=irppa puramō Phaṇi-rājana rā-
- 20 jadhāniyō manuja-nivāsam̄=allad=enisal=neregum̄ peṇat=ōndu śōbheyim̄ || [8*] Adu
vēdaṁgaḷa tāy-maney=adu nānā-tarkad=irkke-dāṇam̄ kēl=ant=adu
- 21 śāstraṁgaḷa kaṇiy=enisidud=avanī-chakraḍ=ōlage Pāli-grāma || [9*] Ārame paṇṭ-
eṇagida sahakārame bhōr=ēndu moreyut-irpp=aḷini-
- 22 jhaṁkārame sugandha-kusum-āsārame poṇa-voḷalol=ēmdod=ē vāṇṇipudō || [10*]
Sura-nīlayam̄gaḷ=Īśana Dinēśana pāda-yugakke bhaktar=appara[n=a]-
- 23 var=irppa śāśvata-padakk=aḍardd(rd)=ērisal=ēndu sāram=āg=ire Bidi kaṭṭid=ōndu
patham=ēmba vol=aṁbaramam̄ taṇuṁbi bhāsuratara-sātakumbha-kāśaṁga-

¹ Read *ōpajiri*.² The *da* has been omitted and then squeezed in, written small.

- 24 lin=oppugum=entu nörppaḍa || [11*] Akhila-mahidēvar=Śśatamakhanam taṇipalke
kūḍe māḍutt-ire kārmmukhadha¹ vol=esegum nānā-ma-
- 25 kha-dhūma-stōmadindam=eṇḍum vyōma || [12*] Chōla-kula-Kāla-daṇḍam Mālava-
kula-vilaya-kētu Gūrjjara-kula-nirmūla[ka*]n=ene sale regarḍda(lda)m
- 26 Chālukya-kul-ēṇḍu Maṅgalārṇava-dēva || [13*] Ā Maṅgalārṇavam jagati-
mudrita-vimala-kīrtti sarvva-namasyam bhūmiyan=ittu sahasra-dha-
- 27 rāmararam nilisi Pūliyam pālisida || [14*] Guḍi chamarav=ojjha(jja)ram bel-goḍe
haḍapam ghaḷigey=ubhaya-saṁkham modal=āg=oḍeya mahā-
- 28 mahimeyam=ūr-oḍeya śrī-Maṅgalārṇavam kūḍe paḍedar || [15*] Vachana || Antu
paḍed=ūr-oḍeya-pramukha sāsirvvar=mmahājanamgala mahā-
- 29 mahimey=ent=eṇḍade || Vipul-āchārar=aganṇa(ṇya)-puṇṇa(ṇya)-nile(la)yar=lōk-aika-
pūjyar=kkaḷā-nipunar=ssā(śśā)rada-nirad-ōpama-yaśar=śśisṭ-ē-
- 30 sṭa-vargg-amar-āṁghripaṇ=udvitta-virōdhi-sāva(dha)na-harar=śrī-Kēśavāditya-dēva-pad-
āmbhōruha-bhri(bhri)ṁgar=eṇḍu pogalḡum sāsirvvaram bhūtaḷa || [16*]
- 31 Param-audāryyakke janm-ālayar=enisida sāsirvvarum tammoḷ=atyādaradindam kūḍi
va(dha)rm-āmṛitaṁan=osedu pīral=manam-
- 32 [go]mḍu lōk-ōttaram=app=ātmiya-kīrtti-prabala-lateg=aḍarpp=eṇbinam śrīmad-Andhā-
sura-dēv-āvāsamam māḍisidar=amara-sailakke
- 33 sādri(dri)śyam=āgal || [17*] Ant=enisid=ūr-oḍeya-pramukha sāsirvvar=mmahājanamgaḷ=
ē(ai)kamatyav=āg-irḍdu nela-varttīge sāsirakke
- 34 pannomḍ=aḍakeya sojjanumam chaṇḍāvuram bele modal=āg=ulid=aḍakegaḷg=ellaṁ
sāsirakke irppatt-omḍ=aḍakeya sojjanumam pēṇṇige lābha-
- 35 gavaligey=ēṇṇu-uṇṇ=eleyumam tale-voṇ[e*]ge lābha-gavaligeya nāl-nūṇ-eleyuma[m*]
śrīmad-Andhāsura-dēvara pāda-prakshālanam-
- 36 māḍi dēvar=aṁga-bhōgakk=eṇḍu sāsirvvar=bbiṭṭar || Ālālara Nāgadēvayya
Haradara Śāntay[y*]a Maṇḍeyara Mākanayya
- 37 Ubbarada Bammayya iṇṇ-i nālvaru Śiv[e*]yagēriya nūrbbarige pāda-ghā(pū)-
jeyam kōṭṭu hāla pasugeolage² Kaḍakina-
- 38 keṇṇe kelage nālku mattar=kkeyya sarvva-namaśya(sya)v=āgi śrīmad-Addhā-
(ndhā)sura-dēvarige kōṇḍu biṭṭar || Jagad=olage negaḷda Pūliyo-
- 39 ḷ=aga(gha)-paṭṭar=ddēva-nivahav=ellaṁ kichchim dhagadhaga bhugilt=eṇḍ=uriyal-
poge khaṇḍam³ muṭṭad-iḷḍuv=Amndhāsuraṇa || [18*]
- 40 Svasti [*] Śrīmatu-Kaḷachuryya-chakravartti(rtti) Tribhuvanamalladēva-varśa
(rsha)d-ēḷeneya Chitrabhānu-saṁvarsa(tsa)rada Śrāvāṇa-sudhdha⁴ puṇṇami
Sōmavāram[u*]m
- 41 sōma-grahāṇamum kūḍi banda puṇya-dinadōḷu śrīmad-Andā(ndhā)sura-dēvara
sthānad=āchāryyar=appa śrī-Jñānaśakti-dēvaru śrīman-mah-a(ā)gra-
- 42 hāram Pūliy=ūr-oḍeya-pramukha sāsirvvaram dravya-pūrvvakam=ārādi(dhi)si dēvara
snāna-nivēdyakk=eṇḍu Kokkuḷ[i*]gēriya hāla hasuge-
- 43 yalu kōṇḍu biṭṭa mattar=ēḷ=aḍakke aru-vāṇa mattarīṇge hāṇa oṇḍu [*]
keyya sime ent=e[m*]ḍade baḍagaṇa sime Gōkharṇpēsvara⁵-dēvara key[y*]m
- 44 temkalu Ajjavara-dēvta(va)ra key[y*]m baḍagalū mūḍalu Kattiyagēriya
sa(śa)ta paḍuvalu Raviyaṇiya sa(śa)ta Svasti [*] Śrīmad-ū-
- 46 r-oḍeya-pramukha sāsirvvarum śrīmad-Andā(ndhā)sura-dēvargge snāna-nivēdyakkey-
eḍe-volada hasugeyalli sarvva-namaśya(sya)-

¹ Read *kārmukada*.⁴ Read *suddha*.² Read *pasugey-olage*.⁵ Read *Gōkharṇpēsvara*.³ There seems to be an *r* written over the *kha*.

- 46 v=āgi biṭṭa mattar=emṭu [i*] adakke simey=ent=e[m*]daḷe mūḍaṇa si[me*]
Akkasāligeyi | temkaṇa sime betṭa | haḍuvaṇa sime saṭṭi | baḍagaṇ
sime Ghais[ā]-
- 47 sagēriya sa(śa)ta |(l)| Svasti [i*] Śrīmatu-**Chāḷukya-chakravartti** śrī-**Sōmēsvara-**
dēva¹-**varśa(rsha)d=eraḍeneya** **Krōdhi-saṁvachha(tsa)rada** Puśya(shya)-sudhdha²
puṇṇami
- 48 Sōmavāra uttarāyaṇa-saṁkramā(ma)ṇadamdu śrīmatu-Kaḷasa(śa)vaḷḷigēriya nūrvvarum
sāsīrvvarum same(ma)ya-chakravartti **Kali-**
- 49 **dēvayya-seṭṭiyarum** sah[i*]taṁ śrīmad-**Amḍhāsu[ra*]-dēvargge** snāna-nivēdyakke
Mairāvaṇada hadināḷku mattaru keyam-
- 50 maṁm³=mār[ā*]ṭav=āgi Kokkuḷigēriya hāḷa hasugeya modala sthaḷadalli sarvva-
namaśya(sya)v=āgi bi-
- 51 ṭṭa mattaru⁴ [i*] adara śi(si)me Raviyaṇagēriya sa(śa)tadindam mūḍalu
baḍagaṇa sime Būragut[t*]i-heb-baṭṭe
- 52 mūḍaṇa sime Kattiyagēriya sa(śa)ta temkaṇa simey=Edavanahaḷḷada baṭṭey=i(i)
da(dha)rmamam sāsīrvvaru pratipāḷisuvāru ||
- 53  Svasti [i*] Śrīmatu-**Śaka-varsha** 1146⁵neya **Taraṇa-saṁvatsarada** Jyēsthā-
śudhdha² aṣṭa[mi*] Sōmavāradamdu [i*] Svasti [i*] Samasta-guṇa-saṁpannar=appa
- 54 śrīma[t*]-**Trikaṭṭa**⁶-**tēśvara-dēvara** divya-śrī-pāda-padm-ārādhakarum=appa śrī-Pūliya
sāḷiga-sama-
- 55 yaṁgaḷum=ūr-oḍeya sāsīrvvara sannidhānadalu śrīmad-**Amḍhāsura-dēvara** sthān-
āchāryyaru-
- 56 m=appa **Vāmasākti-dēvarige** dēva-kāryyakk=emdu dhārā-pūrvvakav=āgi koṭṭa
harike⁵ okkalinge hoṁge⁶

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1 : identical with verse 1 of inscription D above.)

(Lines 2-3.) When the victorious reign of—hail !—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of **Satyāśraya's** race, embellishment of the **Chāḷukyas**, king **Tri bhuvanamalladēva**, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (to endure) as long as moon, sun, and stars :—

(Ll. 3-7.) On behalf of him who finds sustenance at his lotus feet, the great Lord of Feudatories who receives the five great musical sounds, the great august general, high minister, and Steward of the Kitchen, **Anantapālarasa**,—his son-in-law, the general **Lakkarasa**, administering the **Six-hundred of the two Beḷvalas**,⁷ including the *kuttumbitti* and provision-villages,⁸ so as to suppress the wicked and protect the cultured, despatched his deputy **Siṅgarasa** on a mission of religious business, and having bade him to assign one share in the proceeds of the fines of **Pūli** to the god **Amḍhāsura** of the **Agrahāra** of **Pūli**, consecrated (*the-same*) ; whereupon—

¹ Read *Sōmēśvaradēva*.

² Read *suddha*.

³ Read *keyya* (P).

⁴ Possibly a numeral has been dropped before *mattaru*.

⁵ There seems to be a *sonne* at the end of this word on the stone, over the *ge*.

⁶ The record here seems to break off in the middle of the sentence.

⁷ This means the Three-hundred of Beḷvala and the Three-hundred of Paligeṇe : see Dr. Fleet's note on the Soratūr inscription, above, Vol. XIII, p. 178.

⁸ See note on *bhātta-grāme* (Sūḍi inscr. F., l. 20) above, Vol. XV, p. 92, n. 1

(Ll. 7-8.) On the holy lunar day, Thursday, the tenth of the bright fortnight of Pushya in the cyclic year Tārana, the 29th year of the Chālukya-Vikrama era, on the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*,—

(V. 2.) Illustrious on this earth are the eminent saints of the Kālāmukha order for exalted majesty of learning (*and*) for severe austerities, being jewel-mirrors for the face of the Spirit of Salvation, remote from sin.

(V. 3.) Among them flourished one named Pūliyadēva, pre-eminent for devotion in the world; after him, Lakulīśadēva; after him, Vakkhāpidēva excelling in virtues and the great Yōgi Vidyāsāna, versed in all arts and sacred tradition; so after him, the distinguished saint Sōmadēva.

(V. 4.) The great ascetic Jñānaśakti has his two feet much rubbed by many monarchs' crowded crests brilliant with masses of lustre from bright noble gems; he is endowed with literary genius, highest of all the great saints who are like fires of doom to that ocean the rank growth of modern religions, stainless in fame, having his breast adorned by the rounded bosom of the Spirit of Salvation.

(V. 5.) As Jñānaśakti-Paṇḍitadēva's vast knowledge of logic and grammar is unique (?), the public lauds his exalted dignity, styling him Ēkāśhara.¹

(V. 6.) In the course of the worship which king Bhuvanaikamalla, of widespread fame, a sun to the Chālukya race, despatching a messenger,² reverently (*and*) resolutely offered to the lotus-feet of this saint, they constructed a sanctuary of Śiva, which the world ever praises, saying "Say, can they make thus a building of stone?"

(V. 7.) His beloved disciple Tatpurusha, eminent on earth, endowed with numerous virtues, knowing divers books of instruction, has caused the expanses of the regions of space to become white with his stainless fame.

(Ll. 16-18.) Having, in the presence of the local Āchārya Tatpurusha, as above described, and in the presence of the Thousand Mahājānas headed by the mayor, laved the feet of the god Andhāsura, the Steward Siṅgarasa made over for the personal enjoyment of the god and for the restoration of broken, burst, and outworn (*masonry*) one share in the proceeds of the fines of Pāli.

(V. 8.) Shining in the form of a beauty-spot on Beḷvala, that mine of loveliness which appears like the face of that graceful lady the ocean-girt Earth, Pāli is perfect in comeliness, a thing unique and apart, so that men say: "Is it the city where dwells the king of gods, or the royal residence of the lord of serpents? It cannot be a dwelling-place of mortals."

(V. 9.) It is a mother-house of the Vēdas, it is a dwelling-place of divers systems of logic, hearken, so it is a mine of books of instruction: thus is the town of Pāli known within the circuit of earth.

(V. 10.) As regards the pleasancess, the mango-trees drooping with fruit, the murmuring of swarms of bees that hum with buzzing sound, the showers of scented flowers in the outskirts of the town what description can fit them?

(V. 11.) How brilliant are the temples, when one observes, with their exceedingly radiant golden pinnacles, obstructing the sky, as if to say that this is a peculiar path built by

¹ Ēkāśhara, lit. "monosyllable," is the mystic Ōm and the lore connected with it; applied as a title, it means a master of that lore (cf. the name of the poet Shadākshari-dēva, the "master of the six-syllabled spell," scil. ōm namaḥ=Śivāya). A work on logic by an earlier Ēkāśhara-Muni is mentioned in the Kaḷas inscription of Śaka 851 (above, Vol. XIII, p. 332, l. 54). Here there seems to be a play on the double meaning of *ēkāśhara*, which apparently is taken as signifying "uniquely literate" (cf. *s-ākshara*).

² See Dr. Fleet's note on the word *baḷi* in his paper on the Dēvagēri inscription, above, Vol. XI, p. 3.

the Creator as his choicest work in order to raise the votaries of the feet of Īśa and the Sun to enter into the everlasting seat where they¹ abide.

(V. 12.) The sky is ever bright with masses of smoke of various sacrifices, like a rainbow, which all the Brāhmans together make for the satisfaction of the Lord of a Hundred Sacrifices [Indra].

(V. 13.) **Maṅgalārṇavadēva**, a moon of the Chālukya race, has become in sooth illustrious as a rod of Kāla to the Chōla race, a meteor of ruin to the Mālava race, an uprooter of the Gūrjara race.

(V. 14.) This **Maṅgalārṇava**, whose stainless fame is stamped upon the earth, having given land on *sarva-namasya* tenure (and) settled a thousand Brāhmans, protected Pūli.

(V. 15.) The fortunate **Maṅgalārṇava**, the mayor, received as a gift (*marks of*—Ed.) the high dignity of governorship, namely the flag, yak-tail fans, discus (?), white parasol, betel-bag, gong, double shell, and the rest.

(Ll. 28-29.) As regards the high dignity of the Thousand Mahājanas, headed by the mayor who has had this fortune :—

(V. 16.) The earth extols the Thousand as being men of abounding (*good*) conduct, seats of incalculable merit, uniquely worshipful to the world, skilled in arts, having fame like autumnal clouds, celestial trees to the companies of cultured and agreeable men, ravishing the powers of haughty foes, bees to the lotus-feet of the blest god Kēśavāditya.

(V. 17.) The Thousand, who are birth-sites of supreme generosity, having together drunk with delight the nectar of religion with exceeding reverence for him, moved in spirit, built a dwelling for the blessed god Andhāsura, which was to be as it were a support for the mighty creeping-plant of their own superhuman fame, so that it was like to the celestial mountain.

(Ll. 33-36.) The Thousand Mahājanas headed by the mayor thus described, by unanimous consent, laved the feet of the god Andhāsura and granted for the god's personal enjoyment on *nela-varitti* eleven *sojja* of areca-nuts per thousand; on all other areca-nuts, such as *chanḍāvura* and *beḷe*, twenty-one *sojja* per thousand; on each load (*of betel-leaf*), a bundle² (*consisting of*) eight-hundred betel-leaves; on each head-load, a bundle (*consisting of*) four-hundred betel-leaves.

(Ll. 36-38.) **Ālālara Nāgadēvayya**, **Haradara Śāntayya**, **Maṇḍeyara Mākaṇayya**, and **Ubbarada Bammayya**, these four, having offered worship at the feet of the Hundred of Śiveyagēri, purchased (*of them*) and assigned to the god Andhāsura as a *sarva-namasya* holding four *mattar* below the Kaḍaku Tank within the waste-land *pasuge*.

(V. 18.) In Pūli, which is renowned in the world, the whole company of gods is grief-stricken if a morsel (*of sacrificial food*) should enter the flames in fiery glow with crackling sound, without coming to Andhāsura.

(Ll. 40-41.) On the holy day on which occurred **Monday**, the full-moon of the bright fortnight of Śrāvana in the cyclic year **Chitrabhānu**, the seventh of the (*regnal*) years of —hail!—the blest **Kaḷachurya Emperor Tribhuvanamalladēva**,³ together with an eclipse of the moon,—

(Ll. 41-44.) **Jñānaśaktidēva**, the Āchārya of the establishment of the god Andhāsura, having adored with (*offering of*) money the Thousand, headed by the mayor, of the great Agrahāra of Pūli, purchased and assigned for the god's baths and oblations seven *mattar* in the

¹ Namely Īśa and the Sun.

² *Lābha-gaḷige*: the word *gaḷige* means "a quantity embraced; a pack or bundle of betel or plantain-leaves, etc." (Kittel, s.v.).

³ See *Dyn. Kanar. Distr.*, p. 474.

waste-land *hasuge* of Kokkuligēri; the *aru-vaṇa* for it is one *haṇa* on each *mattar*. As regards the bounds of the field, the northern bound is from the field of the god Gōkarṇēśvara, on the south from the field of (the god) of the Ajjavas,¹ on the north-east the *śata* of Kattiyagēri, on the west the *śata* of Raviyaṇi.

(Ll. 44-47.) Hail ! The Thousand, headed by the mayor, assigned to the god Andhāsura for baths and oblations eight *mattar* as a *sarva-namasya* holding in the *hasuge* of the Lower (?) Field. As regards its bounds, the eastern bound is the Goldsmiths' Field, the southern bound the hill, the western bound the *sauṭi*, the northern bound the *śata* of Ghaisāsagēri.

(Ll. 47-48.) On the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*, Monday, the full-moon of the bright fortnight of Pushya in the cyclic year Krōdhi, the second of the (regnal) years of—hail !—the Chālukya Emperor Sōmēśvaradēva,—

(Ll. 48-52.) The Hundred of Kaṣasavalligēri and the Thousand (of Pūli), together with the Samaya-chakravartti Kalidēvayya Setṭi, assigned to the god Andhāsura for baths and oblations a (?) *mattar* as a *sarva-namasya* holding in the first grounds of the waste-land *hasuge* of Kokkuligēri, in exchange for a field of fourteen *mattar* belonging to Mairāvāṇa.² Its bounds are : on the east from the *śata* of Raviyaṇagēri; its northern bound the highroad of Būragutti; its eastern bound the *śata* of Kattiyagēri; its southern bound the road of the Eḍava's river.³ This pious foundation the Thousand shall protect.

(L. 53.) On Monday the eighth of the bright fortnight of Jyēsthā in the cyclic year Tārana, the 1146th year of—hail !—the auspicious Śaka era,—

(Ll. 53-56.) Hail ! Endowed with all virtues, worshippers of the divinely blest lotus-feet of the god Trikuṭēśvara, the weavers' guilds of Pūli, in the presence of the mayor and the Thousand, granted with pouring of water a votive gift (?) to Vāmasaktidēva, the Āchārya of the establishment of the god Andhāsura, for the business of the god : for each household, on every gold-piece . . .

F.—OF THE REIGN OF VIKRAMADITYA VI: SAKA 1029.

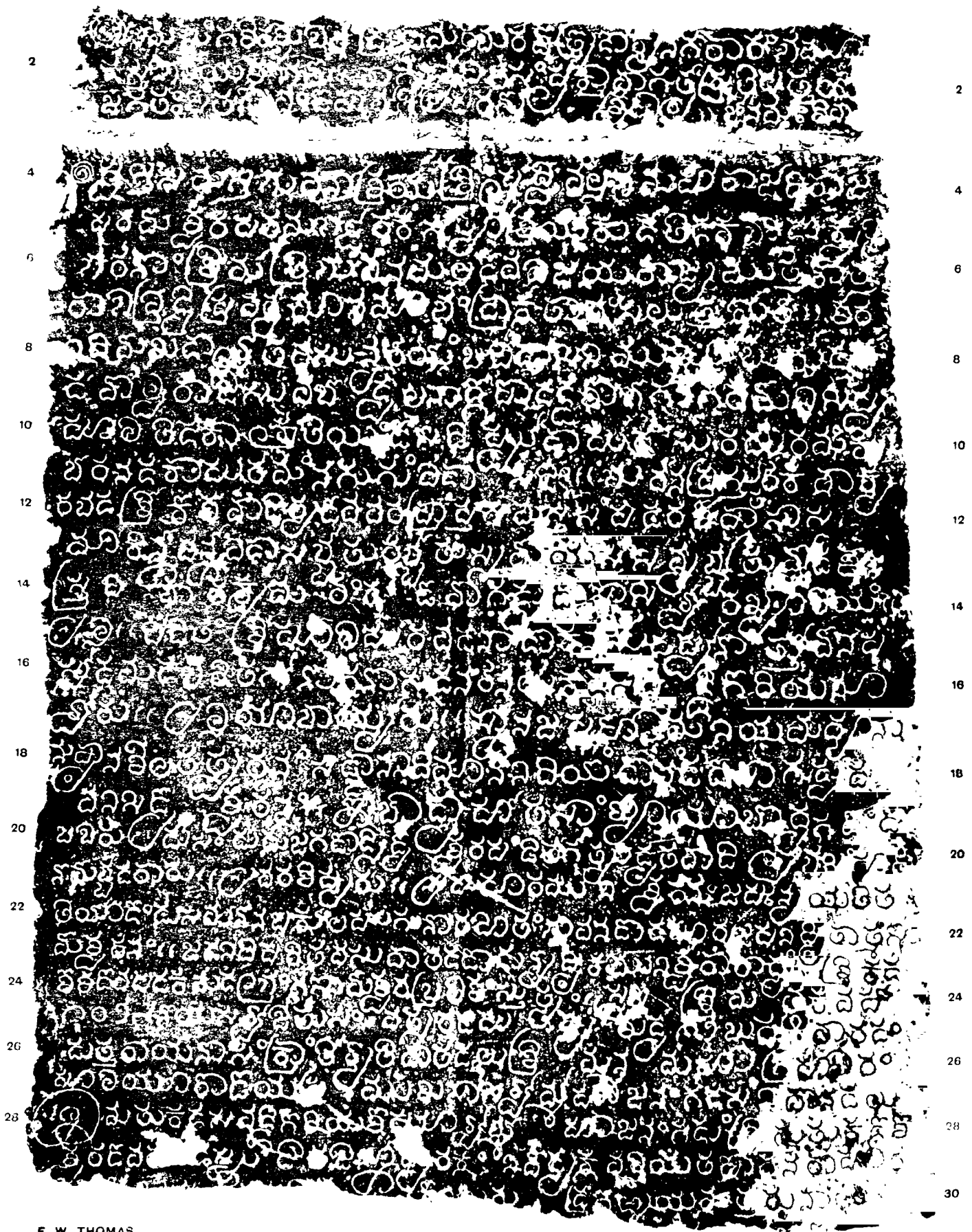
This is an inscription on the upper part of a black stone found standing in the *maṇḍapa* on the southern side of the entrance into the adytum of the temple of Kere-Siddhappa. The lower part of the stone, with the inscription from l. 31 onwards, has been broken away and lost. What remains is 3 ft. 5½ in. high and 1 ft. 8½ in. wide. It has a rounded top, on which are sculptures, viz. in the centre a *liṅga*; to the proper right of this, a squatting figure, possibly Śiva or a Yōgi; to the left of the *liṅga*, a cow with calf; over the cow, a scimitar; above these, the sun (to right of *liṅga*) and moon (to left). The inscribed area below this is 2 ft. 2½ in. high and 1 ft. 8½ in. broad.—The character is good Kanarese of the period, with letters about ½ in. high, which, however, become smaller as the inscription goes on. The cursive *v* occurs in *vyatipātadalu*, l. 26.—The language is Sanskrit in the prelude (ll. 1-3), and for the rest Old Kanarese. The *ḷ* appears only as *ḷ*, viz. in *vogaḷvudō* (l. 14) and *pogaḷvud* (l. 18).

The record opens with two Sanskrit verses, the first of which is the formal *Namas-tuṅga*°, and the second the introductory stanza of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* (ll. 1-3). It then refers itself to the reign of Tribhuvanamalladēva, i.e. Vikramāditya VI (ll. 4-7), and next in a series of verses extols the Beḷvala nāḍu, Pūli, the Thousand of Pūli, the Hundred of Kaṣasavalligēri, the Śaiva divine Siddhēśvara, and his disciple Sōmēśvara, both of whom were Āchāryas

¹ The Ajjava family is mentioned above, in inscr. D.

² This is the name of a demon, an ally of Rāvaṇa, whose legend is popular in the south. Possibly a sanctuary of his may be meant; but it is doubtful.

³ On the epithet *eḍava* see above, Vol. XV, p. 81, n. 7.



of the temple of Kalaśeśvara in Kalaśavalligēri (ll. 7-24). Descending then into prose, it chronicles a gift of land to this sanctuary by the Hundred of Kalaśavalligēri, in the midst of which it is broken off.

The date of this record is given on ll. 24-26 as: Śaka 1029 (expired), the cyclic year Sarvajit; Pushya śuddha 12, Budhavāra (Wednesday); the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*. This is irregular, being another instance of the conflation of two distinct dates. The *tithi* Pushya śuddha 12 corresponded to **Saturday, 28 December, A.D. 1107**; it ended about 20 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise on Saturday, *i.e.* about 2.11 A.M. on Sunday. The *uttarāyana-samkrānti* again occurred about 50 m. after mean sunrise—*scil.* 6.50 A.M.—on **Wednesday, 25 December**.

The places mentioned are Pūli, the Belvala nāḍu (l. 9), Kalaśavalligēri (ll. 16, 28), and Rudragere (l. 30). The last cannot be identified.

TEXT.¹

[The metres are as follows: Vv. 1, 2, *Anuṣṭubh*; v. 3, *Champakamālā*; v. 4, *Mattēbhārikriḍita*; Vv. 5-9, *Kanda*.]

- 1 (☉) Namas=tuṅga-śiraś-chuṁbi-chandra-chāmara-chāravē traiḷōkya-nagar-ārambhā-
mū-
- 2 la-stambhāya Śambhavē || [1*] Vāg-artthāv=iva saṁpriktau vāg-arttha-
pratipattayē [1*]
- 3 jagataḥ pita[r]au vaṁdē Pārsvati-Paramēśvarau || [2*] Ōm namaḥ Śivā[ya] ||
- 4 (☉) Svasti [1*] Samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śri-Prithvi-vallabha mahārājādhirāja
- 5 paramēśvara paramabhaṭṭārakam Satyāśraya-kuḷa-tiḷaka Chāḷuky-ā-
- 6 bharaṇam śrīma[t*]-Tribhuvanamalladēva-vijaya-rājyam=uttar-ōtta-
- 7 r-ābhivri(vri)ddhi-pravarddhamānam=ā-chāṁdr-ārka-tāram saluttam=ire || Śara-
- 8 nidhi-mēkhal-āvṛita-vasundharey=emba viḷasini-mukh-āmburūha-
- 9 da vōl=virājisuva Belvala-nālge podalḍa śōbhag=āgaram=enis=irppa
- 10 Pūli tiḷak-ākṛitiyimḍ=esed=irppud=ā puram Sura-puramam K[u]-
- 11 bēran=Aḷakā-puramam naguguṁ viḷasadiṁ || [3*] Bhuvana-prastutar²=ēka-vākya-
- 12 r=achalar=śrī-Kēśavāditya-dēva-vara-prāpta-samasta-saṁpadar=aśōsh-āsā(śā)-sa-
- 13 mākirṇna(rṇṇa)-varṇna(rṇṇa)-viḷāsar=chchaturar=chchatus=same(ma)ya-saṁsōvyar=chcha-
tur-Vvēda-Śā-
- 14 stra-vichāra-kshamar=emdaḍ=ē vogaḷvudō sāsirvvara khyātiyam || [4*]
- 15 Alli || Viditam(ta)-śrī-Pūli-pura-vadan-ālōkana-sudarppaṇar=ttāṣv=enipa-
- 16 r=ssad-amala-charitar=gūṇa-gaṇa-sadanar=enalu Kalaśa(śa)valligēriya nū-
- 17 rvvaru || [5*] Alliy=āchāryyaru || Snāna-japa-hōma-niyama-dhyān-ā-
- 18 nushṭhāna-śīla-tatparanam sad(j)-jūāna-nidhi māna-nidhiy=emḍ=ānamdado
pogaḷvud=a-
- 19 vani Siddhēśvaranam || [6*] Baudh-Ārhata-Sāmkhyāyā³-bōd[hh]dhrigaḷ=emḍ=e[m]-
- 20 ba birudu saṁdudu jagadol=Siddhēśvara-paṁditarg=atyuddhata-vād-ibha-simhar=e-
- 21 ne mechchadar=ār || [7*] Avara śishyaru || Agha-dūra-muniśvaranur
jaghamnyam(nya)-yati-ta-
- 22 tiyol=emdu saman=en=abarkku laghu-gūṇa-rahitam bhuvanadol=Aghōra-japa-
nishṭhit-ātma-Sō-

¹ From the ink-impression.

² The *ta* was omitted by the engraver and then added below the line.

³ Corrupt: the true reading may perhaps be *sāmkhy-āyana* (taking *āyana* as equivalent to *sāstra*) [or rather *Sāmkhya-Nyāya*—Ed].

- 23 **mēśvaranam** || [8*] Jaṇidhi-parita-vasudhātaḷadoḷu naiśṭhika-muni(ni)śvar-
ārādhyam śrī-Kaḷa-
24 śēśa-dēva-p[ā*]da-kamaḷa-bhṛiṅga **Sōmēśvara-bratīśam** stutyam¹ || [9*] Svasti [i*]
Śrīmach-Chhaka-varsha
25 **1029neya Sarvvajitu-samvatsarada Pushya-suddha 12 Budhavāradam-**
26 d=uttarāyaṇa-samkrānti-vyatipātadalu śrīman-mah-āgrahāram
27 Pūliy=ūr-oḍeya-pramukha-sāsirvvar=mmahājanamgaḷa samnidhānadalu
28 śrīmatu-Kaḷasa(sa)vaḷḷigēriy=aśēśa-nūrvvar=mmahājanamgaḷum śrīmatu-Kaḷe(ḷa)śē-
29 śvara-dēvara [kham]ḍa-sphuṭita-jirṇi(rṇṇ)-ōddhārakkam nivēdyakkav=alliya tapo-
dhanar=āhāru-
30 [dānakkam] key[y]i Rudrageṇeya mattaru nālku
kamma²

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1 : identical with v. 1 of inscription D. above.)

(V. 2.) For attainment of words and ideas I adore Pārvati and Paramēśvara, the parents of the universe, who are united like word and idea.³

(L. 3.) Ōm ! Homage to Śiva !

(Ll. 4-7.) When the victorious reign of—hail!—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of **Satyāśraya's** race, embellishment of the **Chāḷukyas**, king **Tribhuvanamalladēva**, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (*to endure*) as long as moon, sun, and stars :—

(V. 3.) **Pūli**, which may well be called a mine of brilliant beauty, displays itself in the form of a beauty-spot on the county of **Belvala**, which is radiant like the lotus-face of that graceful lady the ocean-girdled Earth. This town by its elegant appearance laughs to scorn the city of the Gods and Kubēra's city of **Alakā**.

(V. 4.) As they are known as being praised throughout the world, uniform of speech, unwavering, receiving all good fortune from the boons of the blest god **Kēśavāditya**, having the splendour of their praises diffused through the whole of space, skilful, worshipped in the four churches,⁴ competent for the study of the four **Vēdas** and books of instruction, what praise can befit the renown of the Thousand ?

(L. 15.) In that (town)—

(V. 5.) The Hundred of **Kaḷasaḷḷigēri** are indeed goodly mirrors to view the face of the famed and blest town of **Pūli**, being men of good stainless conduct, seats of numerous virtues.

(L. 17.) The **Āchāryas** there—

(V. 6.) The earth with delight praises **Siddhēśvara**, who is devoted to the practice of bathing, prayer, oblation, minor disciplines, and contemplation, as a treasure of goodly knowledge, a treasure of dignity.

(V. 7.) The title of instructor in Buddhist, Jain, and **Sāṅkhya**⁵ doctrines is applied in the world to **Siddhēśvara-Paṇḍita** : who are there that do not land him as a lion to those elephants the exceedingly haughty disputants ?

¹ The defective metre shews that the text is wrong. The most likely emendation seems to be *-bhṛiṅga Sōmēśa-bratī samstutyam*.

² Line 30 ends with this word. Towards the end of line 31 the tops of a few letters are visible, but not one letter in the line is complete. The rest of the stone is lost.

³ This is the opening verse of **Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa**.

⁴ See above, on inscr. B, l 10.

⁵ [See f. n. 3 on p. 197.—Ed.]

(L. 21.) His disciple—

(V. 8.) When (*can there be*) even a great saint remote from guilt in the series of recent ascetics, who is his equal? Can he match¹ **Sōmēśvara**, who is void of vain qualities and whose spirit is devoted to prayer to **Aghōra**?

(V. 9.) On the sea-encompassed earth the great ascetic **Sōmēśvara** is adored by devout saints, a bee to the lotus-feet of the blest god **Kalaśēśa**, highly honoured.

(Ll. 24-26.) On **Wednesday**, the **twelfth** of the bright fortnight of **Pushya** in the cyclic year **Sarvajit**, the **1029th** (*year*) of—hail!—the auspicious **Śaka era**, during a *vyatipāta*² in the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*,—

(Ll. 26-30.) In the presence of the Thousand Mahājanas, headed by the mayor, of the great **Agrahāra** of **Pāli**, the full Hundred Mahājanas of **Kaśaśavalligēri** [assigned] for the restoration of broken, burst, and outworn (*masonry of the temple*) of the god **Kaśaśēśvara**, for oblations, and for the supply of food to the ascetics of the place . . . a field, four *mattar* . . . *kamma* of **Rudrageṇa** . . .

G.—OF THE REIGN OF VIKRAMADITYA VI : THE 32ND YEAR.

This is a *vīra-gul*, which was found by Dr. Fleet lying between two stones of the same class, one of them being the inscription A. above, lying to the north of the **Bhīmēśvara** temple. It was removed by him into the porch of another temple which stands a few yards to the north of the **Bhīmēśvara**, and for which the villagers had no certain name, though they inclined to call it the **Tārakēśvara**. The stone is 6 ft. 2 in. high (not reckoning the tenon at its base); its breadth is 1 ft. 9 in. at the first line of writing, and 2 ft. 1 in. at the base. The basis in which it originally stood has been lost. It is divided into seven compartments, four containing **sculptures** and the intermediate three the text. The uppermost compartment, which is rounded at the top, has in the centre a *liṅga* in a shrine; on the proper right of this is **Gaṇēśa** seated and facing full front, with a worshipper at his right knee. On the proper left of the *liṅga* are three worshippers, and there are three more round the upper part of the compartment. Below this are lines 1-4 of the text. The compartment next below these has in its centre the figures of three seated goddesses, facing full front; to the proper right is a female dancing, and on the left a seated female playing on a lute. Above these are eight females standing in a row, who hold chowries. Underneath this come lines 5-6 of the text. The compartment immediately below the latter has at its centre a male figure in movement, with his arms on the shoulders of two females, one at each side of him; in each of the four corners is a group of three figures, also in motion. Below these are lines 7-10 of the text. In the lowest compartment is a figure of a man shooting arrows from a bow; he faces half front and half to the proper left. Two corpses are lying under his feet. Facing him are two horsemen and three archers, and behind him are two or three archers shooting at the other party; and behind these again, in the upper proper right corner, are twelve cows running away. The **character** is good Kanarese of the period; the letters are generally $\frac{1}{2}$ — $\frac{3}{4}$ in. high. The **language** is Old Kanarese. The *ḷ* appears as *ḷ* (*aḷidaṁ*, l. 10). Of some lexical interest are the words *Vaḍḍavāra*, l. 2 (cf. above, Vol. XII, p. 147), *taḷāra*, l. 3 f., *mēḷad=āl*, l. 9, and *anuvāra*, l. 9.³

¹ This translation is based upon the assumption that *abarkku* is the same as *amarcku*. But this is not quite certain, and the word is perhaps corrupt.

² A *Yōga* in which the declination of sun and moon is the same.

³ *Anuvāra* is glossed in Gangādhara Madhavaleswar Turmari's *Śabdamañjarī* (Dharwar, 1890) as *kāḷaga*, "battle," which is probably right. But neither the word itself nor the verb *anu-vṛi* is given in the P. B.; Kittel in *loco* translates it "selecting; making (anything) one's special aim," and he gives the verbal stem *anu-varisu*, ignoring the explanation of the *Śabdamañjarī*.

The record itself is of a type common on monuments of the kind. It begins by referring itself to the 32nd year of the Chālukya-Vikrama era, *i.e.* of the reign of Vikramāditya VI, and then relates in prose that a certain Torapara Būtayya carried off cows belonging to Pūli, and thereupon Gaṅgara Bōsi (Bōsiga) and his messmate and comrade Peruva Malli (Malliga) made a brave attempt to recover them, in which they perished. Each of these heroes has a verse devoted to his praise.

The Torapas are mentioned as enemies of the Hundred-and-four Mahājanas of Rōṇ in an inscription of Rōṇ of Śaka 1102 which is also being published by me in this Journal. It styles the latter *Torapa-kulāntakarum*. Apparently they were a race of bandits.

The date of the inscription is given on ll. 1-2 as : the 32nd year of the Chālukya-Vikrama era, the cyclic year Sarvajit ; Śrāvaṇa bahuḷa 5, Vaḍḍavāra (Saturday). This is regular. The given *tithi* corresponded to Saturday, 10 August, A.D. 1107, on which it began about 3 h. 50 m. before mean sunrise.

The only place mentioned is Pūli (ll. 3, 7).

TEXT.¹

[The metre is *Kanda*.]

- 1 Ōm² [*] Svasti [*] Śrīmach-Chālukya-Vikrama-kālada 32neya Sarvvaji-
- 2 t-samvatsarada Śrāvaṇa-bahuḷa 5 Vaḍḍavāradamdu
- 3 Torapara Būtayyam Pūliya tuṇavam koṇḍade³ ta-
- 4 lāra-nāyakam Gaṅgara Bōsiyuv=ātan=oḍan-uṇḍa keḷe-
- 5 yam Peruva Malliyum tuṇvig=aḍḍam bamdu mēl-āḷum kudureyu-
- 6 man=iṇidu palaram komdu sūryya-maṇḍalamam bhōjisidar ||
- 7 Torapar=idir=etti Pūliya tuṇvam koḷe kamdu Bōsiga[m] pagevaran=ānt=i-
- 8 ridu Divijēndra-puradoḷ=meredam nija-vikrama-pratāp-ōnnatiy[i*]m || [1*]
- 9 Oḍan-uṇḍa keḷeyanam saṅgaḍad=āḷam mēlad=āḷan=anuvavad=eḍeyoḷ biḍa-
- 10 l-aḡad=eṇdu Bōsigan=oḍan=aḷidam Malligam pratāp-ōnnatiyim || [2*] ☉ ☉

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-2.) On Saturday, the 5th of the dark fortnight of Śrāvaṇa in the cyclic year Sarvajit, the 32nd (year) of—hail !—the auspicious Chālukya-Vikrama era,—

(Ll. 3-6.) When Torapara Būtayya had seized cows belonging to Pūli, the chief beadle Gaṅgara Bōsi and his messmate Peruva Malli stepped in the way of the cows, smote the leader and (his) horse, slew many, and enjoyed the orb of the sun.⁴

(Verse 1.) When the Torapas, making an assault, carried off the cows of Pūli, Bōsiga, seeing it, confronted the foemen, smote them, and became brilliant in the city of the Lord of Gods by the high degree of his valour and nobility.

¹ From the ink-impression.

² The ōm is denoted by a somewhat fantastic figure, apparently based upon the *śaṅkha* symbol.

³ The word *koṇḍade* seems to have first written *koṇḍade*, and then cancelled the first *e*.

⁴ This means that they were killed in the battle and their souls were carried up to the Valhalla of fallen heroes in the sun. Cf. the well-known verse *Dvāṭ=imau puruṣau lōkē sūrya-maṇḍala-bhēdinau || parivrāḍ-yōga-yuktas=cha raṇē śūra-mukhē kataḥ ||*

(V. 2.) Saying "I cannot leave my messmate, my associate, my comrade on the field of battle," Malliga perished together with Bōsiga by reason of the high degree of his nobility.

H.—OF THE REIGN OF VIKRAMADITYA VI.

This is a fragment of a Jain record. It is cut on the upper part of a black stone which was found lying in the courtyard of the Pañchaliṅga temple, and was placed by Dr. Fleet for security in the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* of the sanctuary. The lower part of the slab was lost. The remainder was 2 ft. 7½ in. high and 2 ft. 8 in. broad. The topmost compartment, which was rounded, contained **sculptures**, viz. in the centre a squatting Jina (Pārśvanātha ?) facing full front, with a canopy of inflated cobras' hoods over his head, in a shrine, and having below him a pedestal with a floral device and on each side of it a lion; to his proper right a cow and calf; to his left a scimitar; above him, to the left, the sun and moon. The inscribed area beneath this is 1 ft. 4 in. high and 2 ft. 7½ in. broad.—The character is good Kanarese, with letters of about ⅔ in. high.—The language is Sanskrit (verses 1-4 and 6) and Old Kanarese (verses 5, 7-17 and prose). As regards the latter, we may note that *l* is not found; it appears as *l̥* (*pogaḷvinam* l. 4, *poduḷḍa*, l. 10, *pogaḷut* =, l. 20) and *r* (*nōrppaḍame*, l. 9, *nōrppaḍe*, ll. 10, 11, *negurdda*, l. 18). The words *jagadaḷam*, l. 17, *linkad=umka*, l. 19 (see above, on *inscr. B.*, l. 14), and *kal-vesam* l. 21 may be noticed.

The record, after the usual Jain prelude, extols in poetry the Gaṇadhara Sudharman, Bāhubalin, the famous Jain divine of the Kaṇḍūru-Gaṇa of the Yapaniya-Saṅgha, Śubha-chandra and Maunidēva, of the same Gaṇa, and Māghanandin (ll. 1-5).¹ Then it refers itself in prose to the reign of Tribhuvanamalladēva (Vikramāditya VI), whom it lauds in verse (ll. 6-9), thence proceeding to extol in verse Kuntala, possibly Beḷvala, and Pūli with its Thousand Mahājanas (ll. 9-15). It next gives the titles of an otherwise unknown rāja named Piṭṭa, who styled himself "Lord of Kōlāḷa, best of cities" (ll. 15-17), and adds in verse that he had four sons, Perma, Bijja or Bijjala, Kīrtti, and Gorma, and a daughter, Maḷaladēvi; Bijjala slew certain kings, and had some relations (a lacuna prevents us from knowing what they were) with king Jayasīmha of the Gūrjarāshṭra, possibly the Paramāra Jayasīmha of Mālwa, who flourished about 1055 A.D. (ll. 19-20). A mutilated verse speaks of Rēvakanirmaḍi as sister of king Kanhara, comparing to her Siriyādēvi as sister of somebody else (l. 20). We then learn that Bijjala built a Jain sanctuary, which possibly may be the Pañchaliṅga, and apparently that he or somebody else granted to it a place named Pergummi(?). The rest is lost.

The reference to Rēvakanirmaḍi and Kanhara is interesting. Kanhara is the Rāshṭra-kūṭa Kṛishṇa III, and Rēvakanirmaḍi was his elder sister; she married the Gaṅga Satyavākya Būtuga II, who succeeded between 933 and 940 A.D.² This fact, and the titles "Gāṅgēya of the Gaṅgas" and "lord of Kōlāḷapura," indicate that Piṭṭa was a scion of the Gaṅga family.

The places mentioned, besides Pūli, are Kuntala (l. 9), Kōlāḷapura, i.e. Kolhāpur³ (l. 16), the Gūrjarāshṭra, i.e. Gujarāt (l. 19), Beḷvala (l. 22), Pergummi (*ib.*), and Māṇikya-tīrttha (l. 24).

¹ Bāhubalin is well known. Māghanandin and Śubhachandra may conceivably be the same as the divine so named who are mentioned in *Inscr. Śravana Beḷgoḷa*, Nos. 40-1, 43, 45-9, 59, 64-5, 144, and *I. A.*, Vol. XIV p. 22. A Maunada Bhaṭṭāra is mentioned in *Inscr. Śravana Beḷgoḷa*, No. 6.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 71; cf. *ib.*, Vol. IV, p. 352, and *Dyn. Kanar. Distr.*, p. 304. The Gāwarwād inscription previously published by me speaks of Būtuga as *Rēvakanirmaḍiya vallabham* (l. 15); so does the Annigēri record which is almost identical.

³ [Kōlāḷapura is only an epigraphic variant of Kuvalālapura which has been identified with Kōlār, the chief town of the Kōlār district in the east of Mysore. See *Bomb. Gaz. Vol. I.—Part II*, pp. 297-8.—Ed.]

TEXT.¹

[The metres are as follows : V. 1, *Anushṭubh*; vv. 2, 3, 6, *Trishṭubh Upajāti*; v. 4 *Āryāgīti* (?); vv. 5, 12, 13, 16, *Kāṇḍu*; v. 7, *Mahāśragdharā*; vv. 8, 15, *Chamṭakamā* 3; vv. 9, 14, *Utpalamālā*; vv. 10, 11, 17, *Mattēbhavikriḍita*.]

- 1 [Śrīmat-parama-gambhi]ra-syādvād-āmōgha-lāmcchhanam [1*] jiyā[t*]=traiḷōkya-nāthasya śāsanam Jina-śāsanam ☉ [1*] Śrī-Vira-nāthasya gaṇ-ēśvarō=bhūt=Sudharmma-nāmā pravidhūta[— — | — —]
- 2 [— — — —] Yāpaniyē sa[nghē] punas=tatra cha chāru-mārggē ☉ [2*] Kaṇḍūru-vikhyāta-gaṇē babbūvuḥ purā munimdrā bahavō mahā(?) [— — — —]
- 3 [— — — —] d²-aika-simhō muniśvarō Bāhubali babbūva ☉ [3*] Jayatu Śubhachandradēvaḥ Kaṇḍūr-ggaṇa-puṇḍarika-vana-mārttaṇḍaś=chamḍa-tridamḍa
- 4 3pāragō budha-vinutah ☉ [4*] Nuta-Yāpaniya-saṁgha-pratita-Kaṇḍūr ggaṇ-ābdi-chamḍramar=emḍ=i kshiti-vale(la)yam pogaḷvinam=uṁnati-vettar=Mmō(Mmau)ni[dē]-
- 5 [va-divya-muniṁdra]ru⁴ ☉ [5*] Śrī-Māghanaṁdi-bratinātham=idē Kāmāri⁵-bhīm-ō[ra]ga-Yainatēyam [1*] nam[n]-āvanipālaka-viddha-ki[r*]tti[m*] si[ddh]ānta-ta[ttv]-ārṇṇava-pūrṇṇa-cha[mḍram ☉] [6*]
- 6 [Svasti [1*] Samasta-bhuvā]n-āśrayam Śrī-Pri(Pri)thvi-vallabham mahārājādhirāja[m] paramēśvaram paramabhaṭṭārakam Satyāśraya-kuḷa-tilakam Chāḷuky-ābharanam śrīmat-Tribhuvanamalla-
- 7 [dēvara vijaya]-rājyam=uttar-ōttar-ābhivri(vri)ddhi-pravarddhamānam-ā-chamḍr-ārka-vāram-baram saluttam=ire ☉ Kshitiḡ=ellam tanna tējam toḷagi belage tann=ājūe Chōḷ-ā[vani]-
- 8 [— — — — — — — —] o]lu narttisut=ire sale tann=ārppu lōkakke Kalpa-kshiti-jātam kūde paṇt=amṭ=ire Kāḷi-yugadoḷu puttīyum Rāghav-ādi-kshiti-pāḷ-ānikarolu pā[— —]
- 9 [— — — — — — — —] Vikra]mādityaḍēva ☉ [7*] Jalaḍhi-parita-bhūṭala-vadhū-tiḡe kumṭaḷad=amḍadim | manam-golisuvud=emtu nōrppaḍame Kumṭaḷa-ḍēsam=ava(da)kke chinna-pūgaḷa teṇad=amṭe ramjis[— — — —]
- 10 [— — — — — — — —] tṭa⁶ mauktik-āvaliya podalḍa hāraḍa vol=irppudu nōrppaḍe Pūli lileyim ☉ [8*] Mattam ☉ Pom-gaḷasaṁgaḷimḍ=eḡeva dēva-grihaṁgaḷin=oppu-vetta vārāṁganeyarkka[— — — —]

¹ From the ink-impression.

² It is doubtful whether this is *d* or *f*.

³ The *pā* is not quite certain.

⁴ This gap is filled from l. 31 of the second Raṭṭa inscription in *Journ. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. X p. [May be corrected into Kānādi—Ed.]

⁵ The vowel before tṭa may be either *ā* or *o*.

- 11 [— ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — (?)poda]lda Vēdaṁgale mūrṭti-gomḍud=enip=amḍadal-
oppuva viprarimḍe grāmaṁgaḷa chakravarttiy=esed-irddudu nōrppaḍe Pāli
hileyim ☉ [9*] Mattam=alliya viprara mahimey=e[nt=emḍode] [1*]
- 12 [◡ ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡]piṭhan=enipa śrī-Kṛishṇa-dēvaṁ savistaradim
tanna sahasram=appa pesaram rūp=āg=iralu māḍi s-ākshara-Vēd-ākshara-jiva-
mamtra-chayamaṁ tiv=iṭṭu Pāli-mahā-pura[— — ◡ ◡]
- 13 [— ◡ — ◡ esedar]=ssāsirvvar=iṁt=urvviyoḷu ☉ [10*] Upam-ātitam=enippa
pempu guṇam=audāryam chalaṁ sāhasam japa-hōmaṁ niyamaṁ mah-ōnnatika-
satyam śaucham=ā[— ◡ —]
- 14 [◡ ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡] śāstrad=odaviṁ śrī-Kēśavāditya-dēva-pad-āmbhōja-
vara-prasādar=esedar=ssāsirvvar=iṁt=urvviyoḷu ☉ [11*] Hari kiḷe-neleyim
cha(?)ḷisida hari-bada-beṭṭim
- 15 kk=emdu nirākaripudu sāsirvvar=uchitade chalita-vachanaṁ
☉ [12*] Svasty=anavarata-vinamad-Ama[ra]-rājat-ti(ki)riṭa-kōṭi-tāṭi(dī)ta-Jinē[m]dra-
charaṇ-āraviṁda-ma
- 16 [chala]d=uttaramga ☉ Vira-vidviṣṭa-saṁharana-pratāpa-Kārttikēya
☉ Gaṁga-Gaṁgēya ☉ Chapaḷa-vairi-vāhini-saṁhanana-pratāpa-Lamkēśvaram
☉ Kōḷaḷa-p[uravar-ādhīśvaram ☉]
- 17 [em̄t=em̄]dode ☉ Maṁḍalika-jagadalaṁ mār-kkoṁḍara
Javan=artthi-janake kalpa-mahi(hi)jam gaṁḍara tīrttham sitagara gaṁḍam
mār-kkōla Bhairavam Piṭṭa-nṛipam ☉ [13*] Mattam [— ◡ ◡ —]
- 18 [◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡] puṭṭidar=oppe
Perm̄ma-nṛipa Bijja-mahipati Kīrtti-bhūpanum jettiga Gormmanum
negardda(ḷda) Maiḷ[a*]ladēviyum=am̄te rūpinim̄dh(d)siṭṭalav=āgi [— ◡ ◡ ◡]
- 19 [— ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ —] ☉ [14*] [◡ ◡ ◡ ◡]
limkad=am̄kad=ari-bhūbhujaram̄ tave koṁdu Gūrjja-rāshṭrada Jayasim̄hadēva-
dharanīśvaranam̄ nija-rājya-lakshmiyolu padu[◡ ◡ — ◡ —]
- 20 [◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — p]o-
galut=irppudu Bijjala-bhūmipālanam̄ ☉ [15*] Mattam ☉ Rēvaka-
nirmmaḍi Kam̄nharadēvaṁg=em̄t=sakkan=am̄te bhū-nute Siriy[ādēvi] . .
- 21 [☉] [16*] [◡ ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡]
— ◡ ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ — ◡]du dal=tāy-vaney=em̄du
Bijjala-nṛipam̄ chauvisa-Tīrttharkkaḷam̄ mudadim̄ māḍisi kal-vesam̄ samesi-
d[— — — ◡ — — ◡ —]
- 22 [◡ ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡]
◡ ◡] diṁ biṭṭa [◡ — ◡] Beḷvaladol=iṁt=opp=ippa Perggummiyam ☉
[17*] Haraḷārubaḍakam̄si(?)¹

¹ Three more lines are more or less visible, but only a very few letters in them can be deciphered. In l. 23 can be read the words *Chāḷukya-chakravartti Perm̄māḍ.ṛāyaṇ ḷayyol*, and in l. 24 *vāḍisida Māṇikya-tīrttha*. The rest of the stone is lost.

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1; identical with verse 1 of inscription B. above.)

(V. 2.) There was a Gaṇadhara of the blessed Vīra, named Sudharman, who had cast away . . . and again in this Yāpaniya-Saṅgha, which is beautiful in its conduct,—

(V. 3.) In the Gaṇa known as that of Kaṇḍūr there were formerly many great saints . . . there was the great saint Bāhubali, a lion . . .

(V. 4.) Victorious be Śubhachandradēva, a sun to the lotus-park of the Kaṇḍūr-Gaṇa . . . to the terrible tridaṇḍa¹ . . . renowned among sages.

(V. 5.) As the circling earth extols him as a moon to the ocean of the famous Kaṇḍūr-Gaṇa in the renowned Yāpaniya-Saṅgha, the great and holy saint Maunidēva rose to eminence.

(V. 6.) I adore that lord of ascetics the blest Māghanandin, a Garuḍa to the dreadful serpent Kāmāri,² whose fame is attended by bowing monarchs, and who was a full-moon to the ocean of the principles of doctrine.

(Ll. 6-7.) When the victorious reign of—hail!—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of Satyāśraya's race, embellishment of the Chālukyas, king Tribhuvanamalladēva, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (to endure) as long as moon, sun, and stars:—

(V. 7.) As his splendour shines radiantly over all the earth, his authority dances upon [the heads?] of Chōḷa kings, his power in truth as it were bears fruit equally with the Tree of Desire for the world, and he, being born in the Kali age . . . in the company of Raghu's son and other monarchs . . . king Vikramāditya.

(V. 8.) How doth the land of Kuntala, even as one looks, fascinate the mind by its semblance of a lock of curls (on the head) of that lady the ocean-encompassed Earth! . . . is resplendent after the manner of golden flowers. Pāli, when one looks, is in its graceful aspect like a conspicuous string of . . . threaded pearls.

(L. 10.) Moreover,—

(V. 9.) Pāli, when one observes, appears as an emperor of towns in its graceful aspect, with golden pinnacles, with bright temples, with comely public women . . . with Brāhmanas so stately that the . . . Vēdas seem to be incarnate in them.

(L. 11.) Moreover, as regards the eminence of the local Brāhmanas:—

(V. 10.) The blessed god Kṛishṇa, who is a basis . . . having abundantly caused his thousand names to take bodily form, and richly stowed a multitude of syllables of the Vēdas, together with the Syllable [Ōm], and of vital spells, in the great town of Pāli . . . thus the Thousand [are eminent] on earth.³

(V. 11.) Dignity transcending comparison, virtue, generosity, spirit, enterprise, prayer and oblation, minor disciplines, high exaltation, truth, purity . . . by possession of teaching-books, the Thousand, having the grace of boons from the lotus-feet of the blest god Kēśavāditya, are thus eminent on earth.

(V. 12: mostly illegible.)

(Ll. 15-17.) Hail! As regards the . . . of him who is an [impassioned bee] to the Lord Jina's lotus-feet which are beaten by the crests of the radiant diadems of . . . ceaselessly

¹ The tridaṇḍa are the sins of body, speech, and mind.

² Usually Kāmāri means "the foe of Kāma," viz. Śiva; but the context suggests here the meaning "that enemy Kāma." [See f. n. 5 on page 202.—Ed.]

³ The idea seems to be that the Thousand of Pāli are incarnations of the 1,000 names of Kṛishṇa or Viṣṇu.

bowing celestials, who is a lintel of high-spirit, a majestic Kārttikēya in the destruction of valiant foes, a Gāṅgēya¹ of the Gaṅgas, a majestic Lord of Laṅkā in shattering the armies of unsteady foemen, the Lord of Kōḷāḷa, best of cities :—

(V. 13.) A jagadaḷa of governors, a Death-god to adversaries, a Tree of Desire to the needy, a way of salvation to warriors, a warrior against the wanton, a Bhairava of counter-arrows, is king Piṭṭa.

(L. 17.) Moreover,—

(V. 14.) . . . there were born with distinction king Perma, king Bijja, king Kirtti, the wrestler Gorma, and Maḷaladēvi, thus forming a group in beauty . . .

(V. 15.) As he slew hostile kings of the *līmkad=amka*² . . . the monarch Jayasimhadēva of the Gūrjara kingdom in his own royal fortune . . . [the world] praises king Bijjala.

(L. 20.) Moreover,—

(V. 16.) As Rēvakanirmaḍi was the sister of king Kanhara, so the world-renowned Sīriyādēvi . . .

(V. 17.) Saying: “Truly a mother-house . . .”, king Bijjala, having with joy constructed (*images of*) the twenty-four Tirthas,³ prepared a building of stone . . . granted the beautiful Pergummi in Beḷvala.


I.—ON NAGARASI'S COLUMN.

This is an inscription on the eastern face of the south-western column of the four central columns in the outer *maṇḍapa* of the Pañchaliṅga temple. The face of the column is 9½ in. high and 1 ft. 5½ in. wide; the whole of it is covered by the writing, which runs over the margin to about an inch round it. There are no sculptures. The character is good Kanarese with letters of about ⅝ in. high. The language is Old Kanarese, mostly verse.

The purport of the inscription is to record the construction of the column by the Śaiva divine Nāgarāśi, a disciple of Jñānaśakti—probably the same Jñānaśakti who was introduced in inscription E. above,—and to laud their merits.

TEXT.⁴

[The metres are: V. 1, *Mattēbhavikrīḍita*; v. 2, *Kanda*.]

- 1  Tanag=I Dakṣiṇa-Vāraṇāśi-puru-Pāli(11)-paurad-Am-
- 2 dhāsuram janatā-bhāsuran=ānat-āsura-ṇarēm-
- 3 dr-ārādhyān=ārādhyān=olpina Kāḷāmukha-
- 4 darppaṇam nī(ni)ja-guru śrī-Jñānaśaktiśan=e-
- 5 nd=ene vidyā-nidhi Nāgarāśiyan=ad=imn=ā vaṁ-
- 6 ṇṇipam baṇṇipam || [1*] Yeḷe-veḷḍiṅgaḷa kām̐ti-
- 7 ya baḷagaman=ola-komḍa nī(ni)ja-ya-
- 8 śō-ruchiyaṁ bhū-valayakk=anuraktateyaṁ
- 9 taḷedaṁ śrī-Nāgarāśiy=enag-idu chitraṁ || [2*] Nā-
- 10 garāśidēvaru māḍisidar=I kambamam ||

¹Karṇa or Bhishma. [Rather the latter for Karṇa was not a Gāṅgēya—Ed.]

²See above, on inscr. B., l. 14.

³The Tirthaṅkaras or Jinas.

⁴From the ink-impression.

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) As he had (*for deity*) Andhāsura of this Southern Benares, the great town of Pūli, for his master the blest lord Jñānaśakti, who is resplendent among men, an *ārādhyā*¹ adored by bowing monarchs of demons and men, an excellent mirror of Kālamukha (*doctrine*) can a panegyrist now find words to laud the treasure of learning, Nāgarāsi ?

(V. 2.) By the lustre of his fame, which possesses the mass of loveliness of the young moon, the blest Nāgarāsi has gained the affection of the circle of earth : this is singular to me.²

(Lines 9-10.) Nāgarāsidēva caused this column to be made.


J.—ON MADI-GAUDA'S COLUMN.

This is an inscription on the eastern face of the next column to the south of the column which contains inscription I. The inscribed face is 1 ft. 2½ in. high and 1 ft. 5 in. wide. It has no sculptures. The character is good Kanarese, with letters about ⅝ in. high. The language is Kanarese, the verse being in the older dialect and the prose medieval.

The object is to record that the column was presented by Mādi-Gauḍa, son of Bāchi-Setṭi and lay-disciple of the Nāgarāsi mentioned in inscription I., and to sing the praises of Mādi and his master.

TEXT.³

[The metre is *Champakamālā*.]

- 1  Suvidita-bhōga-bhōginige Bhāgale-nārige Bā-
 2 chi-Setṭig=udbhavisida sūnu dāna-Ravi-sūnu
 3 vachō-Mbuja-sūnu sad-guṇa-pravarana
 4 Nāgarāsi-munirājana si(śi)ksheya sūnu
 5 lōkadoḷ=Kavadiya Mādi-Gauḍan=esevam
 6 mahi(hi)-mastaka-vastu-nāyakam || [1*] Guru śara-
 7 ṇu || Kavadhi(di)ya Mādi-Gauḍa māḍ[i*]si ko-
 8 ṭṭan=i kambhava ||

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Illustrious in the world, a master of treasure at the head of the earth, is Kavadiya Mādi-Gauḍa, who is the son born to the lady Bhāgale, the enjoyer of famous delights, and to Bāchi-Setṭi, and who is in bounty a son of the Sun [Karna], a Son of the Lotus [Brahman] in speech, a son of the teaching of the king of saints, Nāgarāsi, who is eminent in good qualities.

(Lines 6-8.) The Master is our refuge. Kavadiya Mādi-Gauḍa caused this column to be made and gave it.

K.—RECORD OF MARTTANDA.

This little poem is engraved on the eastern face of the beam over the adytum of the western shrine in the temple of Bhīmāśvara. The beam, which is 2 ft. 3 in. high and 7 ft. 4 in. broad, is adorned with a good piece of sculpture representing Durgā dancing on the back of a

¹ The title of a class of Śaiva Brāhmanas.

² This is the rhetorical figure *viskama*: fame is conceived as white, and *anuraktatā*, literally "redness," means also "affection"; so red is produced from white.

³ From the ink-impression.

crouching demon, with Sarasvati on her right, another goddess on her left, and the eight Dik-pālas in a row above her; the rest of the stone is filled in with figures of lions and other creatures, and on each side is a large *makara* or sea-monster; as our inscription states. The inscription runs along the bottom of the beam, covering an area 2 in. high and 6 ft. 2½ in. broad. The character is Kanarese, of about the same date as Nos. I. and J.; the letters are generally between ⅜ in. and ½ in. high. The language is Old Kanarese verse. The *l* appears in *tiḷchidano* (l. 1), which seems to be an error for *tirēchidano*, and is replaced by *ḷ* in *pogalad* = (l. 2). *Avom* (l. 2) is archaic.

The object of the inscription is to celebrate the beauty of the archway above mentioned, on the beam of which it is engraved. We learn that the archway was constructed at the instance of *Jñānaśakti*, whom we have already encountered in Nos. E. and I. above. The third verse praises the virtues of *Mārttaṇḍa*, who may possibly have been a disciple of this sage; his connection with the work is not clear, but conceivably he may have caused the inscription to be added some time after the construction of the archway.

TEXT.¹

[The metres are : V. 1, *Mahāśragdharī*; v. 2, *Prithvī*; v. 3, *Muttābhavikrīḍita*.]



1 Idan=atyānandadinda[m] samedano Kamala-prōdbhavam Viśvakarmman

mudadin mēṇ=int=idam tiḷch[i]dano² makara-yugm-ānvitam tōraṇam gaṭṭidanō
mēṇ pratyag-āśā-patiy=idan=ene sarvv-ōrvvi-śōbhā-vibhūty-āspadam=int=i Jñānaśakti-
vrati sam[e]yisida[m] . [— ∪ — —] pad=entum || [1*] Anūnatara-
Padmasambhava-Bhav-Ā[b]janābh-ārchhegaḷ manōharatarāṅgaḷ=āgi [ma]ka-

2 ra-dvayam śōbhēy[i*]m manam-goliṣe māḍid=i makara-tōraṇam dhātriyōḷ
vinūtatarām=imt=idam pogalad=irppan=āvom gaḍam || [2*] Hara-pād-āmbuja-
shaṭpadam [∪ ∪ ∪ —] vār(d?)-ibha-pañchānam durit-ōrvvidhara-vajran-
uj[j*]vala-[∪ — — — ∪]rat[n]ā[karam ∪ ∪ —]i rati-dūran-
ishṭa-janat-ādihāram kaḷā-kōvidam guru-bhak[t]am niyam-ōktan=ambudan=enal
Mārttaṇ[d]jan=ēm dhanyanō || [3*] ◎

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Has the Lotus-born (Brahman) in exceeding delight fashioned this, or has Viśvakarman with joy executed this, or has the lord of the western region [Varuṇa] constructed this archway adorned with a pair of sea-monsters? Such a site of the magnificence of the whole earth's splendours is that which this ascetic Jñānaśakti has caused to be fashioned . . . in every way.

(V. 2.) This archway (adorned) with sea-monsters, which has been made so that the very numerous images of the Lotus-born (Brahman), Bhava (Śiva), and (the god) of the Navel-lotus (Viṣṇu) are most charming and the pair of sea-monsters with their elegance delight the mind, is very famous on earth: so who indeed is there that does not praise it?

(V. 3.) As one may state the fact that he is a bee to Hara's lotus-feet, a lion to the elephants . . . disputants (?), a thunder-bolt to the mountains of Śin, a jewel-mine of brilliant . . . remote from carnal love, a support to agreeable persons, skilled in arts, devoted to his master, holding speech by rule, how fortunate is Mārttaṇḍa *

¹ From the ink-impression.

² Apparently meant for *tirēchidano*.

- 2 [vanam vap]uḥ ☉ [1*] Jalē Vishṇu[s*] sthalē Vishṇur=Vishṇuḥ=parvvata-mastake
[1*] jvālā-mālā-kulē Vishṇus=sarvvaṁ Vishṇu-
- 3 [ma]yam jagat || [2*]
- 4 Svasti [1*] Samasta-bhuvan-āśrayam Śrī-Prithvi-vallabham **Kāḷāmjana-puravar-**
ādhiśvaram ḍamaruga-tā-
- 5 ryya-nirgghōshaṇam **Kālachuryya-bhujabala-chakravartti Tribhuvanamalladēvara**
vijaya-rājyam=utta-
- 6 [r]-ōttar-ābhivṛddhi-pravarddhamānam=ā-chaṇḍr-ārka-tāram saluttam=ire || **Rām-ārā-**
ma-vikīrṇa(rṇa)dim nikhīla-dēv-ānika-
- 7 dim Ri(Ri)g-Yajus-Sām-Ātharvvaṇa-Vēda-Śāstra-vidita-vyāpāra-chāturyyariṁ śrīmat-Koṭ-
ṭaja-vāviyīm ke-
- 8 regalim kāntā-jan-ānikadim=ē mātō sale Pūli lile-vaḍegu[m] pū-dōmṭad=omd-
ōliyīm || [3*] Inanam tē-
- 9 jadol=Imdranam vibhavadol=Chāṇā(ṇa)kyapa(na)m ni(nl)tiyoḷ=Manuvam chāru-charitra-
dol=jalārī(dhi)yam gāmbhīryado-
- 10 l dhairyyadol=Kanak-ādrimdraman=eyde pōlpar=enip=1 sāsirvvara khyātiyoḷ-
mma(ma)nuja[r*]kkaḷ=paḍipāṭi [p]ā-
- 11 saṭi samam-barpp=amnar=ār=ddhātriyoḷ || [4*] Alli || Orvvorvvorvvar¹=pparibhāvise
sarvvajña[r*]=nnegarda Vē[da-Śā]-
- 12 straṅgaḷoḷ=emd=urvitalam=abhivarṇni(rṇni)se nūrvvar=śrī-Śiv[e*]yagēriyoḷ=karam=ese-
dar || [5*] Avaroḷ || Bhāra-
- 13 dvāja-kul-āgrani chāru-charitram vivēki vāchaspati Kamsāri-pada-kamaḷa-bhṛimgan=
udāram prabhu
- 14 **Mālapayya**-perggaḍey=esedaṁ ||-[6*] **Ā** vibhuviṅg=udi(da)yisidaṁ Śrī-vanitā-priya-
tanūjan=amnam rū-
- 15 piṁ bhā-valaya-prastutyanol=āvam dore **Kālimayya**-sachiv-ōttamanol || [7*] **Ātana**
kula-vanit-ō-
- 16 ttame Siteg=Arundhatige Ratige pempim guṇadim khyātiyin=atiśayam=enipaḷ=nītiya
kaṇi **Rēviyakka**-
- 17 n=ene mechchadar=ār || [8*] **Ā** dāmpatigal=ogedaṁ Vēdānta-priyan=Ananta-bhaktam
pesarim śrī-**Dāsirājan**=um(n)-
- 18 natan=ādam vikhyāta-kirtti mārṭtamḍa-nibham || [9*] Charitam san-muni-mūḷa-
sūtram=aṛitam Vāg-dēvatā-maṅga-
- 19 l-ābharaṇam kirtti dig-aṁganā-kusuma-valli-dāmaṇ=ārpp=ishṭa-śiṣṭara bayt=iṭṭa
suvarṇna(rṇna)m=emdoḷ=itara-
- 20 r=ppōlv-amnar=ār=ssad-guṇ-ōtkaranam perggaḍe-**Dāsirājanan**=udāra-śrī-sur-ōrvvija-
nam || [10*] Sahajam satyav=u-
- 21 dāram=anvaya-guṇam svābhāvikam sad-guṇa-grahaṇam nīti-nisarggam=ātma-kula-
dharmam chāru-chā-
- 22 ritram=ishṭa-hit-ārtham nija-jīvitavyam=aḷa-vatṭ=ā maṁtra-śakti-trayam saha-jātam
tanag=emdaḍ=iṁ piri-
- 23 yar=ār=śrī-**Dāsirājam** baram || [11*] Ratiy=amnaḷu rūpiṁ Bhāraty=amnaḷ=vāg-
vilāsadin saushṭha-
- 24 vadim kshitiy=amnaḷ=**Dāsiya** kula-satiy=Oḷajale-nāriy=antu nōntarum=ōḷarē || [12*]
Kshira-samudra-
- 25 manthanade putṭida Lakshmiya rūpin=ēlgeyoḷ=Gauriyoḷ=omdi ninda pati-bhaktiya
permmeyoḷ=iṁ-

¹ Read *Orv-orvvar*.

- 26 pu-vetta Vāg-nāriya vāg-viśāsa-tatiyoḥ=nere pōrve(lve)ge-vaṁdaḥ=e[m*]doḥ=imn=ār-
ene **Dāsirājana** ma-
- 27 nōrame **Bhāgaleg**=ī dharitriyoḥ || [13*] Tat-sutar || Gṛihadol Lakshmi mah-ōtsavam
berasu
- 28 nirdal=tamna tad-vaktradol=mahim-ālamkṛitey=appa Vāg-vanitey=iṛdal¹=tamna
kirtti Sētu-Himā-
- 29 drimdradol=eyde tividal=enal=sāmānyan=āg-iṛdanē² **Mahadēva**-prabhu **Dāsirāja**-tana-
yam
- 30 saujanya-ratnākaram || [14*] Dhruvan=aṁnam dhṛitriyoḥ=Sarōjabhavan=aṁnam vāg-
miyoḥ=cherina Mādhavan=aṁ-
- 31 nam nija-mūrttiyoḥ=Khacharan=aṁna dānadoḥ=Kumbhasambhavan=aṁnam sucharitra-
dol=jaladhiy=aṁ-
- 32 nam gumpinoḥ=bhāvisal=saman=ār³=pperggade-**Dāsirāja**-tanayam **Mālayyanol**=māna-
- 33 [va]r || [15*] Svasti [*] Śrīmatu-**Śaka-varsha 1084**neya **Chitrabhānu**-samvatsarada
Pushya-
- 34 bahula 2 **Sōmavāradand**=uttarāyana-samkrāntiya divya-tithiyalu śrīmat-pe-
- 35 rggade **Dāsirājam** Nāgarakhaṇḍiya śrī-Kēśava-dēvalayam jirnnis⁴=iralu jirnn⁵-
oddhāra-
- 36 mam punaḥ-pratishṭhe sahitaṁ māḍisiy=ā dēvara khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-jirnn(rnn)-
oddhārakkam ni-
- 37 tya-nivēdya-Chaitra-pavitra-nandā-divige pñjāriya jivita-nimittav=āgi śrīma-
- 38 n-mah-āgrahāram Pūliy=ūr-oḍeya-pramukha-sāsirvvar=mmahājānamgala⁶ divya-
- 39 śrī-pāda-padmaṅgalam dravya-p[ñ]rvvakam=ārādhisi Kokkuligēriya hāla basu-
- 40 gey=olage Kattiyagēriyam paḍuvalu Gaḷatige-geyīm baḍagalu Chikkaṇika-
- 41 ra-dēvara keyīm mūḍalu mattariṅge paṇav=ondaḥa lekkadiṁd=aru-vaṇamam
ti(ti)ruv=a-
- 42 nt=āg=ire paḍedu biṭṭa mattar=āru | Ā dēvarige Kaḷasa(śa)valligēriya baḍagana
koppala
- 43 hittilalu harada-vaneyīm mūḍalu bāḍa-vaneyīm paḍuvana meyya sthalada
nivēśana-
- 44 d=agalav=e[k*]-kayi niḷa hannondam mattam sāsirvvaram hiranya-pūrvvakav=
ārādhisi sarvva-nama-
- 45 śya(sya)v=āg=ire paḍedu biṭṭar [*] Int=i maṭhamumam keyyuman=āv=avāntara-
vasate-nyāyam-
- 46 galu puṭṭidadam sāsirvvarum sa[d*]dharmmadiṁ pratipālīpar || Initaṁ
niśchayam=āge bhāvi-
- 47 suvud=ī dharmmakk=e(a)pāyak[k*]e varppan=amōgham sa-kulam nigōda-taladoḥ=
bilgum mahā-pāta-
- 48 kam manam-old=int=idan=eyde rakshisuva dēvaṁg=akkum=āyushya-varddhanam=
atyūrjita-
- 49 lakshmi nirmmaḷa-yasam bhadram śubham maṅgalam || [16*] Sva-dattām
para-dattām vā yō harēta va-
- 50 sundharām | shashṭir(shtim)=vva[r*]sha-sahasrāpi vishṭhāyām jāyatē kṛimih [17*] @

¹ *Iṛdal* would be more regular.² We should expect *irddanē*.³ The engraver first wrote *savanar*, and then corrected it to *saman=ār*.⁴ Read *jirnnis*.⁵ Read *jirnn*.⁶ The *ga* was first omitted by the engraver, and afterwards added, partly on and partly below the line.

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1: identical with verse 1 of inscription C. above.)

(V. 2.) Vishṇu is in the waters, Vishṇu is on land, Vishṇu is on the mountain-top, Vishṇu is on the multitude of lines of fire : the whole universe is composed of Vishṇu.

(Lines 4-6.) When the victorious reign of—hail!—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, lord of **Kāḷāṃjana**, best of cities, attended by the sound of *ḍamaru* drums and (*other*) musical instruments, the **Kaḷachurya Emperor**, strong of arm, **Tribhuvanamalladēva**, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (*to endure*) as long as moon, sun, and stars :—

(V. 3.) With a profusion of delightful pleasantries, with the company of all the gods with men skilled in renowned familiarity with the lore of the Ṛik, Yajus, Sāma, and Ātharvāṇa Vēdas, with the blest Koṭṭaja well, with ponds, not to speak of companies of fair women. (*and*) an unbroken line of flower-gardens, **Pūli** in truth possesses a charming aspect.

(V. 4.) What men on earth are such as to bear comparison with the renown of these Thousand, who in sooth resemble the Sun in brilliance, Indra in majesty, Chāṇakya in policy, Manu in beautiful conduct, the ocean in profundity, the great Golden Mountain in firmness ?

(Line 11.) In that (*town*),—

(V. 5.) While the earth lauds them by saying that each of them, if one considers, is omniscient in the illustrious lore of the Vēdas, the Hundred in the blest Śiveyagēri are verily distinguished.

(L. 12.) Among them,—

(V. 6.) A leader of the Bhāradvāja race, beautiful of conduct, discreet, a lord of speech, a bee to the lotus-feet of Kamsa's foe [Kṛishṇa], generous, the noble sheriff **Mālapayya** was eminent.

(V. 7.) To this noble man was born (*a son*) like in form to the dear son of the lady Fortune : who is peer to the great minister **Kāḷimayya**, renowned in the circuit of the earth ?

(V. 8.) His excellent high-born wife **Rēviyakka**, a mine of propriety, may be said to surpass Sītā, Arundhati, and Rati in eminence, virtue, (*and*) renown : who does not praise (*her*) in these terms ?

(V. 9.) To this couple was born a lover of the Vēdānta, a votary of Ananta, by name the blest **Dāsirāja** ; he is exalted, renowned in glory, like the Sun.

(V. 10.) His conduct is a basic rule for worthy saints, his learning a festal ornament for the Goddess of Speech, his fame a festoon of flowering creeping-plants for the ladies of the regions of space, his power (*like*) the gold which agreeable and cultured men have laid in deposit¹ : hence what other men are such as to compare with the sheriff **Dāsirāja**, a crowd of good qualities, a celestial tree of noble fortune ?

(V. 11.) Inborn truthfulness, the generous virtues of his lineage, congenital appreciation of good qualities, natural instinct for propriety, the religious practices of his race, beautiful conduct, his own life devoted to the benefit of friends, the congenital attendant triad of powers of counsel being his, who are superior to the blest **Dāsirāja** ?

(V. 12.) Do any even observe religious vows like the lady **Oḷajale**, **Dāsi's** high-born wife, who is like Rati in form, like Bhārati in grace of speech, like the earth in steadiness ?

¹ This seems to mean that his power is like the property of Brāhmins, in that it was not liable to be diminished by adverse occupation or limitations (*Nārada-smṛiti* i. 81, *Bṛihaspati-smṛiti* ix. 12 and 21), and that it could not be taken from him (*Nārada-s'* xviii. 49) ; or that it enabled him to acquire boundless worlds, like the gift of property to Brāhmins (*Āpastamba-dharma-sūtra* II. x. 26, 1).

(V. 13.) As she fully equalled the high degree of beauty of Lakshmi born from the churning of the Milk Ocean, the greatness of wifely devotion present in Gauri, (and) the series of graces of speech of the charming lady Vāk, who on this earth now are peer to Dāsirāja's beloved Bhāgale?

(L. 27.) Their sons:—

(V. 14.) Fortune abode with great delight in his house; the lady Vāk adorned with magnificence resided in his mouth; his goodly fame completely filled (*every place*) from Sētu to the great Snowy Mountains: hence was Dāsirāja's son lord Mahadēva,¹ that gem-mine of nobility, an ordinary man?

(V. 15.) Like Dhruva² in firmness, like the Lotus-born (Brahman) in eloquence, like the comely Mādhava in his form, like the Sun in bounty, like the Jar-born (Agastya) in right conduct, like the ocean in profundity, when one considers—what men are equal to the sheriff Dāsirāja's son Mālayya?

(Ll. 33-34.) On Monday, the 2nd of the dark fortnight of Pushya in the cyclic year Chitrabhānu, the 1084th (year) of the blessed Śaka era, on the holy lunar day of the *uttarāyana-saṁkrānti*,—

(Ll. 34-42.) As the temple of Kēśava of Nāgarakhaṇḍi was falling into decay, the sheriff Dāsirāja, having restored the decayed parts and reconsecrated it, adored with (*offering of*) money the divinely blest lotus-feet of the Thousand Mahājanas, headed by the mayor, of the great *agrahāra* of Pāli and for the restoration of [broken, burst, and decayed (*masonry of the temple*)] of that god and for the regular oblations, *Chaitra-pavitra* rites,³ perpetual lamps, and stipend for the officiating priest, purchased and granted six *mattar* within the waste-land *hasuge* of Kokkuligēri, on the west of Kattiyagēri, on the north of the field of Galatige, (and) on the east of (*the sanctuary of*) the Chikkaṇikas' god, on which is to be paid an *aru-vaṇa* at the rate of one *pana* on each *mattar*.

(Ll. 42-46.) Having again adored the Thousand with (*offering of*) gold, they purchased and granted to the same god a dwelling one cubit in width and eleven in length in the *meyya sthāla* north of Kaṣaṣavalligēri, east of the traders' house at the backyard of the town-house, as a *sarva-namasya* holding. So the Thousand shall religiously protect this monastery and field in respect of any minor claims to possession that may arise.

(V. 16.) Realise this with conviction: the great sinner who comes to overthrow this pious foundation will inevitably sink to levels of (*degraded*) rebirth, together with his race; so to the king who cheerfully guards it in due wise shall accrue increase of vitality, most brilliant fortune, stainless fame, luck, welfare, happiness.

(V. 17 : a common Sanskrit formula.)

M.—OF THE REIGN OF RIJJALA : SAKA 1084.

This inscription is on a black stone built into the northern wall on the inside of the *maṇḍapa* of the Agastyāśvara temple (see above). The slab is 4 ft. 10 in. high and 2 ft. 2 in. wide. The topmost compartment bears the following sculptures: in the centre, Vishṇu reclining on a serpent with seven hoods, with Brahman seated above him on the lotus arising from his navel, and to his proper left Lakshmi seated at his feet; below Vishṇu, Garuḍa; to the proper right of Vishṇu a goddess (Earth or Sarasvatī?),⁴ seated and facing full front; to his proper right, a cow and calf; over these, the sun (to left) and moon (to right). Below these is the inscribed area, 3 ft. 1 in. high and 2 ft. 1 in. wide. It is in good preservation. The character is fair Kanarese of the period, the letters being from $\frac{3}{8}$ in. to $\frac{1}{2}$ in. high. The language is Old Kanarese, with an introductory and a final verse in Sanskrit. The Kanarese verses are richer in vocabulary

¹ By metrical license for *Mahadēva*.

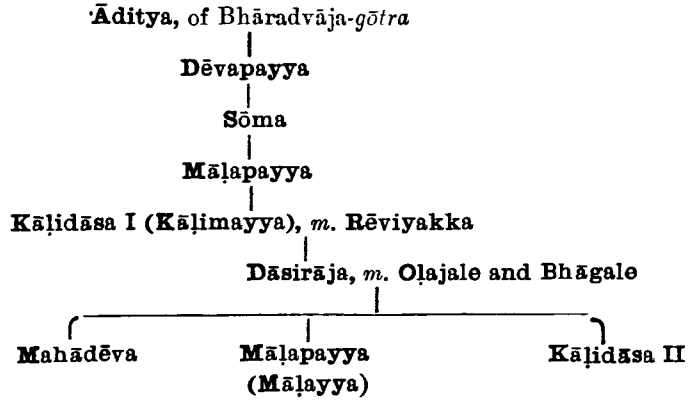
² See I. A., Vol. XXXVIII, p. 52.

³ See *Vishṇu-purāṇa*, I. xi.-xii.

⁴ [V. 2 of this inscription would indicate that she is the Earth-goddess.—Ed.]

and more skilful in technique than most of the kind. The *l* is not preserved : it appears as *r* in *erttāṇḍu* (l. 3), *negā[r*]d=* (l. 4), and *arbhbbh=* (l. 16, for *alvū*), and as *l* in *pēl* (l. 16), *pēlvaḍ=* (l. 18), *ēlgeyīm* (ll. 20 f.), *kaḷalchuvan* (l. 31), *baḷalḍu* (l. 33), *hāla* (ll. 40, 44), and *biḷguṁ* (l. 48). The *p* is changed to *h* in *halgaḷam* (l. 31, verse), *hōheyam* (l. 32, verse 19, for *hūheyam*), *huṇ* (l. 33, verse 20), *hāla hasugey=* (ll. 40, 44 f.); elsewhere it is kept, even in prose. As to lexicography, we may notice *dharmmēta* (l. 40)¹ and *śata* (l. 41).

The record, after preliminaries of the usual sort, eulogises Pāli, its Thousand Mahājanas, and the Hundred of Śiveyagēri (ll. 4-13). It then gives in ll. 13-31 the pedigree of the same family which figures in inscription L. above, but with some more details : putting the two together, we have the genealogy :—





Two vigorous verses then introduce king Bijjala (ll. 31-34). Next comes prose referring the record to his reign and giving him full regal titles² (ll. 34-37), followed by the date (ll. 37-38) and details of some lands purchased and granted by Dāsirāja for the upkeep of the Nāgara-Bhāvi and some other local establishments and for the expenses of the worship of the Agastyēśvara temple (ll. 38 ff.).

The date, given on ll. 37-38, is identical with that of inscription L.

The places mentioned are, besides Pāli, Śiveyagēri (l. 13), Kāḷāmjana (l. 35 : see above, on inscr. L.), Nāga-vāvi (l. 39), Kattiyagēri (l. 41), Nāgarakhamḍi (l. 41 : see on inscr. L.), Yēraṁḍagēri (l. 42), Kokkuḷigēri (l. 44), and Jamnavegere (l. 47). The Nāga-vāvi or “Nāgas’ Well” is the same as the Nāgara-Bhāvi, on the side of which the Agastyēśvara temple stands (see above). Yēraṁḍagēri (i.e. Ēraṁḍa-gēri, the “street of the castor-oil plants”) seems to be another of the parishes of Pāli.

TEXT.³


[The metres are as follows : Vv. 1, 22, *Anushtubh*; vv. 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 4, 9, 11, 14, 15, 21, *Mattēbhavikrīḍita*; vv. 6, 12, 13, 16-18, *Kanda*; vv. 10, 19, 20, *Champakamālā*.]

1  Jayaty-āvishkṛitam Viṣṇōr-Vvārāham kshōbhit-ārṇna(rṇṇa)vaṁ | dakṣiṇ-
 ōnnata-damśhṭr-āgra-viśrānta-bhuvanam vapuḥ [|| 1*] 

¹ This denotes some kind of religious establishment, and may possibly be derived from *dharm-āyata* (= *āyatana*).

² See *Dgn. Kanar. Distr.*, p. 475.

³ From the ink-impression.

- 2  Kshir-āmbhōdhiyoḥ=ipp=Ananta-śayanam Nārāyaṇam Kaustubh-ādhāram tamna
samakshadoḥ=Kamaḷeyum Bhū-kānte-
- 3 yuṁ nābhiyoḥ=sār-āmsam-bāded=Abjagarb[h]bha-sahitam śrī-Pūlig=erttamdu¹ nind-
ārādhyam karuṇā-ras-ārdra-hṛdayam ra-
- 4 kshikke sāsirvvaṇam || [2*] Ant=enisi nega[l*]d=agrahāra-chūdāmaṇiya vikhyātiy=
em̐t=appud=em̐daḍe [l*] Samasta-kaḷegaḷge ni-
- 5 laya-sthānamum viḷāsakk=āvāsamum śringārakke janma-bhūmiyum vasanta-sama-
yakk=ikke-dāpamum=enisidud=am-
- 6 tum=alladeyum || Rām-ārāma-vikīrṇa(rṇa)dim nikhīla-dēv-ānikadim Ri(Ri)g-
Yajuḥ-Sām-Ātharvvaṇa-Vēda-Śāstra-nivaha-prakhyāta-sā-
- 7 sirvvarim Kām-ōddāma-gajaṅgaḷ=ant=ir=eseva² vārāṅgan-ānikadim śrīmat-Pāli
nirantaram sogayikum sat-sēvya-sampattiyim || [3*]
- 8 Inanam tējadoḥ=Indranam vibhavadol Chāṇā(ṇa)kyanam nītiyoḥ=Manuvam chārṇ-
chari[tra]doḥ jaladhiyam gāmbhiryyadol
- 9 dhairyyadoḥ Kanak-ādrīndraman=eyde pōlpar=enip=i sāsirvvara khyātiyoḥ=manu-
jarkkaḷ=paḍipāṭi pāsāṭi samam-barpp=am̐na-
- 10 r=ār=ddhātriyoḥ || [4*] Śrī-Rāmāyaṇa-Bhārat-ādi-Manu-chāritramgaḷa vyāptiyoḥ=sār-
āsāra-vichāra-tarkka-nichaya-pra-
- 11 [khyā*]ta-sāstramgaḷoḥ sūrar=Vvēda-samūhadol=sakaḷa-tat[t*]va-jñāna-sampattiyim̐d=
ārādhyar=ddhareg=em̐daḍim piriyaṇ=ār=sāsirvvarind=urvvi-
- 12 yol || [5*] Avar=olage || Kavi-gamaki-vādi-vāgmigala vivēkada deseyan=ariyaṇ=
āsrita-be(ja)nam=utsavadim bēdalk=ivar=ssaviḷā[si]-
- 13 gal=alte Śiveyagēriya nūrvvaru || [6*] Avar=olage || Bhāradvāja-kuḷ-āmbara-
dyumaṇi tējah-puṁjadim permmeiyim kshir-āmbhōnidhi [dh]ai-
- 14 ryyad=um̐natikeiyim̐dam Maṁdaram śauryyadol śrī-Rāman paramārttha-niśchayadin-
ā Kamjāsanaṁ tām=enalk=ārum pōlvege barpparē bu-
- 15 dhu-jana-prastutyaṇ=Ādityanoḥ || [7*] Tat-suta || Śrīraṅgaṅg=atibhaktan=oppuv=
amaḷ-āchāram yaśō-vallabham pārvārame mērey=ā-
- 16 d=avani(ni)jarkkaḷg=eyde chakrēśvaraṁ sāra-grāhi samasta-dēśadavargal=arbhbbh(rbb)³=
ikk=iralu rakshipam dhīr-ōdāttan=enippa Dēvapayanoḥ=pēl=ā-
- 17 r=ssamaṁ-barpparē || [8*] Tat-suta || Dhuradol=baṁd=urad=oddi nim̐d=ari-baḷa-
brātakke kayy=āntu baṁd=ered=artthi-prakarake vāra-vanit-ānika-
- 18 kke gāmbhīra-sāgaran=i p[e*]rggaḍe Sōman=ānt=iriyal=iyal=sōlisal=pēl[vaḍ]=ā Hari-
putram Hari-putran=ā Hari-sutaṁ tām=enda-
- 19 d=ēm(ē) vaṇṇipaṁ || [9*] Tat-suta || Vara-vanitā-janaṅgaḷa manam Kusum-
āstra-sarakke sad-budh-ōtkara-kara-paṁkajam bahu-suvarpa-chayakk=adhinātha-
mam-
- 20 diram sthīratara-rājya-lakshmig=eḍey=ādavū rāpa-viḷāsad=ēlgeiyim nirupa[ma*]-dāna-
dim pati-hit-ōm(na)natiyim prabhu-Mālapayyanim⁴ || [10*] Tat-su-
- 21 ta || Akalamkam tannv=āgi varttisuvā Chāṁdraṁ kāntiy=om̐d=ēlgeiyim sakaḷa-
vyāpakan=āgi jādyaṇamam̐ bitt=irda⁵ Padmāsanam sukaviṁdratva-

¹ In classical spelling *el-tamdu*.² Apparently to be corrected to *esev=ā*.³ Apparently for *aḷu* (or *arvu*.—Ed.), "harm." ⁴ Perhaps a slip for *Mālapayyana*. ⁵ *Irdā* would be more usual.

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- 22 [d]o[=]īsanīm kiḍada Kāmaṁ rūpa-sampatti(tti)yim prakatam-betta charitradim Manuv=enippam Kālidās-ottamam || [11*] Tat-sati || Ratiy=amna! rūpi(pi)m Bhā-
- 23 [ra]tiy=amna! vāg-vilāsadiṁ saushṭhavadiṁ kshitiy=amna! permeg=Arumdhatiy=amna! Bēviyakkan=ene mechchadar=ār || [12*] Ā dāmpatigalg=ogedaṁ Vēdānta-
- 24 [pri]yan=Ananta-bhaktam pesariṁ śrī-Dāsirājan=ūrjitan=ādam vikhyāta-kirtti mārtaṁḍa-nibham || [13*] Charitam san-muni-mūla-sūtrav=aritam Vāg-dē[va]tā-
- 25 [maṁga]!-ābharaṇam kirtti dig-aṁganā-kusuma-valli-dāmaṁv=ārpp=ishṭa-siṣṭara bayt=iṭṭa suvarṇav=emdaḍ=itarar=ppōlv=amnar=ār=ssad-guṇ-ōtkaranam
- 26 [perggaḍe]-Dāsirājanan=udāra-śrī-sur-ōrvvijanam || [14*] Sahajam satyam=udāram=anvaya-guṇam svābhāvikaṁ sad-guṇa-grahanaṁ niti-nisa-
- 27 [rggaṁ=ā]tma-kuḷa-dharmam chāru-chāritram=ishṭa-hit-ārttham nija-jivitavyam=aḷa-vaṭṭ=ā maṁtra-śakti-trayaṁ saha-jātam tanag=emdoḍim piriyar=ā-
- 28 [r=śrī-D]āsirājam-barām || [15*] Tat-sutaru || Śrīraṁga-dēva-bhaktan=udārate-yim kalpa-bhūruham sthirateyo[=]ā Mēru-giriṁdraṁ permmeyo-
- 29 [l]=ārimd=atyadhikan=alte Mahadēva-budham || [16*] Ātana tammaṁ śruta-vikhyātam Śiva-pāda-śekharam sakaḷa-guṇa-brātame bhūshanam=enipam nitiya
- 30 kaṇi Mālapayyan=ene mechchadar=āru || [17*] Avar=irvvarimde kiriyam bhuvana-stutan=enipa Kālidāsam Kumbhōdbhavan=amnam chāritradin=ivar=opp[u]-
- 31 va Dāsirāja-sutar=esed=irddaru || [18*] Javan=ivan=ēvan=emban=adaṭim Kuḷik-āhiya halgaḷam kaḷalchuvan=idir=āge Rāvaṇanuvam nelak=ikkuvan=U-
- 32 gra-hō(hū)heyam¹ bha(ba)varado[²]=āntōḍ=ātana bhujamgaḷan=oppuva khalga-dhāre-yimḍame kaḍi-khaṁḍam=āge taṭivarṁ sale Bijjanadēva-bhūbhujā || [19*]
- 33 Pariv=aruṇ-āmbu sūsida midu[=]pared=okka karu[=]baḷaldu jōld=ari-kari-samkulam suṇidu kittuva huṇ=beras=āduv=atṭey-im charam=eseya-
- 34 lke pāduva bhaṭarkkaḷa paṇ-daleyimḍe nōḍal=āsuramum=agurvum=āyt=iṇidu geld=ede Bijjanadēva-bhūpana || [20*] Svasti [*] Samasta-bhuvan-ā-
- 35 āraya Śrī-Prithvi-vallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēśvaram Kālāmjana-puravar-ādhiśvaram ḍamaruga-tūryya-nirghōshanaṁ para-chakra-bhisha-
- 36 naṁ śrīmat-Kaḷachuryya-bhujabala-chakravartti Tribhuvanamalladēva-vijaya-rājyam=uttar-ōttar-ābhivṛiddhi-pravarddhamānam=ā-chamdr-ā-
- 37 rkka-tāram saluttam=ire || Śrīmach-Chhaka-varshaṁ 1084neya Chitrabhānu-samvatsarada Pushya-bahula 2 Sōmavāradamḍ=uttarāyana-samkrā-
- 38 [nti*]yalu vyatipātam kūḍida divya-tithiya³u dharmma-kāryya-nimittam perggaḍe Dāsirājam śrīman-mah-āgrahāram Pūliy=ūr-o-
- 39 dēya-pramukha-sāsirvvar=mmahājanamgaḷa divya-śrī-pāda-padmaṁgaḷam⁴ dravya-pūrvvakam=ārādhisi Vārāpā(ṇa)śiya⁴ samānav=appa Nāga-vāviya khaṁḍa-

¹ [The reading seems to be Haihayam (=Arjuna Kārtavīrya).—Ed.]

² The engraver seems to have begun with the intention of making the first letter a *b*, and to have finished it off as *bh*; for, unlike the regular *bh*, it is not open at the base, but on the other hand it has a horizontal tick on the right-hand top corner, like a regular *bh*.

³ The engraver has omitted *gaḷa*, and then inserted it below the line, marking the corrigendum by a cross above the line.

⁴ The *ṇa* has been omitted, and inserted above the line.

- 40 sphuṭita=jirnn(rnp)-ōddhārapakkam=alliya dharmmētakkaṁ agniśṭagey=āraykegam-
eindu Kokkuḷigēriya hāla-hasugey=ōlage sarvva-nama-
- 41 śya(sya)m=āgi biṭṭa mattar=āḷ=adara sime mūḍalu Kattiyagē[ri*]ya śata |
temkapa sime Nāgarakhamḍiya Kēśava-dēvara bhūmi [*] paḍuvaṇa [s]t-
- 42 me perggade-Śamkarayya-nāyakara satrada bhūmi [*] baḍagaṇa sime Yēram-
dagērige pratinidhiy=āgi koṭṭa bhūmi | Int=i dharmmama-
- 43 n=āva nyāyamum=ādodaṁ sarvva-namaśya(sya)m=āgi sāsa(si)rvvarum sadharmmadim
pratipāliparu || Maṁgaḷa-mahā-śrī śrī ☉
- 44 ☉ Ā puṇya-tithiyoḷ=alliya paśchima-dvārada śrīmad-Agastyēśvara-dēvar=asṭavidh-
ārchchanā-nimittam Kokkuḷigēriya hāla-
- 45 hasugey=ōlage sarvva-namaśya(sya)v=āgiy=ūr-oḍeya-pramukha-sāsirvvar=mmahājanam-
gaḷan=aṁgaḍiy=ūr-oḍeya-
- 46 pramukha-bhakta-janaṁgaḷ=ārādhisi paḍadu biṭṭa mattar=eraḍ=adara sime mūḍalu
Meḷasēśvara-dēvara bhūmi
- 47 temkalu Jainavegeṇeya dāri paḍuvalu kara-bhūmi [*] baḍagalum Meḷasēśvara-dēvara
bhūmi | Initam niśchayam=āge
- 48 bhāvisuvud=i dharmmak=e(a)pāyakke varppan=amōgham sa-kuḷam nigōda-taḷadoḷ
biḷgum mahā-pātakam manam=old=imt=idan=eyde rakshisu-
- 49 va dēvaṁg=akkum=āyushya-varddhanam=atyūrjjita-lakshmi nirmmaḷa-yaśam bhadram
śubham maṁgaḷam || [21*] Sva-dattām para-datta(ttā)m vā yō harēti(ta)
vasumḍha-
- 50 rām [*] shasṭim-varsha-sahasrāṇi viśṭhāyām jāyatō kṛimih || [22*] ☉

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1 : identical with verse 1 of inscription C. above.)

(V. 2.) May Nārāyaṇa who rests upon Ananta in the Milk Ocean and who wears the *Kaustubha* jewel, worshipful, with heart moist with the liquor of grace, coming to blest Pāli and dwelling (*there*) in company with Kamalā and the lady Earth and the Lotus-born (Brahman) who enjoys his essence in his navel, protect the Thousand!

(Lines 4-6.) If it be asked what is the reputation of that crest-jewel of *agrahāras* which is so illustrious, (*we answer*) : it is called a dwelling-place of all arts, an abode of brilliance, a natal ground of ornament, a home of the season of spring; and moreover :—

(V. 3.) With a profusion of delightful pleasantries, with the company of all the gods, with the Thousand who are renowned in all the lore of the Rik, Yajus, Sāma, and Atharvaṇa Vēdas, with the multitude of public damsels who are brilliant like fiery elephants of Kāma, the blessed Pāli is ceaselessly splendid with fortunes subserved by worthy men.

(V. 4 : identical with verse 4 of inscription L. above.)

(V. 5.) As they are men of might in mastery over the blessed *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bhārata*, and other works and the course of conduct of Manu, (*and*) in famous teaching-books of manifold studies of reality and unreality and of logic, adored by the world for their attainment of knowledge of all the principles in the series of the Vēdas, who now are superior on earth to the Thousand?

(L. 12.) Among them :—

(V. 6.) Knowing not a place of distinction between poets, reciters, controversialists and rhetoricians, giving (*alms*) when clients cheerfully ask, the Hundred of Śiveyagēri are in sooth brilliant.

(L. 13.) Among them :—

(V. 7.) As he may be termed because of the mass of his splendour a Sun in the sky of the Bhāradvāja race, because of his greatness a Milk Ocean, by reason of the high degree of his firmness a Mandara, in heroism a blessed Rāma, in judgment of transcendental lore the Lotus-seated (Brahman) himself, can any compare with Āditya, who was renowned among sages ?

(L. 15.) His son :—

(V. 8.) Say, who can equal Dēvapaya, who was deeply devoted to Śrīraṅga (Vishnu), a man of eminent stainless conduct, a darling of fame, verily an emperor to the natives of the ocean-bounded earth, gathering the best (*of all knowledge*), a protector of the peoples of all lands when harm befell, firm and exalted of soul¹ ?

(L. 17.) His son :—

(V. 9.) Going to battle and ceaselessly resisting the multitude of foemen's hosts—stretching forth his hand to the troops of suppliants that came and begged (*of him*)—a deep ocean to the companies of public damsels—this sheriff Sōma was in his own person a Hari's son (Arjuna) in confronting and smiting, a Hari's (Sūrya's) son (Karna) in making gifts, a Hari's (Krishṇa's) son (Yama²) in conquering, when the tale is told : hence how can one sing his praises ?

(L. 19.) His son :—

(V. 10.) The souls of choice damsels became a place for the shafts of the god of the flower-arrows, the lotus-hands of companies of worthy sages a place for abundant quantities of gold, the royal mansion a place for the right firmly established Fortune of the kingdom, through the lord Mālapayya, by reason of the perfection of his grace of form, his incomparable generosity, and the high degree of his services to his sovereign (*respectively*).³

(Ll. 20-21.) His son :—

(V. 11.) The excellent Kālidāsa was indeed through the unique perfection of his beauty a moon appearing with unspotted form, through his high skill in poetry a Lotus-seated (Brahman) devoid of insentience while pervading the universe [*or, intimate with all*], through his gift of beauty a Kāma who was not destroyed by Īśa,⁴ by his eminent conduct a Manu.

(L. 22.) His good wife :—

(V. 12.) Rēviyakka was like Rati in form, like Bhārati in grace of speech, like the earth in steadiness, like Arundhati in greatness : who do not give praise in these terms ?

(V. 13 : almost identical with verse 9 of inscription L. above.)

(Vv. 14-15 : identical with verses 10-11 of inscription L. above.)

(L. 28.) His sons :—

(V. 16.) The sage Mahadēva is a votary of the god Śrīraṅga, a Tree of Desire by reason of his generosity, a Mount Mēru in firmness, altogether surpassing all in greatness, truly.

(V. 17.) His younger brother Mālapayya is renowned for scriptural lore, crowned with Śiva's feet, an aggregate of all virtues, a very ornament, a mine of propriety : who do not give praise in these terms ?

(V. 18.) The youngest brother of these twain is the world-renowned Kālidāsa, like the Jar-born (Agastya) in conduct : these eminent sons of Daśirāja have become distinguished.

¹ *Dhīr-ōdāttu* is a term for one of the types of hero of drama, and is defined in *Daśarūpaka* ii. 5 as "of great excellence, exceedingly serious, forbearing, not boastful, resolute, with self-assertion suppressed, and firm of purpose" (Haas's translation).

² [But Yama is also called Hari. So it would be better to take Kārttikēya or Bhīma as the *upamāna* especially when Hari is an epithet of Śiva and of Vāyu also.—Ed.]

³ This verse, like the preceding, is an instance of the rhetorical figure *yathāsankhya*.

⁴ This is the rhetorical figure *adhik-ābhēda-rūpaka* [according to appaya-Dikshita. See *Kuval ayānanda* under *Rūpaka*—Ed.]

(V. 19.) The monarch **Bijjanadēva** would say "what can this Yama do?"; boldly he would knock out the serpent Kulika's teeth; if he confronted him, he would strike to earth even Rāvaṇa; if he were to meet in battle the figure of Ugra,¹ he would lop his arms into fragments with his bright sword-edge.

(V. 20.) When one looks, the place where the monarch **Bijjanadēva** has won victory by blows is demoniac and frightful by reason of the decapitated heads of warriors uttering song while there arise sweet sounds from the headless trunks whose wounded limbs move in concerted action, (*wounded limbs*) from which drink snorting the troops of foemen's elephants whose marrow, over which streams gushing blood, and loosely out-bursting entrails swing about and dangle down.

(Ll. 34-37.) When the victorious reign of—hail!—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, lord of **Kālāñjana** best of cities, attended by the sound of *ḍamaruga* drums and (*other*) musical instruments, terrible to other realms, the **Kaḷachurya Emperor** strong of arm, **Tribhuvanamalladēva**, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (*to endure*) as long as moon, sun, and stars:—

(Ll. 37-38.) On **Monday**, the 2nd of the dark fortnight of **Pushya** in the cyclic year **Chitrabhānu**, the 1084th (*year*) of the blessed **Śaka era**, at the *uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti*, on the holy lunar day with which coincided a *vyatipāta*;

(Ll. 38-43.) For the purposes of religion, the sheriff **Dāsirāja**, having adored with (*offering of*) money the divinely blest lotus feet of the Thousand **Mahājanas**, headed by the mayor, of the great *agrahāra* of Pūli, granted as a *sarva-namasya* holding for the restoration of broken, burst, and worn-out (*masonry*) of the **Nāgas' Well**, which is equal to Benares, and for the *dharmēta* of that place, and for the management of the fire-hearth six *mattar* within the waste-land *hasuge* of Kokkuḷigēri. The bound of this is on the east the *śata* of Kattiyaḡeri; the southern bound is the land of (*the temple of*) the god Kēśava of Nāgarakhaṇḍi; the western bound is the land of the sheriff Śaṅkarayya-Nāyaka's choultry; the northern bound is the land granted as a substitute to Ēraṇḍagēri. So whatever claims may arise, the Thousand shall religiously preserve this pious foundation. Happiness! Great fortune!

(Ll. 44-47.) On the same holy lunar day, having adored the Thousand **Mahājanas**, headed by the mayor, and the votaries, headed by the bazaar-mayor, he purchased (*from them*) and granted for the purposes of the eightfold worship² of (*the temple of*) the god Agastyēśvara³ at the western gate of the town two *mattar* within the waste-land *hasuge* of Kokkuḷigēri as a *sarva-namasya* holding. The bound of this is on the east the land of the god Meḷasēśvara, on the south the road of Jannavegere, on the west the black (?) land, on the north the land of the god Meḷasēśvara.

(Vv. 21-22: identical with verses 16-17 of inscription L. above.)

No. 23.—DON BUZURG PLATES OF GOVINDACHANDRA: [VIKRAMA]-
SAMVAT 1176.

By DAYA RAM SAHNI, M.A., RAI BAHADUR.

These copper-plates were lent to me for examination and decipherment by the Mahārāja of Majhauḷi in the Gorakhpur district of the United Provinces in 1906 when I toured in the Gorakhpur and Saran districts under the orders of the Director-General of Archaeology in India, to collect notes on certain places for the use of the late Dr. Fleet. At my suggestion, these plates were deposited in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow where they are now preserved. The plates were unearthed by a Chamār cultivator in a field near the village of Dōn Buzurg situated 7½

¹ [See foot-note 1 on p. 215.—Ed.]

² Namely by offering of water, scent, flowers, rice-grains (*akṣhata*), incense, lamps, oblations (*navrēḍya*), and betel.

³ See above, p. 170.

miles to the north of Mairwa Railway Station on the Bengal and North-Western Railway, and made over to the Mahārāja of Majhauī. At my visit to this village, I did not notice any other antiquities of special interest. The village itself is, however, situated on a large ancient mound and the size of bricks unearthed by the villagers averages $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9'' \times 2''$.

The plates are inscribed on one side only and measure $14\frac{1}{4}''$ by $10\frac{3}{4}''$ and $14\frac{1}{2}''$ by $10\frac{3}{4}''$, respectively. The edges of the plates are fashioned into rims the maximum height of which is $\frac{5}{8}''$. Both the plates were originally soldered on a circular ring passing through the upper part of Plate II and the lower part of Plate I. Plate I is loose on account of a small piece having broken away from the ring-hole. The seal is now attached to Plate II and is of the usual Gāhaḍavāla type. The only orthographical peculiarities in the record that deserve special mention are the use of *j* for *y* in *parjantāḥ* (l. 18) and *jathā* (l. 25) and the confusion of *s* and *ś* and of *v* and *b*. *Ā* for *yā* in *viśthānā* (l. 30) is an evident mistake or a Prakritism. The form *utakṛitam* in l. 36 evidently stands for *utkṛṇnam* or the causal *utkṛitam*. There are many other mistakes of spelling in the inscription and they have all been corrected in the text.

The inscription consists of 36 lines, of which 19 are engraved on Plate I and the remaining 17 on Plate II. The whole of the document is in an excellent state of preservation. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is metrical Sanskrit in the first eleven and last eleven lines which contain respectively the usual genealogy of the Gāhaḍavāla kings of Kanauj and the imprecatory and benedictory verses. The remaining fourteen lines as well as part of the last or 36th line are in Sanskrit prose and represent the formal historical portion of the document.

The inscription records that on Tuesday¹ the 8th tithi of the bright half of Jyēṣṭha of [V.] S. 1176 (A.D. 1119-20) after bathing in the Ganges at his camp-residence (*yāna-vāsa*) at the village of Māmdaliā, belonging to Alamvimahāpura, the Gāhaḍavāla king Gōvindachandra granted the village of Vaḍagrāma² in the Alāpa district to a Brāhmaṇa named Tultāicha-³ Śarman. This Brāhmaṇa belonged to the Vachchha (Skt. Vatsa)-gōtra of Drōṇāyanashada. The fourth syllable of this latter name is not decipherable, but it is not impossible that it was the name of a town or village or of some *muni* to whom (a branch of—Ed.) the Vatsa-gōtra owed its origin. If this assumption is correct, we may without hesitation identify this locality with the village at which the plates were found and which is still called Dōn Buzurg, or the Holy Dōn. It is interesting to note here a legend which describes a small cultivated area in the neighbourhood of this village as Drōṇa-kā-garh or Drōṇa-kā-garh, that is the residence or citadel of Drōṇa, the preceptor of the Kaurava and Pāṇḍava princes. It is stated by the villagers that Drōṇa resided at this place and was on one occasion transported to Lankā to prescribe medicine for Vibhishana, brother of Rāvana. The story is not worth much, but it shows at least that the local paṇḍits already recognize in the name Dōn a corruption of Drōṇa, probably a remnant of the original long name of the place.

At the time of issuing the grant, the king Gōvindachandra was encamped at a village named Māmdaliā, which was situated in Alamvimahāpura. The latter was probably the name of the district in which the village in question was situated, and it is evident that the village stood somewhere on the banks of the Ganges. I am as yet unable to identify either of these places. The village granted was *supātaku-kōṇā*-Vaḍagrāma which I interpret as Vaḍagrāma together with its outlying hamlet and its corners. This village was situated in the district (*putalā*) of Alāpa,

¹ [This requires correction, for the original (l. 19) clearly gives सोमदिने, i.e. Monday. Reference to the late Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Ephemeris*, Vol. III, p. 240, will show that this date is quite regular and rightly corresponds to Monday, the 19th May, 1119 A.D.—Ed.]

² Vaḍagrāma appears to have been a common village name. In the Chandrāvati plate of Chandādēva of [V.] S. 1143 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 302 ff.) we find Chandrāvati referred to as Vaḍagavā, a slightly modified form of Vaḍagrāma. [See f. n. 1 on p. 223.—Ed.]

³ [See f. n. 2 on page 222.—Ed.]

which cannot as yet be identified. But there is a village of the name of Bargō in the Salempur Pargana of the Gorakhpur district which might represent the Vaḍagrāma of our inscription.

TEXT.¹

[Metres: Vv. 1, 3, 10, 11, 13-20, *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 2, 21, *Indravajrā*; vv. 4, 7, *Śārdūlavikṛīḍita*; vv. 5, 6, 8, 22, *Vasantatilakā*; v. 9, *Drutavilambita*; v. 12, *Śālīnī*.]

First Plate.

1 श्री² स्वस्ति ॥

अकुण्ठोत्कण्ठवैकुण्ठकण्ठपीठलुठत्करः [१*]

संरभः सुरतारभे [स] श्रियः श्रेयसेस्तु वः । [१ १*]

आसीदसी(शी)तद्युतिवंस(श)जा-

2 त-

क्षमापालमाल[र]सु दिवङ्गतासु ।

[सा]क्षाद्विवस्त्रानिव भूरिधान्ना

नान्ना यशोविग्रह इत्युदारः ॥ [२*]

तत्सुतोभूय[ही]चंद्रचंद्रधाम-

3 निभं निजं ।

येनापारमकृपारपारे व्यापारितं यशः ॥ [३*]

तस्याभूत्तनयो नयैकरसिकः क्रान्तद्विषग्मंडलो

विध्वस्तोद्धतधीरयोषति-

4 मिरः श्रीचंद्रदेयो(वो) नृपः ।

येनोदारतरप्रतापस(श)मितासे(शे)षप्रजोपद्रवं

श्रीमद्वाङ्मुराधिराज्यमसमं [दो]र्विक्रमेणार्जितं । [४*]

तंतो(तोर्यानि

5 क(का)सि(श्रि)कुसि(श्रि)कोत्तरकोस(श)सेन्द-

स्थानीयक(का)नि परिपालयता[धि]गम्य [१*]

हमात्मतुल्यमनिसं(शं) ददता द्विजेभ्यः(भ्यो)

येनाङ्गिता वसुमतौ

6 स(श)तस(श)स्तुल(ला)भिः ॥ [५*]

तस्यात्मजो मदनपाल इति चित्तींद्र-

चूडामणिर्विजयते निज[गो]वचंद्रः ॥³

यस्त्राभिषेककलशोद्घातितैः प-

7 योभिः

प्रक्षालितं कलिरजःपटलं धरिचराः ॥ [६*]

यस्त्रासीद्विजयप्रयाणसमये तुङ्गाचलोच्चैश्चल-

ग्माद्यत्कुंभिपदक्रमासम-

8 भरभस्व(श्व)श्रीमंडलो(लः) [१*]

चूडारत्नविभिनतालुबलितस्त्यानासृगुत्तासितः

से(शे)वः पेषवसा(शा)दिव चक्षमसौ क्रोडे निलीनामनः [१] । [७*]

¹ From ink-impressions.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Cancel one *daṇḍa*.

- 9 तस्मादजायत निजायतवा(वा)हुवलि-
 वं(वं)धावरुहणवराज्यगजो नरेन्द्रः ।
 सांद्रासुतद्रवमुषां प्रभवो गवां [यो]
 गोविन्दचन्द्र(द्र) इति
- 10 चंद्र इवांबुरासे(शे): ॥ [८*]
 न कथमप्यलभन्त रणक्ष[मां]-
 स्तिष्ठषु दिक्षु गजानय वज्रिणः ।
 ककुभि व(व)भ्रसुरभ्रसुवत्तभ-
 प्रतिभट्टा(टा)
- 11 इव यस्य घटागजाः ॥ [९*]
 सोयं समस्ताराजचक्रसंसेवितचरणः । स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधि[रा]-
 जपरमेस्व(स्व)रपरममा-
- 12 हेस्व(स्व)रनिज[भु]जोपार्जितशोक(का)¹न्यकुंजाधि[पत्यं]श्रीदेवपादानुध्यातपरम-
 भट्टारकमहा[रा]जाधिराजपरमेस्व(स्व)रपरममा-
- 13 हेस्व(स्व)रश्रीमदनपालदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(स्व)रपर-
 ममाहेस्व(स्व)रश्रीम[होवि]न्दचं[द्रदे]वो विज-
- 14 यो । अलापपत्तलाया(यां) सपाठककोणावडयाममध्ये पूर्वदत्तदेववा(वा)-
 क्षण ।² तथा कवचसमानपाठक एतान् व(व)हिःकृष्णत्वं याम अस्मिन्³
- 15 निवासिनो निखिलजनपदानुपगतानपि च राजराज्ञीयुवराजमंत्रिपुरोहितप्रतो-
 हारसेनापतिभांडागारिकाक्षपटलिक-
- 16 भिषग्नैमित्तिकान्तःपुस्किदूतकरितुरगपत्तनाकरखानगोकुलाधि[का]रिपुष्वान् समा-
 ज्ञापयति वो(वो)धयत्यादिस(श)ति च
- 17 यथा विदितमस्तु भवतां यथोपलिखितग्रामः सजलस्थ[ल]: सलो[हल]वशाकरः
 सगर्तो[ष]रः समधूकचूतवनप्राटिकाविट-
- 18 पतृण्युतिमोचरपर्ज(र्यं)न्तः ससोमापर्यन्तस्तुराघाटविसु(शु)हः व[द्रु]मत्यधिकस(श)-
 तेक(का)दस(श)संवत्सरे ज्येष्ठे म(मा)सि सु(शु)क्लपक्षे अष्ठ(ष्ट)-
- 19 म्यां [भौ]मदिने⁴ अलंविमहापुरीये मंदलिआग्रामा-

Second Plate.

- 20 'मावासे अकृतः संवत् ११७६ ज्येष्ठ शुदि ८ भौमे' मंदलिआग्रामवासे
 श्रीमङ्गायां विधिवत्स्नात्वा मंत्रदेवमुनिमनुज-

¹ [The correction is unnecessary; for both the forms $Kā^o$ as well as Ka^o are used.—Ed.]

² Cancel the *danda*.

³ Read *सामिऽस्मिन्*.

⁴ [The original reads *सौमदिने* which is correct, see f. n. 1 p. 219 above.—Ed.]

⁵ Cancel the syllable *मा*.

⁶ [The original reads *सौमे*, as for *ō* is evidently a clerical mistake.—Ed.]

- 21 भूतपितृगणांस्तर्पयित्वा तनि(मि)रपटलप[१*]टनपटमहसमुष्णरोषिषमुपस्थापौ-
षधिपतिस(श)कलये[शे]खरं समभ्यर्च्य त्रिभुवग(न)-
- 22 त्र[१*]तुर्वासुदेवस्य पूजां विधाय प्रचुरपायसेन हविर्भुजं हुत्वा मातापित्रो-
रात्मनश्च पुण्ययसो(शो)भित्तुहये अस्माभिः द्रोणाय-
- 23 एषडोयवच्छ(त्स)गोत्राय भार्गवच्यववा(न)अर्म(और्व)जामह(द)गन्यआप्रवानप(पं)-
चप्रवराय छ[१*]दोगसा(शा)खिने ।^१ भट्टश्रीनरसिंहप्रपौत्रा-
- 24 य भट्टश्रीजान्तापौत्राय श्रोपूतपुत्राय भट्टश्री^२टुल्लाडचख(श)र्मणे गोकर्ण-
कुशलतापूतकरतलोदकपूर्वमाच(चं)द्रार्कं याव-
- 25 च्छासनीकृत्य प्रदत्त इति मत्वा ज(य)थादीयमानभागभोगकरप्रवणिकर-
प्रभृति[स]^३सन्वा(व्वा)दायान् दास्यथ ॥ ४ ॥ स्वस्तिकर-
- 26 श्लोकः(काः)^४ ॥ भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति उभौ तौ
पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतौ स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ [१०*] सं(शं)खं भद्रासनं [च]क्रं^५
वराश्ला
- 27 वरवारणाः । भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलनेभा(म)त्र पुरंदर ॥ [११*] सर्वानेभा(ता)
ग्भाविनः ।^१ प(पा)र्थिवेद्रान्भूयो भूयो याचत(ते) रामभ[द्रः] । सामा-
- 28 न्योयं धर्मस(से)तुर्नृपाणां काले क(का)ल(ले) पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ [१२*]
व(व)(हु)भिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः समरादिभिः । यस्वयस्य यदा भूमि-
- 29 स्तस्यतस्य तदा फलं ॥ [१३*] स(सु)वर्न(र्त्त)मक(कं) नामेकं(कां)
भूमेरप्य(प्ये)कसंगुलं । हरश्चरकमाप्नोति यावदाभूत्स(तसं)द्भवं ॥ [१४*]
तडा[गा]नां सहस्रेण अश्व-
- 30 मेघस(श)तेन च गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न सु(शु)ध्यति ॥ [१५*]
खदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां । स विष्ठात्रां(यां) कृमिर्भूत्वा
पितृभिः
- 31 सह मज्जति ।[१ १६*] षष्टिं वर्षाश(स)हस्रा(स्रा)णि स्वर्गे वसति भू[मि]दः ।
आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नर[कं(के)] वसेत् ।[१ १७*] वारिहोने-
ध्वरन्ये(स्ये)षु सु(शु)ष्ककोट[र]-
- 32 वासिनः । कृष्णसप्पो(र्पा)^४च जायन्ते देवब्रह्मख(स्व)हारिणः ॥ [१८*]
न विषं विषमित्याहुव्र(र्त्त)ह्मशं(खं) विषमुच्यते [१*] विषमेकाकिनं हन्ति
व्र(र्त्त)ह्मस्वं पुत्रपौ[त्र]-

^१ [Cancel the *danḍa*.—Ed.]

^२ [The syllable read as ल्ला possibly stands for ल्ला.—Ed.]

^३ Cancel the syllable in brackets.

^४ [The reading seems to be भवन्ति चातु श्लोकाः. In the Kamauli plates, above, Vol. IV, p. 101, text

1. 23 f. these verses are rightly called पुण्यश्लोकाः.—Ed.]

^५ [Read हत्—Ed.]

- 33 कं ॥ [१८*] फलकष्टं(ष्टां) मही(हीं) दद्य[१*]स्ववी(वी)जां सस्यसा(शा)लिनीं ।
यावत्पुण्यकृता लोक(का)स्तावत्स्वर्गे(र्गं) महीयते ॥ [२०*] यानीह
दत्तानि पुरा
- 34 नर(रं)द्वैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयस(श)स्कराणि । निर्मात्यवान्तप्रतिना(मा)नि तानि
को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ [२१*] वाताभ्रविभ्र-
- 35 ममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमात्मधुरा(रो) विषयोपभोगः । प्राणास्तृणाग्रजल-
वि(वि)न्दुसमा नराणां धर्मः स-
- 36 खा परमहो परलोकयानि । [२२*] लिखितं करणिकठकुरश्रीसह-
देवेन । [श्री]शु(सु)वधारह्यलेकेन उतकेरित(उत्कोर्षं) ॥ ☸

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 11 to 25.) That victorious and illustrious king, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, Paramamāhēśvara Gōvindāchandrādēva,—whose feet are honoured by the entire circle of kings, who meditates on the feet of the illustrious P.M.P.P. Madanapālādēva, who (in his turn) meditates on the feet of the illustrious P.M.P.P. Chandradēva, who acquired the sovereignty over Kanyakubja by (the strength of his) own arms, orders, informs and commands all the people assembled, residing in this village, (namely), in the midst of *Vaḍagrāma*,¹ in the district (*pattalā*) of *Alāpa*, together with its outlying hamlets and corners, after excluding (the portions) already given to gods and Brāhmanas, also portions meant for fortifications² as well as the kings, queens, crown-princes, ministers, preceptors, door-keepers, generals, treasurers, record-keepers, physicians, astrologers, chamberlains, messengers, and officers charged with the care of elephants, horses, towns, mines (?), *sthānas* and *gōkulas* in the following manner :—

“Be it known to you, that I have, on Tuesday, the 8th of the bright fortnight in the month of Jyēṣṭha, in the year (comprising) eleven hundred increased by seventy-six, while staying at the village of *Māṃdaliā* belonging to *Alamvimahāpura*, in figures *Sāṃvat 1176, Jyēṣṭha śu. di. 8, Tuesday*,³ after bathing in the prescribed manner in the holy Ganges at (my) camp, at *Māṃdaliā*; after propitiating the sacred texts, divinities, sages, men, beings and the groups of deceased ancestors; adoring the Sun whose lustre can dispel heaps of darkness; worshipping the Moon-crested (Śiva); worshipping Vāsudēva, the protector of the three worlds and after offering to (the god of) Fire an oblation rich in milk-rice for the increase of merit and fame of my mother and father and myself, bestowed by a charter by (pouring) water from the palm of my hand, sanctified by the *gōkarṇa* and *kuśa*-grass for (as long as) the Moon and the Sun endure, the above-mentioned village, together with water and dry land, mines of iron and salt, with pits and deserts up to and including gardens of *mādhūka* and mango (trees), parks, and trees, grass and pasture-lands, up to its proper limits clearly defined by the four boundaries, upon the learned and illustrious *Tuṭṭāicha-sārman*, the son of the illustrious *Pūnta*, the grand.

¹ The name of the village seems to be *Kōṇāvaḍa*.—Ed.]

² I am unable to offer a satisfactory explanation of कवचसमानपाटक. Literally it would mean “portions resembling a coat of mail.” The rendering in my translation is a mere conjecture. [The word *pāṭaka* would suggest that what is read as कवचसमान gives the name of some hamlet.—Ed.]

³ [See f. n. 3 on p. 221, above.—Ed.]

son of the learned and illustrious Jāntā and the great-grandson of the learned and illustrious Narasiṃha of the Chhāndōga school, whose five *pravara*s are, namely, Bhārgava, Chyavana, Aurva, Jāmadagnya and Āpnavāna, and who belongs to the Vatsa-gōtra of Drōṇāyanashada. Bearing this in mind, you should give (the donee) the *bhāga-bhōga-kara*, the *pravāṇi-kara* and all the other sources of income that are due.

[Ll. 26 to 36 contain thirteen imprecatory and benedictory verses.]

(L. 36.) Written by the *Karaṇika*,¹ the illustrious Thakkura Sahadēva. Engraved by the illustrious *sūtradhāra*, Hālēka.

No. 24.—CHHATARPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF GOVINDACHANDRA-DEVA OF KANAUJ : [VIKRAMA]-SAMVAT 1177.

By DAYA RAM SAHNI, M.A., RAI BAHADUR.

The copper-plates on which this inscription is engraved are two in number. They were forwarded to the Director-General of Archæology in India by the District Magistrate of Cawnpore with the following information about the circumstances that led to their discovery : "The plates were discovered on or about the 5th July, 1920, by one Chhatiyan Chamār when digging the foundations for a hut. Local rumour has it that he found with it jewellery and gold ornaments, but of this I have no corroboration. No one has claimed the plates or any knowledge of their antecedents. The site was the village of Chhatarpur near Sheorājpur, a small town, lying on the Grand Trunk Road, 21 miles north-west of Cawnpore. Sheorājpur was formerly a place of some importance: the seat of the Rājās of Chandēl family. Chhatarpur itself contains a very old temple of Khērēshwar² Mahādeo which is regarded with the greatest veneration." The plates were in a much corroded state when they reached the office of the Director-General of Archæology in India, who had them thoroughly cleaned and sent to me for publication in this Journal.

Both the plates on which this inscription is engraved are rectangular in shape, each measuring 1'-3½" by 10". Their edges are turned upwards, thus forming a rim, ½" high, on all sides. The plates are held together by a stout circular ring of copper which passes through two holes cut in the bottom of plate I, and the top of plate II, respectively. To the ring is attached, as is frequently the case with such plates, a heavy seal of the king bearing the inscription *Śrīmad-Gōvindachandradēvaḥ* with a figure of *Garuḍa* above it and a *conch* below it. The plates, the ring and the seal are in a perfect state of preservation, except one corner of plate II and another of plate I, which are slightly damaged; but we find no loss of the inscription on this account. The epigraph, which consists of thirty-two lines, is engraved on the inner side of each of the two plates, the number of lines on each plate being sixteen. The characters are Nāgarī and the language is Sanskrit throughout. In respect of orthography, we observe the same peculiarities as in other inscriptions of this king. The letter *ba* is everywhere written as *ra* and the palatal *ś* as the dental sibilant, though occasionally it has its own proper sign, especially in

¹ This word means a scribe, i.e. 'one who has to do with documents' (*karaṇa*). Mr. Y. R. Gupte has kindly drawn my attention to the fact that certain families among the Chāndrasēniya Kāyastha Prabhus (a class of writers in the Deccan) to this day bear the surname of Karaṇika (Sanskrit *karaṇika*). The Prabhus referred to are supposed to have migrated from the district of Oudh in the United Provinces.

² The correct name would appear to be Kahirēśvara.

ligatures. A few other mistakes of spelling may also be noticed. In line 18, we meet with *śorddhādhasi-* for *śordhvādhasi*.¹ In the same line we also find *usha* wrongly spelt as *usna*, while in line 21, the *rēpha* is omitted from the name *Bārhaspatya*.² The *Sandhi* is frequently disregarded.

The first ten lines and a half are in verse and contain, as in other copper-plate inscriptions of this dynasty, the genealogy of the king beginning from *Chandradēva*, while the nine lines at the end (ll. 24-32) are taken up by seven benedictory and imprecatory verses quoted from the *Mahābhārata*. The rest of the inscription, i.e., from the middle of line 11 to line 24, and the latter portion of line 32, is devoted to the formal subject matter of the epigraph. The object of the document is to record the fact that king *Gōvindachandradēva*, son of the illustrious *Madanapālādēva*, son of the illustrious *Chandradēva*, after bathing with the water of the Ganges at *Vārānasi* on the occasion of the full³ moon of *Kārtika* in the [Vikrama]-*Samvat* year 1177, after having duly propitiated the sacred⁴ texts, divinities, etc., and adored the Sun, *Mahādēva* and *Vāsudēva*, gave away, by this charter, the village of *Sāsaimaua* in the *Kōti* district, clearly defined by its four boundaries, together with what is above and below it, to the *Brāhman*, the illustrious *Sāhulāsarmaṇ*, the son of the illustrious *Thakkura Lāhula*, and the grandson of *Avasthi-Śrī-Mālhē*, whose *pravara*s are *Āngirasa*, *Bārhaspatya* and *Bhāradvāja*, and who belongs to the *Bhāradvāja-gōtra*. The king further commands the residents of the aforesaid village to continue regularly to pay all the taxes to the donee. The document was written by the *Karaṇika Thakkura Śrīdhara*.

The name of the village, whose grant is recorded in this inscription, was *Sāsaimaua*. The locality, where the two copper-plates were unearthed, was, as mentioned above, the village of *Chhatarpur* near *Sheorājpur* in *Cawnpore* district. If *Chhatarpur* is really the place where the donee of the grant actually resided, then the village of *Sāsaimaua* must have been situated somewhere in its neighbourhood. I have referred to a large scale map of the *Cawnpore* district, but have failed to discern any village of this precise name. I have, however, received a copy of a letter from the District Magistrate to the address of the Director-General of Archaeology in India, which states that there is a village of the name of *Sisamau*, which now forms part of the *Cawnpore* City. This village answers very nearly to the ancient village *Sāsaimaua*. The District Magistrate is unable to throw any light on the ancient district of *Kōti*.

TEXT.⁵

First Plate.

[Lines 1 to the middle of 11 are the same as in the *Dōn Buzurg* plates of *Gōvindachandra* of [Vikrama]-*Samvat* 1176; above, p. 218.]

- 11 सोयं समस्त राजचक्रसंसेवितचरः ।
परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधि-
12 राजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वर(१) निबभुजोपाख्यितश्रीकन्यकुजाधिपत्यश्रीचन्द्रदेवपादानु-
ध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजा-

¹ [This remark is not justifiable for the word is written with or without *ṛ*; cf. *Śabdakalpādruma* under the word; “सवकारी निर्वकारः.”—Ed.]

² [I think it is there.—Ed.]

³ [Not mentioned in the inscription which simply says *वार्तिकपर्वणि*. It may be any of the five *parvas*.—Ed.]

⁴ [It would be better to take *mantra-dēva* together, meaning ‘gods invoked by, etc.’—Ed.]

⁵ From the ink-impression.

- 13 धिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रोमदनपालदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिरा-
जपरमेश्वरपरम-
- 14 माहेश्वरश्रोमन्मोविन्दचन्द्रदेवो विजयो । कोटिपत्तलायां सासैमीशग्रामे
निवासिनो निखिलजनपदानुपगा(म)तानपि-
- 15 च राजराज्ञीयुवराजमन्त्रिपुरीहितप्रतीहारसेनापतिभांडागारिकाचपटलिकभिष-
ग्नेमित्तिकान्तःपुरिकदूतकरितुरग-
- 16 पत्तनाकरस्थानगोकुलाधिकारिपुरुषांश्चाप्ययति वो(वो)धयत्यादिशति च विदित-
मस्तु भवतां यथोपरिलिखि-

Second Plate.

- 17 त(ग्रामः) सजलस्थलः सलोहलवणाकरः समत्स्याकरः सपण्याकरः सग(र्त्ती)धरः
समधूकचूतव[नवाटिका]वि-
- 18 ड(ट)पटुण्युतिगोचरपर्यन्तः सोर्वा(धर्मा)धस्तुराघाटविसु(शु)हः स्वसोमापर्यन्तः
सस्वत् ११७७ अत्रेह^१ वाराणस्यां कार्तिकपर्वणि
- 19 गंगोदकेन स्नात्वा विधिवन्मन्त्रदेवमुनिमनुजभूतपितृगणांस्तर्पयित्वा तिमिरपटल-
पाटनपटुमहसमुग्र(ण)रोचिषमुपस्था-
- 20 यौषधिपतिशकलसे(शे)खरं समभ्यर्च्य त्रिभुवनत्रातुर्व्यासुदेवस्य पूजां विधाय
प्रचुरपायसेन हविषा हविर्भुजं हुत्वा मातापित्रो-
- 21 रात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिद्वये गोकर्णकुस(श)लतापूतकरतलोदकपूर्वमस्त्राभिः भारद्वा-
जगोत्राय आंगिरसवा(वा)हंस्यत्यभार-
- 22 हाजत्रिप्रवराय अवस्थीश्रीमालहेपीत्राय ठकुरश्रीलाहुलपुत्राय श्रीसाहुलशर्मा
ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय आचन्द्रार्कं यावच्छासनी-
- 23 कृत्य प्रदत्तो(त्तो) भत्वा यथा दीयमानभागभोगकरकू[ट]प्रवणिकरप्रभृतिसर्वा-
दायात्(न्) तुरुक्कदंडादायं आज्ञाविधेयीभूय दास्य-
- 24 धेति ॥ ७ ॥ भवन्ति चात्र श्लोकाः ।

[Here follow seven benedictory and imprecatory verses.]

- 32 करणिकठकुरश्रीश्रीधरेण [लिखितं] [H*]

No. 25.—VEMALURPADU PLATES OF AMMARAJA II.

By E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D. ; HALLE (SAALE).

For ink-impressions of these **copper-plates** I am indebted to Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri, who acquired the plates for the Madras Museum in 1910² from a Muhammadan resident of

¹ [The plate gives *adyēha*.—Ed.]

² [See *Ep. Rep.* for 1910, p. 10, para. 10, and p. 15, App. A, No. 4.—Ed.]

Vēmalūrpāḍu, a village close to the Phirangipuram Railway Station in the Guntur District. He describes them as follows :—

“ Five plates with raised rims. The first and the last have writing on their inner sides only. The plates measure $9\frac{1}{2}$ " by $4\frac{1}{2}$ ". They are held together by a circular copper ring which measures $5\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter and 2" in thickness. The ends of the ring are fixed into the bottom of a seal whose base is fashioned into a lotus of eight petals. The seal, which is circular, measures $3\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter and bears, within a countersunk surface, the figure of a running boar facing the proper left, with a *chauri* in front of it. Below the boar is the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvan[āṁ]k[u]śa* in old Telugu characters, and below it a lotus flower of eight petals spread out, with the sun and an *aṅkuśa* to the right, and the crescent of the moon to the left. The ring had not yet been cut when the plates were received from the Collector of Guntur. The plates and seal together weigh 410 tolas.”

The writing on the plates is in a state of good preservation, with the exception of portions of plate iv, b. The alphabet is Telugu, and the language is Sanskrit prose, interspersed with $19\frac{1}{2}$ Sanskrit verses. The description of the boundaries of two fields in lines 59-63 is in a mixture of Sanskrit and Telugu.¹ The writer seems to have possessed a very superficial knowledge of the former language. As the notes on the text will show, he has committed an inordinate number of mistakes and omissions in copying the historical introduction from the records of his office. I shall not waste space and time by lengthy remarks on the orthography of this document. The *upadhmānīya* is represented by the Telugu symbol *r* in line 8, and by *p* at the beginning of line 67. The Sanskrit word *rāshṭra* is spelt *raṭṭra* and *rālṭra* in line 48.

The inscription on the plates records a grant of land by the Eastern Chālukya king Ammarāja II, and opens with a historical account of his ancestors which is nearly identical with the one given in the Maliyapūṇḍi grant. As I have already discussed this genealogical portion elsewhere,² I need note here only the corrupt verse 1 (line 11), according to which it remains doubtful whether the reign of Vijayāditya II, surnamed Narēndramṛṅgarāja, was believed to have lasted either 48 or only 40 years.³

Verses 9-15 seem to have been composed by a Brāhmaṇa named Bhaṭṭagunḍa (l. 73) and do not reflect much credit on this panegyrist as a grammarian and poet. Verse 9 states that Amma II was the son of Bhīma (II), the grandson (in reality, the great-grandson) of Bhīma (I), and the great-grandson (in reality, the grandson of the grandson) of Vikramāṅka. The same verse alludes to the attack made by Vallabha, i.e. the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa II,⁴ on Bhīma I. It implies that Bhīma I bore the surname *Ritasiddhi*,⁵ and that Vikramāṅka (i.e. Vikramāditya I) had received the dignity of heir-apparent, but did not ascend the throne.⁶ Verse 13 informs us that Amma II was eight years old when he was anointed to the dignity of heir-apparent, and that he was twelve years old at the time of his coronation. From other grants the exact date of the last is known to have been Friday, 5th December, A.D. 945, in the twelfth year of his age.⁷

The regnal year of Amma II in which the grant recorded in the Vēmalūrpāḍu plates was made, is not specified in them. On the day of a winter-solstice (*uttarāyana*, l. 56), the

¹ Mr. Krishna Sastri has very kindly deciphered from the original copper-plate, and rendered into English, a few Telugu words of this passage which I had been unable to read and explain.

² Above, Vol. IX, p. 48 f.

³ Cf. Fleet's remarks in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX, p. 100 f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 102, and above, Vol. IX, p. 84f.

⁵ See below, p. 233, note 15.

⁶ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 103.

⁷ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 271; above, Vol. IX, p. 55 f., and p. 134 f.

king gave an *agrahāra* (ll. 45 and 57) or *mānya* (l. 71) to a Brāhmaṇa named **Musiya** (ll. 39 and 51) or **Musiyaṇaśarman** (l. 56), whose father seems to have enjoyed the complimentary title of *Mahārāja* (l. 39 ff.), whose grandfather's name was **Guṇḍamayya** (l. 41 f.), and who belonged to the *Bhāradvāja-gotra* (ll. 42 and 56). The king did this at the request of **Durgarāja**, the great-grandson of **Pāṇḍa[rāṅga]** (l. 43 f.). **Durgarāja** seems to have been the royal superintendent of the district (*rāja-vishay-ādhyakṣha*, l. 53) or feudatory chief of the province¹ of **Karma-rāshṭra** (l. 48) and to have communicated the king's decision to the inhabitants of this district and to the donee himself, who is addressed in the second person (*tvam*) in lines 39 and 51. **Durgarāja** may be meant also by 'the famous chief of the camp' who was the executor (*ājñapti*) of this grant (l. 72). From the king's own words, which are quoted in line 44 f., we may conclude that the donee, **Musiya**, was **Durgarāja's** minister (*mantrin*). Both **Durgarāja** and his great-grandfather, the general **Pāṇḍarāṅga**, are well known from other inscriptions.²

The object of the grant were two fields which had been cut off from the two villages of **Anmaṇṅguru** (ll. 52 and 59) and **Anḍeki** (l. 54) in the district of **Karma-rāshṭra** (l. 48). This district must have corresponded to portions of the Ongole Tāluk of the Nellore District. For, it included the village of Chendalūr in this tāluk³ and the two villages of Dharmapuram and Kalvakuru in the Addanki Division of the Ongole Tāluk.⁴ **Anḍeki** (l. 54) is perhaps an old form of the name of Addanki itself. In the absence of local maps I am unable to trace the four villages which formed the boundaries of the subjoined grant (ll. 57-59). The two villages of **Kāraṇchēdu** (l. 55) and **Vaṅgipaṛu** (l. 73) where the recipient and the composer of the grant resided, respectively, are mentioned in a grant of **Narēndramṛigarāja** in the slightly different forms of **Kāraṇchēdu** and **Vaṅgipaṛu**.⁵ On sheet 3 of the Madras Presidency Map published by the Madras Survey in 1892, I find 'Karanchēdu,' 10 miles west by south of **Bāpaṭla**; and **Vaṅgipaṛu** may be the same as **Vaṅgipuram** in the **Bāpaṭla Tāluk**,⁶ which borders on the Addanki Division. On the same map I notice 'Nūtulapād,' about 15 miles west of **Bāpaṭla**. This is perhaps identical with the village of **Nutulapaṛu** in **Karma-rāshṭra**.⁷

TEXT.⁸

First Plate.

- 1 ° स्वस्ति [॥*] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमाणव्यसगोत्र[॥*]णां¹⁰ हारो-
- 2 तिपुत्रणा¹¹ कौशिकीवरप्रसादलक्ष्मणानां मात्रीगणपरिपालितानां¹²
- 3 स्वामिमहासेनपादानुदयतानां¹³ भगवन्मारायणप्रसादसमासाधित-¹⁴
- 4 वरवराहलाचनेक्षणक्षयशीकृतारातिमण्डलानां¹⁵ अक्षमे-
- 5 ध[॥*]वभूयस्मानपवित्रीकृतवपुषां¹⁶ (i) चालुक्खानां कुलमलंकृषी¹⁷ (i) सत्त्वा-

¹ See below, p. 234, note 4.

² See above, Vol. IX, p. 49 f.

³ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 234 and 238.

⁴ Above, Vol. IX, p. 50. In Constable's *Hand Atlas of India*, plate 34, D, b, Addanki is entered on the left bank of the Gundlakamma river.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 418.

⁶ Mr. R. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 85.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 105.

⁸ From ink-impressions supplied by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, B.A.

⁹ A flower is engraved at the beginning of this line.

¹⁰ Read °भानव्य°.

¹¹ Read °पुत्राणां°.

¹² Read मादृग°.

¹³ Read °नुदयतानां°.

¹⁴ Read °साधित°.

¹⁵ Read °लाङ्कने°, °शीकृषी°, °नामसु°.

¹⁶ Read °वीकृत°.

¹⁷ Read °लंकृषी°.

- 6 अयवत्तमेन्द्रस्याः¹ (i) भ्राता कुञ्जविष्णुवर्षाष्टादश² वर्ष[1*]णि (ii) वेङ्गी-
7 वडल[म*]प[1*]लयत् । तद[1त्त*]जो जयसिंहस्त्रयस्त्रिंशत्³ । तदनुजेन्द्र-
राजनन्दनो

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 8 विष्णुवर्षनो नव । तत्पुत्रो⁴मंगियुवरा[ज]पञ्चविंशति । तत्पुत्रा⁵
जयसिंहस्त्रयो-
9 दश । तदवरज[:*] कौकिलिष्यस्त्र[1*]सान् । तस्य ज्येष्ठो भ्राता विष्णु-
वर्षनस्तमुच्चाय सप्तविंशत[म्]⁶
10 वर्ष[1*]षि⁷ [1*] तत्पुत्रो⁸ विजयादित्यभट्ट[1*]रकोष्टादश । तत्पुत्रो विष्णुवर्षन-
ष्यस्त्रिंशत्⁹ । नरेन्द्र-
11 मृगराजाख्यो मृगराजपराक्रमः¹⁰ । विजयादित्यभूप[1*]लः¹¹ स¹² चत्वारिंश-
दव्यष्टक¹³ ॥ [१*]
12 तत्पुत्रः कलिविष्णुवर्षनो¹⁴ध्वर्षवर्ष¹⁵ । तत्पुत्राः¹⁶ पराचाक्ररामापरानाम-
13 धेयः । इत्वा भूरिनोदं बराष्टपति¹⁷ मगिष्ठासंगरे¹⁸ गंगानाश्रितगंग-¹⁷
14 कुटशिश्वराजिर्जित्य सङ्गा[ह*]लाघीशं संरिक्तमुपवत्तभयुतं यो भाययित्वा¹⁹ च-
15 तुषत्वारिंशतः । मन्दकांस²⁰ विजयात्मा²¹ ररक्ष क्षितिं । [२*] तदनुजस्य
लब्धयौवराज्य[स्य]
16 विक्रमादित्यास्य²² सुतचालुक्यभिमक्षिंशत्²³ । तस्याप्यजो विजयादित्यः
षष्टमास[ान् 1*]

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 17 तदग्रसुतुरन्मराजस्यसप्तवर्ष[1*]णि । तत्पुत्रमाक्रम्य वास²⁴ च[1*]लुक्यभीम[पि]-
18 दव्ययुक्तमस्तस्य नन्दनस्तानुपे²⁵ मासमेकं । नानासामन्तवर्गैरधिकवत्स-²⁶

¹ Read °न्द्रस्य.

⁴ Read तत्पुत्रो⁴मंगि°, °विंशतिम् । तत्पुत्रो.

⁷ The initial त् is entered below the line.

⁹ Read °पराक्रमः.

¹⁰ The syllable ल्य is entered below the line.

¹² Pāda 4 of this verse is corrupt ; cf. another corrupt version of it above, Vol. IX, p. 51, text line 13.

°दव्यष्टक seems to have been engraved on an erasure and may be meant for either °दष्टक or °दव्यष्टकान्.

¹⁴ Read °वर्षनो.

¹⁵ Read °नीडव°.

¹⁷ Read °नाश्रितगंगकुट°.

¹⁹ Read °स्त्रिंशत्तमन्द°.

²¹ Read °दित्यस्य.

²³ Read वास.

²⁵ Read °वर्गैर°.

² Read °वर्षनोष्टा°.

³ Read °स्त्रयस्त्रिंशत्.

⁶ Read °विंशत्.

⁸ Read वर्षाषि.

⁹ Read °षट्त्रिंशत्तम्.

¹¹ This स is entered below the line.

¹⁴ Read तत्पुत्रः पराचाक्ररामापरानाम°.

¹⁶ Read मंगि°.

¹⁸ Read रुक्मिण°.

²⁰ Read °यादित्यो.

²² Read कभीम°.

²⁴ Read °नृपो.

- 19 युतैर्मत्तमातंगसेणहत्वा¹ तं तालराजं विषमरणमुखे स[1*]दमत्युग्रतेजाः [1*]
 20 एकाब्द² सम्यग्भोनिधिवलयहतामन्वरक्षद्वि³ (i) शोमान्चालुक्यभीमचि-⁴
 21 तिपतितनयो विक्रमादित्यभूपः । [३*] पश्चादहमहमिकया विक्रम[1]-
 22 दित्यास्तमने⁵ कंचर⁶ इव प्रजावधानपरा⁷ दायदराजपुत्रा राज्याभि-
 23 लाषिणो युद्धमल्लराजम[1*]र्त्तण्डलकण्ठिकावीजयादित्यप्रभृतयो⁸ विद्या-
 24 ह्मभूतास्तासन्⁹ [1*] विग्रहेणैव पाच¹⁰ वर्ष[1*]णि ग[तानि 1*]¹¹ ततः ।
 योवधिद्राजमार्त्तण्डन्ते-¹²
 25 षा येन रणे कृतौ [1*] कण्ठिकाविजयादित्य[यु*]दमल्लो¹³ विदेशगौ¹⁴ ।
 [४*] अस्थे¹⁵ मान्य[म]-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 26 ह्रीभृतोपि बहवो दुष्टप्रवृत्ताहताः¹⁶ (i) देशोपद्रवकारिणः प्रकटिताः कालाल-
 27 य¹⁷ प्रापिताः [1*] दोईण्डेरितमण्डलाग्रलतया यस्योग्रसंयामकानाञ्चा¹⁸ त-
 28 त्परभृन्पैश्च¹⁹ शिरसो मालिव सन्धार्यते ॥ [५*] नादम्वा²⁰ विनिवर्त्तते²¹
 रिपुकुलं कोपा-
 29 ग्निरा मूलतः शुभं यस्य यशो न लोकमखिल²² सन्तिष्ठते न भ्रमत् [1*]
 द्रव्य[1]-
 30 भीधरराशिरप्यनुदिनं सन्तप्यमाने भृशं दारिद्र्योग्रतरातपेन जन-
 31 ससस्ये²³ न नो वर्षति [॥ ६*] स चालुक्याभिमनसा²⁴ (i) विजयादित्य-
 नन्दन[1*] द्वादश[1]-
 32 ध्यात्ममास्त्रम्यक्²⁵ राजभीमो धरातलं । [७*] तस्य महेश्वरमूर्त्तैरमासामा-²⁶

¹ Read °गसेणहत्वा.

² Read एकाब्द.

³ Read सम्यग्भो°, °हरिवी°.

⁴ Read शोमान्चालु°.

⁵ Above, Vol. IX, p. 52, text line 23, this was needlessly corrected into °कामयवे.

⁶ Read राक्षसा.

⁷ Read प्रजावधान°.

⁸ Cancel the syllable ल after राजमार्त्तण्ड. Read °काविज°.

⁹ Read विग्रहीभूता आसन्.

¹⁰ Read दंश्.

¹¹ The letters enclosed in brackets are supplied from the Maliyapūṇḍi grant.

¹² Read योवधौद्रा°, °नेषा°.

¹³ Read °मल्लौ.

¹⁴ Read विदेशगौ.

¹⁵ The Maliyapūṇḍi grant reads अस्थे.

¹⁶ Read °हृन्प्रवृत्ता.

¹⁷ Read°.

¹⁸ Read perhaps °नकस्याञ्चा.

¹⁹ Read °परभृन्पै°.

²⁰ Read नादम्वा.

²¹ Read °वर्त्तते.

²² Read °खिलं.

²³ Read जनतासस्ये.

²⁴ Read चालुक्यभीम°.

²⁵ Unless अध्यात् is intended for an imperfect of अध्यात् it might be corrected into अश्रात्, the imperfect of अश्र. Read °अश्रात्°.

²⁶ Read °रमासामा°.

"Vemalurpadu Plates of Ammaraja II".

i.

2
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2
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ii a.

8
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14
16

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14
16

i i b.

18
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22
24

18
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22
24

iii a.

26
28
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32
34

26
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32
34

36 36
38 38
40 40
42 42

iva.

44 44
46 46
48 48
50 50
52 52
54 54

ivb.

56 56
58 58
60 60
62 62
64 64

v.

66 66
68 68
70 70
72 72
74 74

- 33 नाकते: कुमारभः [1*] लोकमहादेव्य[1*]: खलु यस्मभभवदम्भराजाख¹ [॥ ८*]
 34 अमाधीशस्ततोभुत्परत्रलजयिनो² भिमभूपस्य³ पुत्र-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 35 ऋद्वान्ते वल्लभेन प्रहृतमपि पुनः पट्टम[1*]द[1*]य धर्त्तर्था⁴
 36 य[1]य[1]तर्त्तसिद्धेर्विनयपरभृहत्भीमराजस्य⁵ पौत्रो यव्व⁶
 37 श्रीराज्यकण्ठाभरणविलसतो विक्रमांकस्य नम[1*] ॥ [८*] परस्वसन्य-
 38 क्तमनोविशुद्धः पराप्रियान्मुक्तवचोविशुद्धः [1*] परोपकरि⁷
 39 द्विजसत्तमस्त्वमिति त्रिशुद्धो मुसियाभिधानः [॥ १०*] श्रीमन्मह[1*]-
 40 र[1*]जपदोत्तमस्य शिष्टेष्टवन्दुप्रियदर्शनस्य⁸ [1*] देवाद्यृण[1*]-
 41 नि प्रतिमुंचतो लं पुत्रोभयलक्ष्मलनन्दनस्य [॥ ११*] गुण्डमय्याभिधा-
 42 नस्य षड्भक्तकारिणस्सदा [1*] पौत्रो भारद्वाजस्य⁹ गोत्रेणामितते[ज]-
 43 स[॥ १२*] स्वामिनातुल्योद्युतस्य¹⁰ पारांगस्य¹¹ नम[1*] दुग्गराजेन¹² विज्ञा-

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 44 पितोम्भ[र]ाजः¹³ तस्मो प्रसन्नचित्तः स्व[1*]मिहिताय प्रीतीपूर्वन्तव¹⁴ म-
 45 त्रिणैग्रहारन्दास्य[1*]मोति प्रतिषचनमुक्तव[1*]न् ॥ स यव्वराज्याष्टसमेभि-¹⁵
 षित्तो द्वि-
 46 षत्क[सं]व्वत्सरपट्टवद्धः [1*] महाह्वेषु प्रसन्ननिहत्य रिपुनेकान्निवभ[1]-¹⁶
 47 ति नित्यं [॥ १३*] सोयं समधिगतपंचमह[1*]शब्दपरमब्रह्मण्यपरमभट्टार-
 48 कपरमम[1*]हेश्वरो मातापितृभक्त[1*] (॥) कर्मर७७इवासिनो¹⁷ रा७७इकूटप्रमु-¹⁸
 49 खान्कुटुंबिनस्सर्व्व[1*]नेव समाहुयेत्यमाज्ञापयति¹⁹ [॥*] विदितम-
 50 स्तु वः । इहेश्वरप्रस[1*]दस्य²⁰ सर्व्वजिवदयावतः²¹ [1*] नित्यधर्म्माद्यक[1*]मस्य²²

¹ Read °जाख्यः.

² Read अमाधीशस्ततोभूत्य°.

³ Read भीम°.

⁴ Read धर्त्तुः । न्या-.

⁵ Read °रवृहद्भीम°.

⁶ Read यौव-. The metre seems to have induced the author to use the impossible form यौवश्रीराज्य instead of यौवश्रीराज्य.

⁷ Read °पकारी.

⁸ Read perhaps शिष्टेष्टवन्दु°.

⁹ The metre of Pāda 3 is faulty.

¹⁰ Read perhaps °कीर्तुलस्य.

¹¹ Read पाङ्गरांगस्य and cf. above, Vol. V, p. 125, text line 35.

¹² Read दुग्गरा°.

¹³ Read °राजलक्ष्मे.

¹⁴ Read प्रीतिपूर्व°.

¹⁵ Read यौवराज्येष्ट°.

¹⁶ Read रिपून्°.

¹⁷ Read °राष्ट्र°.

¹⁸ Read राष्ट्र°.

¹⁹ Read समाह्वये°.

²⁰ Read perhaps इष्टेय°.

²¹ Read सर्व्वजौव°.

²² Read सार्ध°.

- 51 किमतो¹ सुसियस्य ते ।[१४*] अम्भराजाभिधानालो² मादचन्द्रावुभो³
 स्मृतो [१*] तवेकीभू-⁴
 52 य किं चित्रं प्रजानां हितकारिणौ ॥ [१५*] अणमणगुरुन[१*]मय[१*]मे
 दक्षिणदिग्भागे
 53 राजविषयाध्यक्षसत्कारपूर्वकं दशकारिकोद्रवबीजावापक्षेत्रमादाय⁵
 54 अण्डेकिनामग्रामे उत्तरदिग्भागे पूर्ववद्दशकारिकोद्रवबीजावापक्षेत्र-

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 55 माद[१*]य येतस्मिन्ग्रामे⁶ अम्भन्तरीकृत्य कारंचेडुस्तव्यय⁷ क्रीविकुलाय
 56 भारद्वाजगोत्राय सुसियनशर्मणे सर्वपरिह[१*]रीकृत्य उत्तरायननिमि[त्ते]⁸
 57 तुमियवेणियपूणिडनामग्र[१*]मादिकद्वयमग्रह[१*]र⁹ प्र[१*]दात् ॥ अस्याव-
 58 धयः पुर्वतः¹⁰ मेदस्कोण्ड दक्षिणतः गडिपुण्डो¹¹ पश्चिमतः ऐकोण्डन[१*]-
 मग्र[१*][मः]
 59 उत्तरनः¹² अ[रुमण]गुरुनामग्र[१*]मः । क्षेत्रसिमानि¹³ पुर्वतः सु[य्य]लिकुट्टन
 60 ग्रामी¹⁴ अ[१]ग्नेयतः¹⁵ गुण्ड दक्षिणतः¹⁶ गुण्डेटि¹⁷ कठिति [वे]वुल¹⁸ गोलु [ना]-
 61 रितित¹⁹ वेच दक्षिणमुन परवुल पश्चिमतः एटिय कठिति च[टल्लु]
 62 व[१*]यव्यतः [कुण्ड] उत्तरंउरतः²⁰ चलिगुण्ड दक्षिणतः²¹ सुय्यलिकुट्टन वेङ्ग-²²
 63 ळायु ॥ अस्थोपरि न केनचित्बाधा²³ कर्त्तव्या [१*] यः करोति स
 पंचमहापात-
 64 कोर्युत्तो²⁴ भवति [१*] [यः] प[१*]लयति स पुण्यो भवति ॥ तय[१*]
 चोक्तं रामभद्र[ण]²⁵ [१*]
 65 स[१*]म[१*]न्योन्यशर्म[से]तु[र्दृ]पा[णा]²⁶ कलकल पालनीयो भवन्भिः²⁷ [१*]
 सव्वी-

¹ Read perhaps शीमतो.

⁴ Read तावे.

⁷ Read चेडुवास्तव्यय.

⁹ A doubtful symbol is entered below the लि चेचिच.

¹¹ Read पुण्ड.

¹⁴ Read ग्रामी.

¹⁷ Read एटिय.

¹⁹ Read नेचततः.

²² I owe the reading of this word to Mr. Krishna Sastri.

²³ Read चिदाधा.

²⁵ Read गुर्गपाणां काले काले.

² Read नालो.

⁵ Read दशकारि.

⁸ Read अणमण.

¹² Read उत्तरतः.

¹⁵ Read अग्नेयतः.

¹⁶ Mr. Krishna Sastri corrects this into वेमुल.

¹⁸ Read उत्तरतः.

²⁰ Read उत्तरतः.

²¹ Read पातयेत्तो.

²⁷ Read भवन्भिः.

³ Read दुभौ स्मृती.

⁶ Read एत.

¹⁰ Read पुर्वतः.

¹³ Read सीमानि पुर्वतः.

¹⁶ Read दक्षिणतः.

²¹ Read दक्षिणतः.

²² Read अष्टेष्ट.

Fifth Plate.

- 66 नेताम्भ[१*]विनाः^१ पार्थिवेन्द्र[१]भूयोभु[यो^२ या]चते रामभद्रः ॥ [१६*]
 महंशज[१]-
 67 प्यराम[हीप]तिवंशजाश्च^३ पापादपेतमन[सो] भुवि [भा]विभूपाः [१*] ये
 68 प[१*]लयन्ति मम धार्मिमिम^४ समस्तन्तेष[१*]मयं विरचितोजलिरेष मु-^५
 69 र्भि ॥ [१७*] बहुभिर्व्वसुध[१*] दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपलता^६ [१*] यस्ययस्य
 यदा भूमिस्त-
 70 स्यतस्य तदा फलं ॥ १८* ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तावां^७ यो हरेत वसुन्धरां [१*] षष्टि-
 71 वर्षसहस्रनि^८ विष्टायां जायते क्रिमिः । [१९*] मान्यं विंशतिखारीको-
 72 द्रवबीजावापत्तेत्रं [१*] आन्नप्तिरस्य धर्मस्य कटकेशो यशोनिधिः ॥ [२०*]
 73 वंगिपठवस्तव्यनात्रेयगोत्रेण^९ भट्टगुण्डेन विरचितं काव्य[म् १*]
 74 तस्मै भगवदयन्दत्तं ॥ घनवट्टो[रो]जेन लिखितः^{१०} ॥ सिवमस्तु^{११} ॥^{१२}

TRANSLATION.

[As far as line 33, the text is identical with that of the Maliyapūṇḍi grant, lines 3-34, as translated above, Vol. IX, p. 55.]

(Verse 8.) **Ammarāja (II)** who was born to him by **Lōkamahādēvī**, just as Kumāra to Mahēśvara by Umā;¹³

(V. 9.) From her (*viz.* Lōkamahādēvī) was born the lord **Amma (II)**, the son of prince **Bhīma (II)** who vanquished the armies of enemies; the grandson of the modest great king **Bhīma (I)**¹⁴ who seized and wore again at the top (?) of (his) parasol the diadem although it had been struck at by **Vallabha**, (and) who duly attained success by righteousness;¹⁵ the great-grandson¹⁶ of **Vikramāṅka**¹⁷ who was resplendent with the neck-ornament of the glorious dignity of heir-apparent (*yuvarāja*).

(V. 10.) 'Thou whose name is **Musiya**, the best of the twice-born (Brāhmaṇas), (art) pure in three (respects). For, (thou art) pure in thoughts which are removed from the property of others, pure in words which are devoid of unkindness to others, (and pure in deeds, being) a benefactor of others.'

¹ Read °माविनः.

² Read °भूयो.

³ Read °जापरम°.

⁴ Read धर्म°.

⁵ Read मूर्ध्नि°.

⁶ Read °नपालिता.

⁷ Read °दत्तां वा.

⁸ Read °सहस्राणि विष्टायां.

⁹ Read °वास्तवेना°.

¹⁰ Read लिखितं.

¹¹ Read शिव°.

¹² A flower is engraved at the end of this line.

¹³ This verse is identical with verse 9 of the Maliyapūṇḍi grant.

¹⁴ By mistake the panegyrist has omitted one generation (*Vijayāditya IV*). For, Amma II was not the grandson, but the great-grandson, of Bhīma I.

¹⁵ Or, 'who duly attained (the surname) Ritasiddhi.'

¹⁶ For this meaning of *napā* see above, Vol. IV, p. 329, note 2, and Vol. IX, p. 319, note 1.

¹⁷ In reality Amma II was not the great-grandson, but the grandson of the grandson of Vikramāditya I. Cf. note 14, above.

(V. 11 f.) He (*viz.* Musiya) was the son of him who was the best of (those bearing) the glorious title of *Mahārāja*, whose sight pleased wise men, friends, and relatives, who fully discharged the debts to the gods, etc.,¹ (and) who graced a noble family ; (and he was) the grandson of him whose name was **Gunḍamayya**, who always fulfilled the six duties (of a Brāhmaṇa),² who was a Bhāradvāja by *gōtra*, (and) whose dignity was boundless.

(Ll. 43-45.) Having been requested by (Musiya's) lord **Durgarāja**, the 'great-grandson' of **Pā[ṇḍa]rāṅga** whose fighting-power had been unequalled,—**Ammarāja (II)**, whose heart was pleased with this devoted servant (*viz.* Musiya), replied :—' I shall gladly grant an *agrahāra* to your minister.'

(V. 13.) This (king), who had been anointed to the dignity of heir-apparent at (the age of) **eight years** (and) crowned at (the age of) **twice six years**, is always resplendent, having forcibly slain many enemies in great battles.

(Ll. 47-49.) He who has attained the five great sounds,⁴ who is deeply attached to Brāhmaṇas, the supreme lord, the fervent worshipper of Mahēśvara, who is devoted to (his) mother and father, having assembled all the ryots, headed by the *Rāshtrakūṭas*, inhabiting (the province of) **Karma-rāshṭra**, commands (them) as follows :—

(Ll. 49-57.) ' Be it known to you (that), having greeted the royal superintendent of the district (*rāja-vishay-ādhyakṣa*), having cut off a field requiring as seed ten *khāris*⁵ of *kōdrava*⁶ on the southern side of the village named **Anmaṇaṅguru**, having cut off likewise a field requiring as seed ten *khāris* of *kōdrava* on the northern side of the village named **Anḍeki**, having joined (these two fields) to this village, he has given,⁷ at the occasion of the **winter-solstice** (*uttarāyana*), the two villages named **Tumiyaveṇiyapūṇḍi**,⁸ etc., (as) an *agrahāra*, having provided (them) with all immunities, to **Musiyanaśarman** who resided at **Kārañchēd[u]**,⁹ belonged to the family of Krōvi (and) to the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*.'

(V. 14.)¹⁰ ' To thee, the glorious **Musiya** who desires the favour of (his) lord,¹¹ who shows compassion to all beings, (and) who is always eager for virtue and politics, (he has made this grant).'¹²

(V. 15.) The meanings of the two words *amma*¹³ and *rājan* are declared to be ' mother ' and ' moon ' (respectively). Is it wonderful (that) these two are beneficial to the subjects (of a king) if they have become united (in the name *Ammarāja*) ?

¹ See *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā*, VI, 3, 10, 5 :—जायमानो वं ब्राह्मणस्त्रिमर्त्यैर्वा जायते ब्रह्मचर्येण पित्रो यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः प्रजया पितृभ्यः.

² These six duties are enumerated by Manu (I, 88 ; X, 75) and in the *Bauddhāgana-Dharmasūtra*, I, 10, 18, 2 :—ब्रह्म वे स्त्रं महिमानं ब्राह्मणेष्वेव ददादध्ययनाध्यापनयजनयाजनदानप्रतिपत्त्युक्तं वेदानां गुण्यं.

³ The pedigree of Pāṇḍar[ā]ṅga in the Maliyapūṇḍi grant (above, Vol. IX, p. 56) shows that *naplā* has to be taken, here too, in the sense of ' a great-grandson.' Cf. above, p. 233, note 16.

⁴ This title, which is restricted to feudatory chiefs, suggests that Durgarāja, and not his sovereign Amma II, is meant here. Cf. Fleet's remarks, above, Vol. XII, p. 255 and note 2.

⁵ See above, Vol. XIII, p. 121, note 1.

⁶ See above, Vol. V, p. 121, note 14.

⁷ The subject of this sentence is probably king Amma II.

⁸ Is this the new name that was bestowed on the two fields ? Perhaps the first field had originally borne the name of Tumiyapūṇḍi, and the second one that of Veṇiyapūṇḍi.

⁹ This village is mentioned three times, and its name is spelled Kārañchēdu (with dental *d*) in every case, in a grant of Narēndramṣigarāja ; see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 418.

¹⁰ This verse and the next one are inserted after the words ' be it known to you ' in line 50.

¹¹ i.e. of Durgarāja whose minister he was ; see line 44 f.

¹² Supply *prādāt* from line 57.

¹³ This is one of the Drāviḍian words meaning ' mother.'

(Ll. 57-59.) The boundaries of this (*agrahāra*) are :—To the east **Mēdalkoṇḍa** ; to the south **Gaṭṭipūṇḍi** ; to the west the village named **Īṣṇkoṇḍa** ; to the north the village named **Aṇmaṇḍaguru**.

(Ll. 59-63.) The limits of the fields (are) :—To the east a *śamī*¹ (tree) at the meeting-point of three boundaries ;² to the south-east a pond (*guṇṭa*) ; to the south a *gōṇu* (tree) with margosa trees on the bank of the **Guṇṭēru** (river) ; to the south-west the salt marshes³ on the southern side of a lake ; to the west . . . on the bank of the river ; to the north-west a pond ; to the north the Chaliguṇṭa (pond) ; to the north-east a white stone at the meeting-point of three boundaries.

(L. 63 f.) Nobody should cause obstruction to him (*viz.* the donee). He who does (it) will be guilty of the five great sins. He who protects (the gift) will gain merit. And **Rāma-bhadra** has spoken thus :

[Ll. 65-71 contain four of the customary verses (16-19).]

(L. 71 f.) The grant (*mānya*) is a field requiring as seed twenty *khāris* of *kōdrava*.⁴

(V. 20.)⁵ The executor (*āṇṇapti*) of this charity (was) the famous chief of the camp.⁶

(L. 73 f.) The poetry was made by **Bhaṭṭaḡuṇḍa** who resided at **Vaṅgiparu**⁷ (and) belonged to the *Ātrēya-gōtra*. To him two shares (of the grant) were given. Written by **Ghana-vaṭṭa-Bi[rō]ja**.⁸ Let there be prosperity !

No. 26.—SANJAN PLATES OF AMOGHAVARSHA I : SAKA-SAMVAT 793.

BY PROFESSOR D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., PH.D., CALCUTTA.

The **copper-plates**, which are being edited here for the first time,⁹ were originally lying with my brother, the late Professor Shridhar Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, Elphinstone College, Bombay. They were originally discovered, so I was told by him, at **Sanjān** in the *Thāṇā* District, Bombay Presidency, and were forwarded to him for decipherment by a Parsi friend of his, whose name I do not know.

At my suggestion, however, Professor S. R. Bhandarkar published a note on two verses from this grant to show the contemporaneity of the *Rāshṭrakūṭa* king *Gōvinda III.*, the *Pratihāra* ruler *Nāgabhaṭa*, the *Kanauj* sovereign *Chakrāyudha*, and the *Gauḍa* king *Dharmapāla*.¹⁰ These plates constitute the **first genuine record** of the *Rāshṭrakūṭa* king **Amōghavarsha**, hitherto known. It is true that many inscriptions of his time have come to light, but none of them seems to have directly emanated from him. The best known of these is the *Konnūr* stone inscription of Śaka 782 which, however, is not an original record of the

¹ *Prosopis spicigera*.

² For *muyyalikuttu* see above, Vol. IV, p. 96, note 4.

³ [The word *paruvulu* has been taken to be the plural of *para*=a salt marsh.—H. K. S.]

⁴ Here the two fields specified in lines 52-55 are added up.

⁵ This is only a half-verse.

⁶ The word *yaśonidhi* is perhaps a general epithet, and not a proper name. The *kaṭakēṣa* probably was *Durgarāja* himself. Cf. above, Vol. IX, p. 50.

⁷ A village named *Vaṅgiparru* is mentioned four times in a grant of *Narēndramṛgarāja* ; see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 418.

⁸ *i.e.*, *Virōpādhyāya* of *Ghanavaṭṭa*. For *ōja* see above, Vol. VIII, p. 140, note 8, and *Brown's Telugu-English Dictionary*, s.v. *ōju*.

⁹ Here I wish to thank my pupils Messrs. *Rakhoari Chatterjee* and *Chintaharan Chakr. varti*, to whom a good deal of credit is due for this work.

¹⁰ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 116 and ff.

ruler but professes to be a mere copy of a copper-plate charter of his, prepared about the middle of the 12th century A.D.

The plates are three in number, each about 18½" long and 10½" broad. The edges of them all are fashioned slightly thicker, so as to serve as rims for the protection of writing. The record is inscribed on the inner side of the first and third plates and on both sides of the second. The plates are strung together by a stout elliptical ring of about 4½" and 3½" in diameter and of about ¾" in thickness, passing through holes on one side of each plate. The ring was intact when the plates were examined. The ends of the ring are soldered into a roughly square seal, which measures 1½" in height and breadth, and bears, in relief, on a counter-sunk surface, as the principal figure, an image of Garuḍa, on a lotus seat facing full front, with his prominent beak-nose and holding a snake in each hand. Two discs are seen above the ears of Garuḍa, but it is difficult to say what they represent. On Garuḍa's proper right, there is a representation of Gaṇapati in the upper corner, and lower down an indistinct *chauri* and a lamp. On his left, near the top is some goddess, standing in front of an animal (perhaps a lion) and holding a ladle in her right hand; below her is a *chauri*, and, near the bottom, a *Svastika*.¹ Beneath the central figure are in relief the letters: *Śrīmad-Amōghavarshadēvasya*.

The engraving is clear and on the whole well-executed, but the record is full of inaccuracies due chiefly to the incorrect draft written by the scribe on the plates. The characters agree fully with those of other Rāshṭrakūṭa records of the period. The language is Sanskrit throughout. Excepting the introductory "Om Svasti," the inscription is in verse down to line 57 (Third Plate). As regards metrology attention may be drawn to verses 23 and 39. The metre of these is *Mattēbhavikriḍita*, which is not found in classical literature.² It is not noticed in the *Sūtras* of Piṅgala, *Vṛttaratnākara* or *Chhandōmañjarī*, but is described in the *Chhandōmañjarī-pariśiṣṭa* as *sa-bha-rān-mau ya-la-gās-trayōdaśa-yatir-Mattēbhavikriḍitam*. As regards orthography I might say that (1) *v* is almost invariably written for *b*; (2) a consonant is invariably doubled after *r*, in the case of *y*, *n*, *t*, *m*, *dh*, *n*, *p*, *k*, and also *v* when not followed by *y* (cf. *nirvyapēkshaṁ* in l. 7), but not always in the case of *g* and *j* (cf. *Karahaḍa-vinirggata* in l. 60 and *yaśōrjjana* in l. 20, but *vi-shaya-vinirggata* in l. 61 and *r-ōrjita* in l. 8); (3) *Visarga* when followed by *ś*, *sh* or *s* is, as a rule, changed to that letter; (4) *gh* for *h* is found in one instance only (cf. *Ayōdhyasiṅghāsana* in l. 8, Pl. I); (5) final *n* is sometimes replaced by *m* (cf. *sva-bhṛityām jhaṭiti* in l. 13, and *tām bhūbhṛito* in l. 15) and *m* by *n* (in *gāḍhaṅ-gajai°*, l. 21, very rare); (6) *upadhmāniya* is frequently though not invariably used (cf. *bhēdaḥ-paśūnām=iva*, l. 40, but not in *turagaiḥ pūtañ=cha*, l. 21); (7) the vowel *ri* and the syllable *ri* are sometimes interchanged (thus in *kīrttis=trilōkyān*, l. 33, and *trin-āgra-lagna*, l. 71); (8) *t* is, as a rule, doubled when followed by *r*; and lastly (9) in prose portions *Visarga* is retained in some instances where it should be replaced by *o* (cf. *paśchimataḥ Nandagrāmaḥ* in l. 65, Pl. III), and in some places where it should be elided (cf. *Dakṣhiṇataḥ Uppala°*, etc., in l. 65).

The first thing that strikes one about the contents of this grant is that some of its verses are identical with those in the Konnūr Inscription of Amōghavarsha published by the late Prof. Kielhorn.³ Thus verses 2-15 of the latter are identical with stanzas 2-3, 6, 8, 10-12, 27, 29, 36, 45, and 50-53 of the former with slight variations in some cases. With reference to the Konnūr Inscription, Prof. Kielhorn expresses the opinion about the middle

¹ The figures on the seal are on the whole similar to those of the Cambay plates. (Above, Vol. VII, pp. 26-7.)

² [For the use of this metre in Kanarese inscriptions as well as literature see, for instance, above, p. 197, v. 4, p. 206, v. 1, p. 207, v. 3, etc., Vol. XVIII, p. 172, v. 1, or *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. IV, part II, p. 384, Inscription No. 76, of Nāgamaṅgala Taluq and Ādipampa's *Ādipurāṇa*, quoted in *Karṇāṭaka Kavicharitē*, Vol. I, pp. 26-27, or Nāgavarman's *Kātyāvalōkanam*, p. 10, v. 59, or Āṇḍayya's *Kabbigara Kāvam* (Karṇāṭaka Kāvya-mañjarī Series No. 2), p. 5, v. 19.—Ed.]

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 29 and ff.

of his paper that "the genealogy was concocted some time after the date which is recorded in this inscription, and has not been copied from a genuine copper-plate charter of Amoghavarsha I." The same view he sets forth more clearly at the end of that paper. "Stating distinctly what I have indicated above," says he, "I consider it possible that lines 1-59 of this inscription really were based on a copper-plate charter, at the same time, I feel certain that, if such was the case, the transcribers have taken so great liberties with the original as to deprive this 'copy' of the value of an authentic document." The present plates, however, enable us to decide how far Kielhorn's opinion is correct. A comparison of lines 1-14 of the Konnūr Inscription with the genealogical portion of these plates leaves no doubt as to the lines 1-59 of the former being copied on stone from a genuine charter of Amoghavarsha I, as the concluding part of it informs us. But what about the glaring blunders in the genealogy which Kielhorn has detected in the Konnūr Inscription? How did they arise? In the first place, in our plates also the father of Gōvinda I is called Prichchhakarāja, as the same verse occurs in both the records. Prichchhakarāja may be a new name not known from previous Rāshtrakūṭa grants, but that does not mean that it is a fabrication. And, as a matter of fact, it may be another name of Indrarāja who is mentioned as the father of Gōvinda I in the fragmentary Ellorā Daśāvatāra cave temple inscription.¹ Again, Kielhorn says that the Konnūr Inscription makes Prabhūtarsha (-Gōvinda II) a son of his younger brother Dhāravarsha, and consequently Prabhūtarsha (-Gōvinda III) not a nephew but a son of the former. This discrepancy, flagrant though it appears, can be easily explained away by the mention of the fact that *Dhāravarsha-sutas* of the inscription is a misreading of the transcribers for the correct wording *Dhāravarshas=tatas*, such as that supplied by our grant. Then, again, Kielhorn tells us that in the Konnūr epigraph Karkarāja I is called Karkara, an apparently later form of the name. Here, also, the transcribers must have read *Karkkara-prabhuh* wrongly in place of *Karkkarāt prabhuh* as appears in our grant. And it can scarcely be disputed that Karkkarāt is precisely the same word as Karkkarāja. This name occurs in v. 4 of the Konnūr record, which, however, begins with *Imdr-āvanīpāla-sutēna dhāriṇī* instead of *dhanus-samutsārita-bhūbhūtā mahī* as in our plates. This discrepancy alone is of a serious character as it makes Indra not a son but father of Karkkarāja. It is, however, possible to get over this difficulty by taking *Imdr-āvanīpāla-sutēna* as a *bahuvrīhi* compound. In this connection we have to bear in mind the fact that of all the verses common to the Konnūr Inscription and our charter, this is the only stanza where one whole line is entirely different. Was it deliberately composed and inserted or is it an example of sheer carelessness? If the introductory portion of the former is compared to that of the latter, it will be seen that the former, as it were of set purpose, wants to bring the genealogical account into the narrowest possible compass. This is quite clear from the fact that verses 12 and 27 of our charter, which are the same as verses 8 and 9 of the Konnūr Inscription, are connected with each other in the latter record by the two words: *tasya sutah*. It is not impossible that the transcribers are responsible for this abridgement as their main object must be to give in full only those details that relate to the grant proper and curtail them rigorously in all other respects. And it is not inconceivable that in their zeal to epitomize the genealogy they may have coined the line *Imdr-āvanīpāla-sutēna dhāriṇī*, which if we take it to be a *bahuvrīhi* compound, can be made to yield the sense that Indra was the son of Karkkarāja, and can thus make one verse serve the purpose of two.

The charter is one of the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Amoghavarsha described in ll. 57-58 as the *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Prithivīvallabha* the prosperous Vallabhana-rēndradēva, who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara*,

¹ *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 87.

the prosperous **Jagattuṅgadēva**. It records that in the **Śaka year 793** when Amōghavarṣha was staying at **Mānyakhēṭa**, his capital, he granted to four Brāhmins the village of **Jharivallikā** from the Twenty-four-village Group adjacent to Saṃjāna for the purpose of maintaining the *bali*, *churu*, *varṣadēva*, *agnikōtra* and *atithitarpaṇa* sacrifices. The donees are all Brāhmins of the Bahvricha-śākhā. Two of them, namely, (1) Narasiṃha-Dikshita, son of Gōla-S'haṅgavid and grandson of Sāvikūvāra, and (2) Rakshāditya-Kramavid, son of Gōvinda-Bhaṭṭa and grandson of Bhaṭṭa, were of the Bharadvāja-gōtra. The third, Trivikrama-Shaṅgavid, son of Viṣṇu-Bhaṭṭa, grandson of Dāvaḍi-Gaḥiyasahāsa, belonged to the Vaddamukha-gōtra; and the fourth and last, Kēśava-Gaḥiyasahāsa, son of Gōvāditya-Bhaṭṭa and grandson of Hari-Bhaṭṭa, was of the Vatsa-gōtra. They all hailed from the same district, namely, Karahāḍa. They were probably the Karhādā Brāhmins.

Having thus disposed of the formal part of the grant, we shall now see what historical information can be gleaned from the introductory metrical portion, which sets forth the genealogy. After the introductory *Om*, it opens with the well-known invocatory verse with which most of the Rāshtrakūṭa records begin. The next verse is in praise of Vira-Nārāyaṇa, by whom is here to be understood not only the god Nārāyaṇa, the originator of the Rāshtrakūṭa family, but also Amōghavarsha, the Rāshtrakūṭa king, the donor of the grant, who bore that epithet. In verse 3 we are told that in the line of the **Yadus** there was a king **Gōvinda**, son of **Prichchhakarāja**. This Gōvinda is, of course, Gōvinda I of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty of Mānyakhēṭa. He was succeeded by **Karkka**, on whom nothing but conventional praise is bestowed in vv. 4-6. Verse 7 says that after him came **Indrarāja**, who married the daughter of a Chālukya king at Khēṭaka by the Rākshasa form of marriage. This clearly shows that the Rāshtrakūṭas, in the time of Indrarāja, came first into hostile contact with the Chālukyas not of the Dekkan but of Gujarāt, for the seat of this Chālukya power is mentioned as Khēṭaka, the same as Kairā in North Gujarāt. These Chālukyas must, therefore, be the Gujarāt branch of the main dynasty ruling at Bādāmi. In this connection is worth noting the Āntrōli-Chhārōli (in Surat) copper-plate grant of Kakka, dated Śaka 679=A.D. 757.¹ This record mentions—(1) a Rāshtrakūṭa prince named Karkka, (2) his son, Dhruva, (3) his son, Gōvinda, and (4) his son, Karkka II, with whose name are coupled the titles *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* and *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*. One feels exceedingly tempted to say that the third and fourth of these princes are identical with their namesakes who preceded Indrarāja, father of Dantidurga. One is, however, confronted with the difficulty that whereas under this supposition we have the date Śaka 679 for Karkka, we have Śaka 675 for his grandson, Dantidurga, supplied by his Sāmangaḍh charter. This difficulty, however, is not insuperable, because there are reasons to doubt the genuineness of this last record. That the portion of it relating to the details of the village granted has been tampered with was pointed out long ago by Dr. Fleet when he edited the inscription.² And the authenticity of the record as a whole has recently been called in question by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar on palaeographic grounds.³ Thus the date furnished by the Sāmangaḍh grant is not above doubt, and the identification just pointed out may hold good. We may thus take it that before the time of Dantidurga his predecessors were occupying South Gujarāt.

Verse 8 tells us that Indrarāja was succeeded by **Dantidurga**, of whom the next verse says that when in **Ujjain** the various Kshatriyas performed the ceremony, namely, the Great Gift of Hiranyagarbha, he made the Gurjara and other lords his door-keepers (*pratihāra*). The verse evidently means in the first place that Dantidurga either performed himself or took a

¹ F. Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, No. 54.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 110.

³ Above, Vol. XIV, p. 121, n. 5, and p. 122.

prominent part in this Hiranyagarbha ceremony in Ujjain. And this receives confirmation from a stanza occurring in the Daśāvatāra cave temple inscription at Ellorā.¹ This inscription gives **Mahārāja-Sarva** as another name apparently for Dantidurga, and claims that in that very Ujjain, in order to enjoy a diversion with other princes, he instituted a *mahā-dāna* worthy of kings, and poured all kinds of wealth and precious stones on the supplicants. There can, therefore, be no doubt that Dantidurga had gone to Ujjain and performed the Hiranyagarbha ceremony. Secondly, verse 9 of our grant also implies that at Ujjain was then ruling a **Gurjara** dynasty called **Pratihāra**. There can be little doubt that this must be the Pratihāra dynasty, that became supreme after seizing the throne of Mahōdaya. We know for certain from epigraphic records that their capital became Mahōdaya or Kanauj from the time of Bhōja I onwards. But we did not know with certitude where they were actually ruling before they became rulers of Kanauj. And it was a mere surmise when some scholars thought that it was Bhilmāl or Bhinmāl in South Rājputānā.² Our grant, however, enables us now to say definitely that their original seat of power was Ujjain. It also enables us to interpret properly the third line of the stanza so often quoted from the Jaina *Harivamśa* of Jinasēna. We can have no doubt now as to the correctness of Dr. Fleet's translation,³ which makes Vatsarāja king of Avantī. This Vatsarāja, of course, is the Vatsarāja of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty, and the Jaina *Harivamśa* may be regarded as strengthening the inference that the Pratihāras were established at Ujjain and not Bhilmāl before they transferred their capital to Kanauj. Dantidurga was succeeded by **Subhatuṅga Vallabha** (v. 10), that is, **Kṛishṇa I**, who is represented to have seized the Chālukya sovereignty. He was followed by **Prabhūtavarsha**, that is, **Gōvinda II**, and the latter by **Dhāravarsha**, that is, **Dhruva** (v. 12). Verse 13 contains no historical information, but the verse following says that Dhruva snatched away the royal parasols of the king of **Gauḍa** as he was fleeing between the Ganges and the Jumna. This Gauḍa king, who would be a contemporary of Dhruva, is either Dharmapāla or his father Gōpāla, of the **Pāla** dynasty. From the inscriptions of this family, however, Gōpāla does not seem to have been in any way a powerful prince; and we must, therefore, suppose that Dharmapāla was the Gauḍa prince defeated by Dhruva. But the curious thing about this victory is that he was defeated not in his own country but outside. Does this not show that the Gauḍa prince had gone outside his dominions, perhaps, to help the king of Kanauj? This agrees with the fact, mentioned in the Baroda plates, that Dhruva seized the territory between the Ganges and the Jumna and thus added the emblems of the two rivers to his imperial insignia.⁴ This territory certainly coincides with the Kanauj kingdom, and what appears to have happened is that when, after defeating Vatsarāja, Dhruva was pressing his victories northwards, the Gauḍa king must have made common cause with the Kanauj sovereign, but that, when the Rāshtrakūṭa prince inflicted a crushing defeat on the latter, he began to pursue the former and encountered him before he was able to reach his dominions. Verse 15 says that Dhruva's fame, which had already spread as far as the extremities of the earth, now extended to the heavens, implying that he died. The next verse furnishes **Nirupama** as an epithet of Dhruva, and tells us that, as soon as his son Gōvinda III was crowned king, he re-instated some of the feudatories in their own principalities, and, apparently against the wishes of his councillors, in particular, released the **Gauṅga** prince, who, as we know from the records, was imprisoned by his father. This move

¹ *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 88.

² *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, 1909, p. 57; Smith's *Early His. Ind.*, p. 378.

³ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 195-6. Verse 9 of this charter of Amoghavarsha was communicated to Dr. R. C. Majumdar for being utilised in his paper entitled the *Gurjara-Pratihāras* published in the *Jour. Dept. Letters* (Cal. Univ.), Vol. X (p. 25 and ff.).

⁴ Dr. Majumdar was the first to show that this verse of the Baroda Plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 159) was to be taken as referring to Dhruva, and not to Gōvinda III as had been done by Dr. Fleet (*Jour. Dept. Letters*, Vol. X, p. 35, n. 2).

was apparently dictated by the disaffection among the vassal kings who had transferred their allegiance from him to another overlord (v. 17). This is evidently a reference to his contending, immediately after his accession, against a confederacy of twelve kings led by Staṁbha, who can be no other than his elder brother Raṇāvalōka-Kaṁbhadēva.¹ This opposition, however, he quickly put down. But the Gaṅga, whom he had released, refused to pay the fine imposed on him and had to be put in fetters again (v. 18).

Verses 19-20 contain nothing but conventional praise of Gōvinda III, but the second of these supplies for him a new epithet **Tribhuvanadhavala**, not known from previous records. From v. 21 begins the description of his expedition of conquest in the north. He appears first to have encountered and defeated **Nāgabhaṭa** and **Chandragupta**. Who the second of these princes was it is not difficult to say. The only prince of that name who can be a contemporary of Gōvinda III is Chandragupta of the Kōśala country ruling at Śrīpura or Sirpur in the Central Provinces.² The name of the family to which he belonged was Pāṇḍava, but there can be no doubt that it was one of the paramount dynasties of the eighth and ninth centuries. As regards Nāgabhaṭa, the other prince vanquished by Gōvinda III, there can be no question that he pertained to the Imperial Pratihāra family and was the son of Vatsarāja, king of Avantī, referred to above. His victorious march in the north, as verse 23 tells us, continued till his horses drank and elephants plunged themselves into the spring waters of the Himālayas. And it was here that two more princes, **Dharma** and **Chakrāyudha**, seem to have offered him their submission. This verse winds up by saying that he thus resembled the Himālayas in *kīrti* or fame, and, therefore, came to be known as **Kīrtinārāyaṇa**, which, we know, was another epithet of Gōvinda III. Of the two kings who submitted to him as he approached the Himālayas, Dharma has been recognised to be Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty, and Chakrāyudha to be the prince of the same name who obtained the sovereignty of Kanauj through Dharmapāla.³

From the Himālayas Gōvinda III returned to the Narmadā; and, turning to the east, he went along the bank of the river, conquering the **Mālava**, **Kōśala**, **Kaliṅga**, **Vaṅga**, **Dāhala** and **Ōdraka** countries (v. 24), and in this connection we are informed of another title that he bore, namely, **Vikrama**. Making his enemies submissive, he followed the other part of the river and established himself in a capital at the foot of the Vindhya (v. 25). From verse 26 it appears that he was then in the kingdom of a small ruler, called **Mahārāja Śarva**, and in the same verse we are further told that while he was encamped there, a son was born to him who was known as **Mahārāja Śarvan** and about whom, verses 27-8 tell us that the astrologers predicted a happy and brilliant future. Evidently there is a pun here on the terms **Mahārāja** and **Śarvan**. In one case they are taken as two separate words referring to a **Mahārāja** called Śarvan, no doubt, the Chief in whose principality Gōvinda III was temporarily settled on the banks of the Narmadā and at the foot of the Vindhya; and, in the other case, the two terms are to be taken together so as to make **Mahārāja Śarvan** as the royal title by which we know Amōghavarsha, son of Gōvinda III, was known.⁴ What verse 26 intends us to understand is that as Gōvinda III was turning to the west of the Narmadā and was temporarily established in the petty kingdom of his feudatory Śarvan, Amōgh varsha was born. Similar information is contained in two other copper-plate grants of this king which tell us that after receiving the submission of the Mālava king, he marched to the Vindhya, where a prince named Mārāśarva conciliated him with his choicest heirlooms, and that he spent the rainy season at a place called **Śrībhavana**.⁵ Mārāśarva

¹ Fleet's *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* (Bomb. Gazet., Vol. I, pt. II), p. 395. Above, Vol. VI, p. 195.

² Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 617. Above, Vol. XI, p. 185 and ff.

³ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 118-9.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI, p. 174.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

is evidently the same as Mahārāja Śarvan, and **Śrībhavana** must be the capital of the principality of this ruler where Gōvinda III was encamped for the rainy season and where his son Amōghavarsha was born.

Verse 29 makes mention of the two titles which were borne by Gōvinda III, namely, **Pra-bhūtavarsha** and **Jagattuṅga**; and the two verses following inform us that from this encampment in the Vindhya he afterwards set out to attack and humble the Draviḍa kings. Who these Draviḍa kings were is made clear in verse 32, and it appears that in this expedition to the south he vanquished the Kēraḷa, Pāṇḍya, Chaulika (Chōḷa) and Pallava. With these are also coupled in the same verse the rulers of Kālīṅga and Magadha and the Gurjara to show that he was rightfully styled Vikrama. Then we are told that, presumably in this excursion, he chained and put to death certain Gaṅga princes who had become disaffected (v. 33). They apparently do not include the Gaṅga ruler referred to in verse 18 above, and probably belonged to more than one Gaṅga family. Which these were exactly it is difficult to say. One of these was certainly the Western Gaṅga dynasty ruling over the Gaṅgavāḍi province, and the other is probably what is called the Gaṅga-Pallava family.¹ The second half of verse 33 informs us that he made his camp-ground free of dust through the lords of *maṇḍalas* by compensating them if they were friendly and by subjecting them to forced labour if they were otherwise, such as the Vēṅgi ruler was. This fact is also mentioned in the Rādhanpur charter of that king. Where this camp is to be located is not certain,² but it seems to be Hēlāpura of the next verse,—a place from where he is represented to have enforced the obedience of the king of Laṅkā (Ceylon) and his minister. As a result of this obedience he seems to have received two statues apparently of Rāvaṇa,³ its most ancient and traditional ruler, which he, however, transferred to Kāñchī, and put up as two columns of fame before the temple of Śiva. Where can this Hēlāpura be located? According to the Rādhanpur grant⁴ he was then encamped either on or near the Tuṅgabhadra. Can this Hēlāpura be thus Vēlāpura or Bēlūr⁵ in the Hassan District of the Mysore State?

Verses 35-36 speak of the death of Gōvinda III and the accession of his son, Amōghavarsha, to sovereignty. The subsequent four verses inform us that just when Amōghavarsha came to the throne, some of his feudatories, ministers and even relatives became disaffected and raised the standard of revolt. But it was through the help of one **Ārya Pātālamalla** that he succeeded in quelling the rebellion (v. 41). Nothing is known about this Pātālamalla from other records. One Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa inscription,⁶ no doubt, speaks of one Pātālamalla, elder brother of Vajjaladēva, a contemporary of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra IV. But this Pātālamalla would be a little too posterior to Amōghavarsha I in time. Then follow five verses, which are purely laudatory. And from verse 47 it appears that to ward off some public calamity the king who is here called **Vīra-Nārāyaṇa** cut off his left finger and dedicated it to the goddess, Mahālakṣmī. What this public calamity was it is impossible to tell, but Mahālakṣmī appears to be the same as that of Kolhāpur, which is described in one unpublished inscription as the *ādyā-pūṭha*, or original seat of that goddess.⁷ The same goddess,

¹ Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 60.

² Fleet takes it to be Mānyakhēṭa which about this time became the capital of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty (*Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, pp. 396 and 402-3). But this has no foundation. The Karhad, Deoli and Kardā grants, again, say that the city of Mānyakhēṭa was constructed (not merely completed), not by Gōvinda III, but by his son and successor, Amōghavarsha I. See above, Vol. IV, p. 287; *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 193; and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 268.

³ [Or perhaps of the king who reigned at the time and some other potentate connected with him. See Amir-Khusro's *Chronicle* quoted in Mr. K. V. S. Iyer's *Historic Sketches of Ancient Deccan*, p. 300.—Ed.]

⁴ Above, Vol. VI, p. 250.

⁵ *Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, p. 491.

⁶ Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, No. 136.

⁷ *Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, p. 540, note.

again, was the family deity of at least one branch of the Śilāhāra race. It is possible that Amōghavarsha made a gift of his finger as *bali* to Mahālakṣmī of Kolhāpur to avert some calamity which threatened his kingdom. Verse 48 compares him to a Gupta king in point of generosity and decides in favour of the former. The Gupta prince was no doubt traditionally handed down as a donor, but he had stigmatized his career by killing his own brother, seizing the latter's kingdom and queen, and wresting heavy sums from her. Amōghavarsha, on the other hand, panted neither for kingdom nor for self, and freely gave them away several times. The latter point reminds us of the *Praśnōttararatnamālikā*, the Digambara Jaina copies of which inform us that the work was composed by Amōghavarsha "after he had abdicated the throne in consequence of the growth of the ascetic spirit in him."¹ And it is quite possible that the figure of a royal ascetic found in a natural cavern² at Bādāmī may represent this Amōghavarsha. But this was nothing more than a surmise, as the other copies of the work omitted all mention of the Rāshtrakūṭa sovereign. But our plates now clearly show that Amōghavarsha abdicated his throne, not once but more than once, before Śaka 793 (=A.D. 871), the date of the charter, when, however, he was carrying on his kingly duties. This shows that a king could in ancient times temporarily resign his sovereignty and enjoy the life of a hermit or ascetic. But who was the Gupta prince who was noted for his liberality up till the 9th century and who sinks into insignificance by comparison with Amōghavarsha? The *Gāthā-saptaśatī* of Hāla who is ascribed to the beginning of the sixth century³ and the *Vāsaradattā* of Subandhu who has been placed in the same century but at its close, for the first time speak of a king called Vikramāditya renowned for his generosity. And it has been suspected that this Vikramāditya is either Chandragupta II or Skandagupta, both of the Imperial Gupta dynasty.⁴ Of the former, there is no record to lead us even to surmise that he ousted his brother and usurped the throne. In the case of Skandagupta, however, the Bhitari Pillar Inscription says that when his father (Kumāragupta I) died, the sovereignty of the family was tottering but that he put down his enemies and thereafter went to see his mother just as Kṛishṇa did Dēvakī. The reference to Kṛishṇa and Dēvakī indicates that this was a family feud and that his enemies in the present case were his kinsmen.⁵ We also further know that Skandagupta had a brother named Ghaṭōtkachagupta who was in charge of the Eraṇ district when Kumāragupta I was alive.⁶ A seal of Ghaṭōtkachagupta was also found in Basārḥ (ancient Vaiśālī), which was the seat of the Yuvarāja during the Gupta rule. It appears probable that there was a fratricidal war between Ghaṭōtkachagupta and Skandagupta in which the former was killed and the throne seized by the latter. It may not, therefore, be unreasonable to hold that Skandagupta-Vikramāditya was the Gupta king alluded to in our charter for comparison to Amōghavarsha.

The village granted, as we have seen, is **Jharivallikā** which is said to be situated in the Twenty-four-village Group of **Samjāna**. The boundaries of the village are specified as follows :—To the east is the river **Kalluvī**, which falls into the sea ; to the south, the village of **Uppalahatthaka** ; to the west, **Nandagrāma** ; and to the north, the village of **Dhannavallikā**. All these localities can be identified and are to be found in the northern part of the Thānā District of the Bombay Presidency. Samjāna is, of course, Sañjān, the original refuge

¹ R. G. Bhandarkar's *Early His. Dek.* (Bomb. Gazet., Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 201).

² *Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv., Ind., West Circle*, for 1909-10, p. 42.

³ [This ascription is problematical for the age of Hāla or of the *Saptaśatī* is still an open question. See Sir George Grierson's note on Prakrit in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (XI ed.), Vol. XXII, p. 253, Dr. Sten Konow's *Essay on Rājashēkhara* in his edition of the *Karpūramāñjarī*, p. 193, Mr. A. C. Woolner's *Introduction to Prakrit*, p. 73, and Keith's *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 74. So the proposed identification of the Vikramāditya of this anthology would require further demonstration.—Ed.]

⁴ *Bhandarkar Com. Vol.*, p. 189.

⁵ [His Bhitari Inscription would show that they were rather the Savage Huns.—Ed.]

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, 1920, pp. 114-5. [In this connection we should not lose sight of the fact pointed out by Mr. Garde (*loc. cit.*) that the word expressing relationship of Ghaṭōtkachagupta with Kumāragupta I is now not forthcoming in the document referred to.—Ed.]

of the Parsis and the place from where these plates come. Jharivallikā is Zaroli; Kalluvī is the Kālū, also called Dārotā, which, no doubt, flows gradually westwards from this place till it falls into the sea. Uppalahatthaka is Uplāt; Nandagrāma, Nandagaon; and Dhannavallikā, Dhānoli. All these places are traceable in Bombay Survey Sheets, Nos. 133E and 134.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 ओ² [॥*] स वोव्यादेधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं । हरश्च यस्य कान्तेन्दुकलया कमलंकृतं³ ॥[१*] अनन्तभोगस्थितिरश्च पातु वः प्रतापशीलप्रभवोदयाचलः [॥*]
- 2 'शुराद्रकूटोच्छ्रितवंशपूर्वजः स वीरनारायण एव यो विभुः⁵ ।[१२*] तदीय-वीर्यायतयादवान्धये क्रमेण वार्द्धाविष रत्नसंचयः [॥*] वभूव⁶ गोविन्द-महीप्रतिभुवः⁷
- 3 प्रसाधनो⁸ पृच्छकराजनः⁹ ॥[३*] वभार¹⁰ यः कौस्तुभरत्नविस्फुरद्गमस्तिविस्ती-र्णसुरखलं ततः [॥*] प्रभातभानुप्रभवप्रभाततं हिरण्यं मेरुशिवा-भितस्तटं ॥[४*] मनांसि
- 4 यन्नासमयानि¹¹ सन्ततं वचांसि यत्कीर्त्तिर्विकीर्त्तनान्यपि । शिरांसि यत्पादन-तानि वैरिणां यथांसि यत्तेजसि नेशुरन्यतः ॥[५*] धनुस्समुत्सारितभू-भृता मही प्रसारिता
- 5 येन पृथुप्रभाविना । महीजसा वैरितमो निराकृतं प्रतापशीलिन स कर्कराट् प्रभुः ॥[६*] इन्द्रराजस्ततोऽगच्छात्¹² यच्चालुक्कनृपात्मजां [॥*] राक्षसेन विवाहेन रणे खे-
- 6 टकमण्डपे¹³ ॥[७*] ततोभवदन्तिघटाभिर्मर्द्दो हिमाचलादास्थितसेतुसीमतः [॥*] खलीकृतोद्भूतमहीपमण्डलः कुलाग्रणीर्यो भुवि दन्तिदुर्गराट्¹⁴ ॥[८*] हिरण्य-
- 7 गर्भं राजन्यैरुज्जयन्यां¹⁵ यदासितं [॥*] प्रतिहारीकृतं येन गुर्जरेशादिराजकम्¹⁶ ॥[९*] स्वयंवरीभूतरणांगणे ततस्स निर्व्यपेक्षं शुभतुंगवज्रभः [॥*] चक्रघं चालुक्ककुलश्री-

¹ From the original plates.² Expressed by a symbol.³ Read सुराट्.⁴ Read वभूव.⁵ Read प्रसाधनः.⁶ Read वभार.⁷ Read °गृह्यायश°.⁸ Read °यिन्यां.⁹ Metre: Anushtubh.¹⁰ Metre of this and of the following four verses: Varṇasthavila.¹¹ Read °महीप्रतिभुवः.¹² Read °राजनन्दनः.¹³ Read वचास°.¹⁴ Metre: Anushtubh.¹⁵ Metre: Varṇasthavila.¹⁶ Metre: Anushtubh.

- 8 यं¹ 'वलादिलोलपालिध्वजमालभारिणी'² ॥[१०*] 'अयोध्यसिंघासनचामरोर्जित-
स्मितातपत्रोप्रतिपन्नराज्यभाक् [1*] अकालवर्षो हतभूपराजको वभूव³ राज-⁴
- 9 रिधिरशेषपुण्यकृत् ॥[११*] ततः प्रभूतवर्षोभूद्वारावर्षस्ततश्चरैर्द्वारावर्षायित⁵
येन संग्रामभुवि भूभुजा⁶ ॥[१२*] युधेषु यस्य करवालनिकृत्तग्रत्तुमूर्ध्नाङ्क-
वोष्णरुचिरासवपान-
- 10 मतः⁷ । आकण्ठपूर्वजठरः परितुप्तसृत्तुङ्गहारयन्त्रिव स काङ्कलधीरनादः⁸ ॥[१३*]
गङ्गायमुनयोर्मध्ये रात्रौ गौडस्य नश्यतः [1*] लक्ष्मीलीलारविन्दानि श्वेत-
च्छाणि यो हरेत्⁹ ॥[१४*]
- 11 व्यासा विश्वम्भरात्तं शम्भिकरधवला यस्य कीर्त्ति¹⁰ समन्तात् प्रेम्बच्छंकालि-
मुक्ताफलशतशफरानेकफेनोर्मिरूपैः¹¹ । पारावारान्वतीरोत्तरश्चमविरसं कुर्वतीव
प्रयाता स्त-
- 12 र्ग¹² गोव्वाणहारद्विरदसुरसरि¹³ र्हात्तराष्ट्रच्छलेन¹⁴ ॥[१५*] प्राप्ते राज्याभिषेक
निरुपमतनयो य¹⁵ स्वसामन्तवर्माक्षेपां¹⁶ स्त्रेषां पदेषु प्रकटमनुनये¹⁷
स्थापयिष्यानश-
- 13 घाम्¹⁸ । पित्रा यय¹⁹ समाना इति गिरमरणीन्मन्त्रिवर्ग²⁰ स्त्रिवर्गोद्युक्तः
कृत्येषु दक्षः क्षितिमवति यदोन्मीक्षयन्वहगंगं²¹ ॥[१६*] दुष्टांस्तावत्स्वभृत्या²²
भटिति विघ-
- 14 टिता²³ स्थापितान्येषपाशां²⁴ युद्धे युद्धा स वध्वा²⁵ विषमतरमहोच्चानिवीर्यान्स-
मया²⁶ [1*] सुक्ता सार्द्रान्तरात्मा विकृतिपरिणतौ वाडवाम्नि समुद्रः
क्षीभो नाभूद्विपक्षान-
- 15 पि पुनरिव तां²⁷ भूयती यो वभार²⁸ ॥[१७*] उपगतविकृतिः कृतघ्नगंगो
यदुदितदण्डपञ्चायनोनुवन्धाध्यपगतपदभृत्खलः²⁹ खलो यस्मिन्निगलवन्धगलः³⁰

¹ Read °नियं.² Metre of this and of the following verse : Vamāsthavila.³ Read वभूव.⁴ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.⁵ Read °पानमनः. [The original reads मनः.—Ed.]⁶ Read °हरत्; Metre : Anuṣṭubh.⁷ Read °वृंखालि° and °रूपैः.⁸ Metre of this and of the following two verses : Sragdharā.⁹ Read यः.¹⁰ Read °नये.¹¹ Read °वर्गो.¹² Read विघटितान्.¹³ The letter र is engraved below the line. Read °वभारान्.¹⁴ Read तान्.¹⁵ Read °वन्धा [1] व्यपगत°. [The original correctly reads °व्यपगत°.—Ed.]¹⁶ Read वला°; and °भारिणी°.¹⁷ Read °सिंघासन°.¹⁸ Read राजवि°.¹⁹ Read °नश्यतः । रात्रौ°.²⁰ Metre : Vasantatilaka.²¹ Read कीर्त्ति°.²² Read स्त्रेषां.²³ Read °सरिद्वारं°.²⁴ Read °वन्धा°स्त्रेषां.²⁵ Read स्थापयिष्यन्नशेषान्.²⁶ Read °वन्ध°.²⁷ Read °पाशां.²⁸ Read °वन्ध°.²⁹ Read वला°.³⁰ Read वभार.³¹ Read °वन्ध°.

- 16 कृतस्य येन¹ ॥[१८*] श्रीमान्धाता विधातु² प्रतिनिधिरपरो³ राट्कूटान्वयश्री-
सारासारासरस्यप्रविततनगरग्रामरामाभिरामामुर्वीमुखश्चराणां⁴ मकु-
17 टमकरिकाश्लिष्टपादारविन्दः पारावारोऽवारिस्फुटरवरशनां पातुमुमुद्यतो⁵ यः⁶ ॥
[१९*] नक्जलधरवीरध्वानगम्भीरभेरीरववधिरितविश्वाशान्तरा-⁷
18 लो रिपूणां⁸ [१*] पटुरवपददङ्गाकाङ्क्षलोत्तालतूर्यन्निभुवनधवलस्योद्योगकालस्य
कालः⁹ ॥[२०*] भूष्टम्भूर्ध्वि¹⁰ सुनीतपादविशरः¹¹ पुण्योदयस्तेजसा क्रान्ताशे-
19 षदिगन्तरप्रतिपदं प्राप्तप्रतापोन्नतिः [१*] भूयो¹² योप्यनुरन्तामण्डलयुतः(ः)प्र-
पद्माकरानन्दितो मार्त्तण्ड¹³ स्वयमुतरायणगत¹⁴ स्तेजोनिधिर्दुस्सहः¹⁵ ॥[२१*] स
नाग-
20 भटचन्द्र¹⁶ गुप्तनृपयोर्यशौर्य¹⁷ रणेश्वहार्यमपहार्य¹⁸ धैर्यं विकलानथोन्मूलयत्¹⁹ [१*]
यशोर्जनपरो नृपांस्त्रभुवि शालिसस्यानिव(ः) पुनप्रनरतिष्ठि-²⁰
21 पत्स्वपद एव चान्यानपि²¹ ॥[२२*] हिमवत्पर्वतनिर्भराम्बु²² तुरगीः वीतच²³
गङ्गजे-²⁴

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 22 हूनिनितं मज्जनतूर्यकैर्द्विगुणितं भूयोपि तत्कन्दरे [१*] स्वयमेवोपनतौ च
यस्य महत्तदौ धर्मचक्रायुधौ (ः) हिमवान्कीर्त्तिसरूपतामुपगतस्त-
23 कीर्त्तिनारायणः²⁵ ॥[२३*] तत²⁶ प्रतिनिष्ठ²⁷ तत्प्रकृतमृत्यकर्मत्थयः²⁸ प्रताः
मिव नर्मदातटमनुप्रयातप्रनः [१*] सकोशलकलिङ्गवेगिङ्गलौकिक[ः]²⁹
24 न्मालवां³⁰ विलभ्य निजसेवकै³¹ ३२ स्वयमवभूजदिक्रमः³³ ॥[२४*] प्रत्यावृत्तः प्राति-
राज्यं विधेयं कृत्वा रेवामुत्तरं³⁴ विन्ध्यपादे [१*] कुर्वन्धर्मान्कीर्त्तनेः
पुण्य[ः]न्दैरध्यष्टात्ताम्बो-³⁵

¹ Metre : Pushpitāgrā.

⁴ Read °भिरामाम्। उर्वी°.

⁶ Metre : Sragdharā.

⁹ Metre : Mālinī.

¹¹ Read विशरः.

¹⁴ Read °मुत्तरा°.

¹⁶ Read °चन्द्र° [The original has चन्द्र°.—Ed.]

¹⁸ Read रणेश्वहार्य°.

²⁰ Read °रतिष्ठ° [The original reads °ठि° correctly.—Ed.]

²² Read °निर्भराम्बु.

²⁵ Metre : Mātṛbhavikṛidita.

²⁹ Read °वंग° [The Āndhra kingdom of Vēgi (or Vēngi) might be meant here. See V. 33 below.—Ed.]

³⁰ Read °न्मालवान्.

³³ Metre : Prithvī.

³⁵ Read °रध्यष्टात्तां लो°.

² Read विधातुः.

⁷ Read °वधिरित°.

¹² Read °प्यनुरक्त°.

¹⁵ Metre : Śārdūlavikṛidita.

¹⁹ Read धैर्यविकलानथोन्मूलयत्.

²³ Read वीतच.

²⁶ Read ततः.

³¹ Read °सेवकैः.

³⁴ Read °मुत्तरा.

³ Read °सारां सारा°

⁵ Read पातुममु°.

⁸ Read रिपूणां.

¹⁰ Read °म्भूर्ध्वि°.

¹³ Read मार्त्तण्डः.

¹⁷ Read यशौर्यं.

²¹ Metre : Prithvī.

²⁴ Read शाङ्गं गजे°.

²⁷ Read °प्रकृति°.

³² Read °मभूजदिक्रम°.

²⁸ Read °त्ययः°.

- 25 चितां 'राजधानी' ॥[२५*] मच्छलीशमहाराजसर्वस्व' यदभूदुपः । 'महाराज-
सर्वस्वामी भावी तस्य सुतोऽजनि' ॥[२६*] यज्जन्मकाले दैवघ्नेरादिष्ठ(ष्ट)
विघ्नो भुवं [१*] भोक्तेति हि-
- 26 'भवत्सुपुण्यान्ताम्बुधिमेखलां [२७*] योद्धारोमोघवर्षेण 'वद्वा ये व सुधि
द्विषः [१*] सुक्ता ये विक्रतास्तेषां भवतस्सुखोदृतिः ॥[२८*] ततः-
प्रभूतवर्षस्यस्वसंपूर्णम-
- 27 नोरथः [१*] जगतुंगच्छ^१ मेदव्या भूयतासुपरि स्थितः ॥[२९*] चद[ति]ष्ठद-
वष्टभं भक्तुं द्रविलभूयतां [१*] स जागरयन्तितास्त्वमन्वभ्रान्तचेतसां ॥
[३०*] प्रस्थानेन हि के-
- 28 वलं प्रचक्षति स्वच्छादिताच्छादिता धानी विक्रमसाधनेस्त्वकलुषं विदेविषां
द्वेषिणां [१*] सज्जीरप्युरसो सतेव पवनप्रायांसिता यासिता धूलिर्नैव दिग्धो-
- 29 गमद्रिपुयशस्त्वाननकं तानकं^२ ॥[३१*] चस्त्वोरसपावद्यचौलिकनृपस्यपञ्चवं
पञ्चवं प्रक्षान्तिं गमयन्कालिङ्गमगधप्रायासको यासकः [१*] गर्जद्गुर्जरमौघो-¹⁰
- 30 शौर्यविलयो¹¹ 'लंकारयन्मुखीगच्छदनिग्यशसनमतस्यदिक्रमी विक्रमः ॥[३२*]
मिन्नतिविक्रतगंगास्सुखलोवद्विष्टा¹² द्युतिमयुरगुक्ता¹³ मच्छलीया स्वध-
- 31 त्या [१*] ¹⁴विरजसमहितेनुर्यस्य वाञ्छासिभूमिं ¹⁵परिहृति विष्टा वेगिनाया-
दयोपि¹⁶ ॥[३३*] राजामात्यवराविव स्तुतितकार्यास्त्वगष्टौ इठाहण्डेनैव नि-
- 32 यम्य भूकवधिरावानीय¹⁷ इलापुरे [१*] ¹⁸लंकातच्छिल तदभुप्रतिक्रती का(न्वी)-
[ची]मुपेतौ¹⁹ ततः कीर्त्तिस्त्वग्निभौ²⁰ शिवायतनके येनेह ²¹संस्थापितौ²²
॥[३४*]या-
- 33 स्वा²³ कीर्त्तिस्तुलोकास्त्रिभुवनभरं²⁴ भर्तुमासीत्तमर्थः पुत्रास्त्राकमेकस्त्वफलमिति
कृतं ज्यम्²⁵ धर्मैरनेकैः [१*] किं कर्तुं²⁶ स्वयमस्मिन्निति²⁷ विम-

¹ Read राजधानी.² Read महाराजसर्वस्वः.³ Read 'सुपुण्यान्ताम्बुधि'.⁴ Metre of this and of the following verse : Sārdūlavikrīḍita.⁵ Read लंकारयन्कारयमुखीने.⁶ Read 'ममिति'.⁷ Read 'वधिरा'.⁸ Read 'मिष्टे'.⁹ Read व्याघ्र.¹⁰ Read कर्तुं.¹¹ Metre : Śālinī.¹² Metre of this and of the following four verses : Anuṣṭubh.¹³ Read वद्वा द्वे च.¹⁴ Read 'स्यंस्त्रापाव'.¹⁵ Read परिहृतिमयु.¹⁶ Read लंकातः किञ्च.¹⁷ Read संस्थापिते.¹⁸ Read 'स्त्रिभुवनै' मित्र.¹⁹ Read स्वयं.²⁰ Read मच्छलीयो महाराजः सर्वस्वः स्वो.²¹ Read जगत्सुगं.²² Read 'मौलि'.²³ Read मच्छलीयाः स्वधत्वा.²⁴ Metre : Mālinī.²⁵ Read 'मुपेतौ'.²⁶ Metre : Sārdūlavikrīḍita.²⁷ Read जम्.

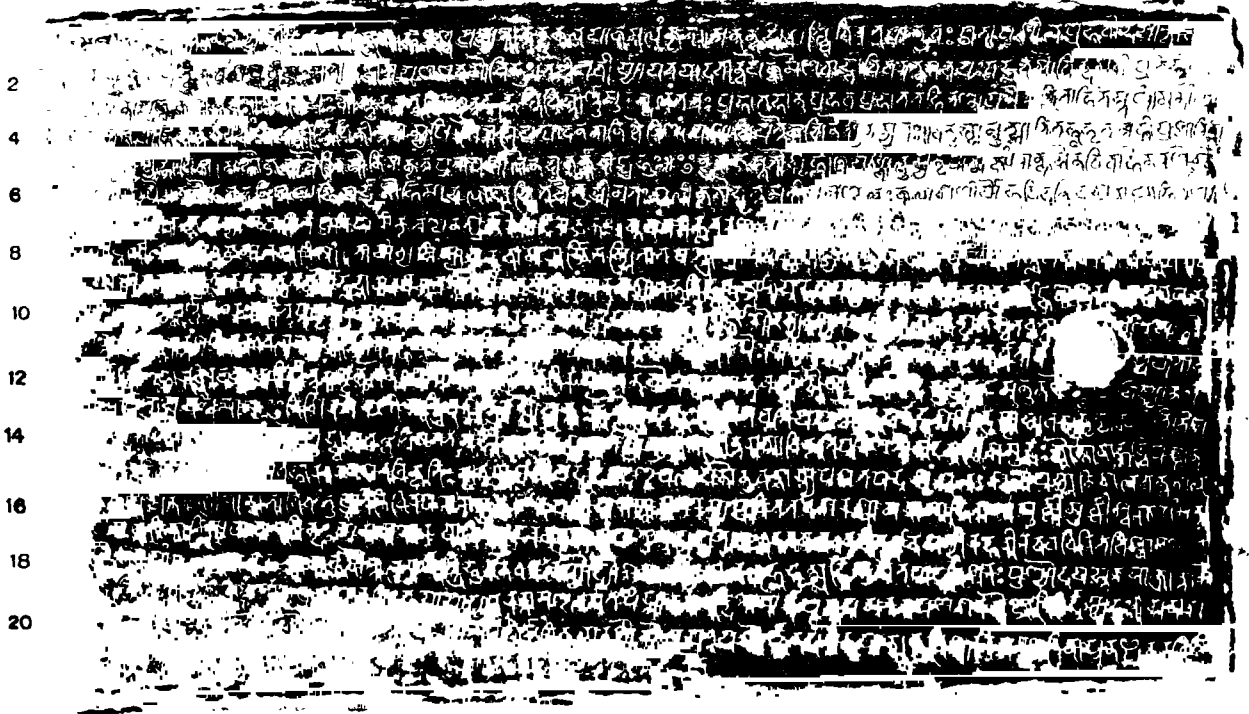
- 34 लयग्रहपुष्पशोपानमार्ग¹ स्वर्गप्रोत्तंगसौध² प्रति रदनुपमः³ कीर्त्तिन्ने(मे)वानु-
यात्तः(तः)⁴ ॥[३५*] वन्धूनां⁵ वन्धुराणां⁶ सुचितनिजकुले पूर्वजानां प्रजानां⁷ जाता-
35 नां वक्त्रभानां भुवनभरितसत्कीर्त्तिमूर्त्तिस्थितां⁸ [1*] चातुं कीर्त्तिं⁹ सलोकां
कलिकलुषमथो हंतुमंतो रिपूणां श्रीमान्नि¹⁰ हासनन्तो¹¹ बुधनुतचरितोमोघव-
36 र्षं प्रशस्ति¹² ॥[३६*] चातुं¹³ नम्रान्विजेतुं रणशिरसि¹⁴ परान्प्राथकेभ्यः¹⁵ प्र(र)दातुं
निर्व्विदुं रुढिसत्वं धरणिपरिवृढो नेदृशोन्यः¹⁶ [1*] इत्थं प्रोत्थाय सार्धं
पृथुरवपद-
37 ढक्कादिमन्द्रप्रघोषो¹⁷ यसोन्द्रस्वेव नित्यं ध्वनति कलिमलध्वन्निनो¹⁸ मन्दिराये ॥
[३७*] दृष्ट्वा तन्मवराज्यमूर्त्ति[त]दृष्ट्वा¹⁹ नृपं भूय²⁰ षोडशराज्य-
38 वत्कृतयुग²¹ प्रारम्भ²² इत्याकुलः [1*] नश्यन्नन्तरनुप्रविश्य विषमो मायाम-
योसौ कलिः²³ सामन्तान्सचिवस्त्वान्धवजनान्क्षोभयत्स्वीकृताम्²⁴ ॥[३८*]
39 शठमन्त्रं²⁵ प्रविधाय²⁶ त्कूटशपथैरोग्रस्तन्त्रा²⁷ स्वयं विनिहत्योचितयुक्ताकारिपुरुषा-
न्सर्व्वं स्वयंग्राहिणः [1*] परयोषिदुहिता²⁸ स्वसेति न पु-
40 नर्भेद²⁹ पशूनामिव प्रभुरेवं कलिकासमित्यवसितं³⁰ सद्भूतमुष्टतः³¹ ॥[३९*]
विततमहिमघान्नि व्योम्नि संहृत्य धाम्नाभितवति महतीन्द्रोर्म्यं³²
41 त्वं ताराकाश³³ [1*] उदयमहिमभाजो भ्राजितास्रप्रतापे विरतवति विजिह्वा-
शोर्ज्जितास्तावदेवः³⁴ ॥[४०*] गुरुबुधमनुयातस्त्रयपातालमन्त्रा³⁵
42 दुदयगिरिमहिम्नो रश्मार्त्तण्डदेवः । पुनरुदयमुपेत्योष्टततेजस्विचक्रं³⁶ प्रतिहत-
मथ कृत्वा लोकमेक³⁷ पुनाति ॥[४१*] राजात्मा मन एव तस्य
43 सचिवस्यामन्त्रचक्रं पुनस्तनीत्येन्द्रियवर्ग³⁸ एष विधिवद्वागादयस्त्रेवकाः [1*]
देहस्थानमधिष्ठित³⁹ स्वविषयं भोक्तु⁴⁰ स्वतन्त्रः क्षमस्त-

¹ Read °सोपान°.² Metre of this and of the following two verses : Sragdharā.³ Read वन्धुराणां.⁴ Read °मूर्त्तिस्थितानाम्.⁵ Read बुध°.⁶ Read °प्राथकेभ्यः°.⁷ Read क्षीरिणी.⁸ Read °पुनप्रारम्भ°.⁹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹⁰ Read °स्वतन्त्राः.¹¹ Read °मुष्टतः.¹² Read ताराकाश.¹³ Read °बुध°.¹⁴ Read °नेत्रः.¹⁵ Read भोक्तु°.¹⁶ Read सौध°.¹⁷ [The original reads °जानाम्प्रजानां.—Ed.]¹⁸ Read कीर्त्ति°.¹⁹ Read °वर्षः प्रशस्ति.²⁰ Supply समर्थः.²¹ Read °नृप°.²² Read °साचिवस्त्वान्धव° and °स्वीकृताम्.²³ Read °मन्त्रं.²⁴ Read °विदुहि°.²⁵ Metre : Matṭēbhavikrīḍita.²⁶ Metre of this and of the following verse : Mālīnī.²⁷ Read °क्षोभ°.²⁸ Read °सन्तोष°.²⁹ Read °सन्तोषेन्द्रिय°.³⁰ Read यद्°.³¹ Read वन्धूनां.³² Read °सिंह°.³³ Read चातुं.³⁴ Read यदर्थ°.³⁵ Read भूयः.³⁶ Read कूट°.³⁷ Read °काश इत्य°.³⁸ Read °लोहप°.³⁹ Read °उदितः.

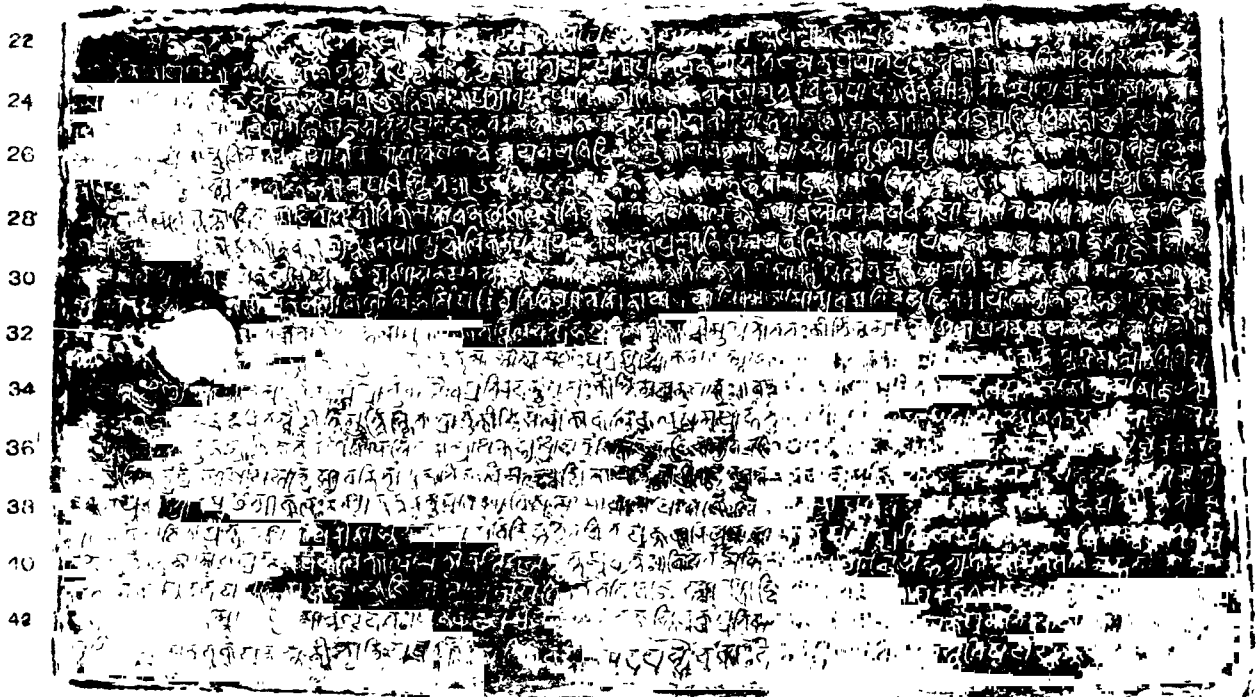
Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 44 अग्भोक्तारि¹ सन्निपातविवशे सर्वेपि नश्यन्ति ते² ॥४२*॥ दोषानोषधवह-
नाननिलवत्शुक्लेभ्येनान्यन्निवत्³ ध्वान्तं भानुवदात्मपूर्वज-
45 समान्नायागतान्द्रोहकान⁴ [1*] संतापान्विनिहृत्य⁵ यः कलिमलं धात्र्यादि-
सम्प्रान्ततः (i) कीर्त्या चन्द्रिक एव⁶ चन्द्रधवलच्छत्रिया
46 भ्राजितः ॥४३*॥ 'यण्डाभिहतोत्तरोरिव फलं सुक्ताफलं मण्डलात् (i) यातं⁷
शूकरयूथवह्नहनतस्तन्मन्दिरं हास्तिकं । यत्कोपोग्र-
47 दवाग्निदग्धतनवः प्राप्ता विभूतिं पन⁸ (i) तत्पादोपनतप्रसादतनवः प्राप्ते¹⁰
विभूतिम्पर¹¹ ॥४४*॥ यस्यान्नां परचक्रि¹² स्रजमिवाजस्रं शि-
48 रोभिर्वह्न्यादिगदन्तिघटावलीमुखपटः कीर्त्तिप्रतानक्षतः¹³ । (i) यत्रस्थ¹⁴ स्वकर-
प्रतापमहिमा कस्यापि दूरस्थितः (i) तेजक्रान्तसमस्तभूम्दि-¹⁵
49 न एवासौ न कस्योपरि ॥४५*॥ यद्वारे¹⁶ परमण्डलाधिपतयो दौवारिकै-
र्वारिकैरास्थानावसरं प्रतीक्ष्य वह्निरप्यध्यासिता¹⁷ यासिता । गाणिकं
वरत्नमौ-¹⁸
50 क्तिकचितं तद्वास्तिकं हास्तिकं (i) नादास्थाम¹⁹ यदीति²⁰ यत्र निजकं
पश्यन्ति नश्यन्ति च ॥४६*॥ सप्यं पातुमसौ²¹ ददौ²² निजतनुं जामृत-
केतोस्तुतः (i) श्येनायाय शिविः²³ क-
51 पोतपरिरक्षार्थं दधीचोर्त्थिने । तेष्येकैकमतर्पयन्किल महालक्ष्म्यै स्वावामांगुलिं²⁴
लोकोपद्रवशान्तये स्म दिशति श्रीवीरनारायणः ॥४७*॥ हत्वा आतर-
52 मेव राज्यमहरदेवीं च दीनस्ततो लक्षं कोटिमलेखयन्किल²⁵ कलौ दाता
स गुप्तान्वयः [1*] येनात्थानि तनु²⁶ स्वराज्यमसकृद्वाञ्छार्थकैः²⁷ का
कथा (i) ह्री-
53 प्रस्योन्नतिराङ्गकूटतिलको²⁸ दातेति कीर्त्यावपि²⁹ ॥४८*॥ ³⁰स्वभुजभुजसनिखिंशो-
यदंष्ट्रायदष्टप्रवल(वल)रिपुसमूहेमोघवर्षे मधीशे³¹ । (i) न दध-

¹ Read °अग्भोक्तारि.² Metre of this and of the following six verses : Sārdūlavikrīḍita.³ Read °शुक्लेभ्य°. [Note the shape of त् here and in lines 46, 56, 73 and 74 below.—Ed.]⁴ Read °न्द्रोहकान्.⁵ Read संतापान्विनि.⁶ Read चन्द्रिकेव.⁷ Read यण्डाभिहतासरो°.⁸ Read °लाघातं.⁹ Read परे.¹⁰ Read प्राप्ता. [The original correctly reads प्राप्ता.—Ed.]¹¹ Read °परि.¹² Read °चक्रि.¹³ Read °क्षितः.¹⁴ Read यत्रस्थः.¹⁵ Read तेजःक्रान्त°.¹⁶ Read यद्वारे.¹⁷ Read वह्नि°.¹⁸ Read वरत्न°.¹⁹ Read नादास्थामो ; but this spoils the metre.²⁰ Read यदीति.²¹ Read °मसी. [The original has °सौ.—Ed.]²² Read ददौ.²³ Read शिविः.²⁴ Read स्वावामा°.²⁵ Read °लेखयन्किल.²⁶ Read तनुः.²⁷ Read °वाञ्छा°.²⁸ Read °कोटिभुज and कूट.²⁹ Read कीर्त्यावपि.³⁰ Read °भुजनि and °प्रवल°.³¹ Read मधीशे.



ii a.



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SEAL OF THE SANJAN PLATES OF AMOGHAVARSHA I.



- 54 ति पदमीतिव्याधिदुष्कालकाले¹ (i) हिमशिशिरवसन्तशीष्मवर्षाशरत्² ।
[18८*] चतुस्समुद्रपर्यान्तः³ समुद्र⁴ यत्प्रसाधितं [1*] भग्ना समस्तभूपाण्डसुद्रा
ग-
- 55 इडमुद्रया⁵ ॥ [५०*] राजन्द्रास्ते⁶ वन्दनीस्तु⁷ पूर्वे⁸ येषाम्बन्धमा⁹
⁹पालानीयोस्मदादेः¹⁰ [1*] ध्वस्ता दुष्टा वर्त्तमानास्त्रधर्म¹¹ प्रातर्या ये
ते भविनः¹² ¹³पार्थिवेन्द्राः¹⁴ [५१*] भुक्त¹⁵ कै-
- 56 त्रिचक्रमेणापरैर्भ्यो¹⁶ दत्तं चान्यैस्त्र्यक्षमेवापरैर्यत् [1*] ¹⁷कस्थानित्ये तत्र
राज्य¹⁸ महङ्गिः कीर्त्या¹⁹ धर्मः केवलं पालनीयं²⁰ ॥[५२*] तेनेदमनिलवि-
द्युचञ्चलमवलो-²¹
- 57 क्व जीवितमसारं ।(i) क्षितिदानपरमपुष्पं प्रवर्त्तितो ²²ब्रह्मदायोयं²³ ॥[५३*]
स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीजगत्तुंगदेवपादानुध्यातपर-²⁴
- 58 मभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीमदमोघवर्षश्रीवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवः कु-
शलो सर्वानिव यथासम्बन्धमानकात्राष्टपतिविषयपति-²⁵
- 59 ग्रामकूटयुक्तनियुक्ताधिकारिकमहत्तरादी²⁶ समादिशत्स्वस्तु (ii) वक्षंविदितं यथा
मान्यखेटराजधान्यातस्थितेन²⁷ मया मातापित्रोरात्मन(क)श्चैहिकामु-
- 60 त्रिकपुण्ययशोभितृचये ॥७॥ करहडविनिर्गतभरद्वाभाम्निवेश्यानां आंगिरस-
पाहस्यत्त्वानां²⁸ भारद्वाजाजिसव्रह्मचारिणे²⁹ साविक्रवारक-
- 61 महत्तपोचाय³⁰ । गोलसडगमिपुचाय³¹ । नरसिंहदीक्षितः³² । पुनरपि ³³तस्मै
विषयविनिर्गता³⁴ । तस्मै³⁵ गोत्रे च भट्टपौचाय । गोविन्दभट्ट-
- 62 पुचाय । रच्छादित्वक्रमइतः³⁶ । तस्मिं देवे³⁷ । वडसुखसव्रह्मचारिणे³⁸ दावडि-
गहियसहासपौचाय । विष्णुभट्ट(i)पुचाय । ³⁹तिविक्रम-

¹ Read °काला°.

² Read स्तुद्रं.

³ Read वन्दनीया°.

⁴ Read °दायैः.

⁵ Read °पार्थि°.

⁶ Read भुक्त.

⁷ Read राह्ये.

⁸ Read °विद्युचञ्चल°.

⁹ Read °जगत्तुंग°.

¹⁰ Read चान्यैस्त्र्यक्षमे.

¹¹ Read °क्रमवितु°.

¹² Read °तद्विषय°.

¹³ Read °क्रमविदे°.

¹⁴ Read चि°.

¹⁵ Metre : Mālinī.

¹⁶ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

¹⁷ Read येषां चक्षु°.

¹⁸ Read °स्वधर्म°.

¹⁹ Metre of this and of the following verse : Śālinī.

²⁰ Read °सिद्धिक°.

²¹ Read कीर्त्ये.

²² Read ब्रह्म°.

²³ Read °सम्बन्ध°.

²⁴ Read भरद्वाजाजिसव्रह्मचारिणसव्रह्मचारिण°.

²⁵ Read °वक्षंविदित°.

²⁶ Read °विनिर्गताय°.

²⁷ Read तस्मिन्देवे.

²⁸ Read पर्यन्त°.

²⁹ Read राजेन्द्रा°.

³⁰ Read पालनी°.

³¹ Read भावि°.

³² Read कास्या°.

³³ Read °जीयः°.

³⁴ Metre : Āryā.

³⁵ Read महत्तरादीन्.

³⁶ Read °हाजमोचसनक्ष°.

³⁷ Read नरसिंहदीक्षिताय.

³⁸ Read तस्मिन्.

³⁹ Read °ब्रह्म°.

63 षडंगमिः¹ । पुनरपि तस्मिं देवे² वच्छगोत्रसन्नचारिणे³ । हरिमदृषौत्राय ।
गोवादित्यभट्टपुत्राय । केसवगह्वयसाहासः⁴ ।

Third Plate.

- 64 चतुकाःना⁵ वद्वृचसखानां⁶ । पवं चतुकः ब्राह्मणानां⁷ ग्रामो दत्तः संजाण-
समीपवर्तिनः चतुर्विंशतिग्राममध्ये⁸ । हरिवल्लिकानामग्रामः तस्य चाघाट-
65 नानिः⁹ पूर्वतः कङ्गुवी समुद्रगामिनी नदी । ¹⁰दक्षिणतः उष्णलङ्क्य¹¹
भट्टग्रामः । पश्चिमतः नन्दग्रामः । उत्तरतः धनवल्लिकाग्रामः । अयं
ग्रामस्य संज्ञाने
66 पत्तने शुक्लंन शुष्ण्यामिग्रामं सवच्चमालाकुलं भोक्तव्यं¹² । एवमयं चतुराघाट-
नोपलक्षितः सोद्वंगस्तपरिकरः सदण्डदसपराधः¹³ सभूतापातप्रत्ययः¹⁴ सोत्प-
67 द्यमानविष्टिकः सधान्यहिरण्यादेयः अचाटभट्टप्रवेश्यः सर्व्वराजकीयानामहस्त-
प्रक्षेपणीया¹⁵ आचन्द्रार्कावर्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्वतसमकालिनः¹⁶ पुत्रपौत्रान्वय-
क्रमो-
68 पभोग्यः ¹⁷पूर्व्वप्रत्यब्रह्मदेवदायरहितोभ्यन्तरसिद्धाय¹⁸ भूमिच्छिद्रन्याएन¹⁹
शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेषु सप्तसु नवतृतयत्यधिकेषु²⁰ नन्दनसंवत्सरा-
न्तर्गतपुण्य-
69 मास उत्तरायणमहापर्व्वणि ²¹वल्लिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रतिथिशं(सं)तर्प्यणात्²²
अथोदकादिसर्गेण प्रतिपादितः अतोऽस्योचितया ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या²³ भुञ्जती
भोज-
70 यतः कृषतः कर्षयतः प्रविशतो वा न कैश्चिद्यापि²⁴ परिपत्यना कार्या
तथागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरस्मदंश्चैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेत्य विद्युक्नोला-
71 न्यनिस्त्वैश्वर्याणि त्रिणाश्रलम्नजलविन्दुचंचल²⁵ च जीवितमाकलय्य स्वदायनिर्व्वि-
शेषोयमस्मदायानुमन्तव्यः²⁶ प्रतिपालयितव्यश्च ॥ यथाज्ञानतिमिरपट-

¹ Read °गविदे.

² Read केसव° and °साहासाय°.

³ Read एवंचतुष्पञ्चरा°.

⁴ Read °वर्तिचतुर्विंशति.

⁵ Read °द्व्यको.

⁶ Read °दक्षायपराधः.

⁷ Read °नानिः.

⁸ Read °स्यन्तरसिद्धा.

⁹ Read नवतृतयत्यधिकेषु [or rather तिनवत्य° or तयोन्नवत्य°.—Ed.].

¹⁰ Read °नानिः.

¹¹ Read °तृणाप° and °विन्दु°.

¹² Read °तृणाप° and °विन्दु°.

¹³ Read तस्मिन्देवे.

¹⁴ Read °ब्रह्मणा.

¹⁵ Read °वर्तिचतुर्विंशति.

¹⁶ Read °वर्तिचतुर्विंशति.

¹⁷ Read °वर्तिचतुर्विंशति.

¹⁸ Read °वर्तिचतुर्विंशति.

¹⁹ Read °वर्तिचतुर्विंशति.

²⁰ Read °वर्तिचतुर्विंशति.

²¹ Read °वर्तिचतुर्विंशति.

²² Read °वर्तिचतुर्विंशति.

²³ Read °वर्तिचतुर्विंशति.

²⁴ Read °वर्तिचतुर्विंशति.

¹ Read वरस° and °ब्रह्म°.

² Read °वर्तिचतुर्विंशति.

³ Read °नानिः.

⁴ Read °वर्तिचतुर्विंशति.

⁵ Read °वर्तिचतुर्विंशति.

⁶ Read °वर्तिचतुर्विंशति.

⁷ Read °वर्तिचतुर्विंशति.

⁸ Read °वर्तिचतुर्विंशति.

⁹ Read °वर्तिचतुर्विंशति.

¹⁰ Read °वर्तिचतुर्विंशति.

¹¹ Read °वर्तिचतुर्विंशति.

¹² Read °वर्तिचतुर्विंशति.

- 72 साहसमतिराच्छिद्यमानक¹ चानुमोदेत स पंचभिर्महापातकैस्त्रोपपातकैश्च²
सयुक्त³ स्यादित्युक्त⁴ च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टि⁵ वर्षसहस्रा-
73 णि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेता(त्ता) चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकै
वसेत् [2*] विन्ध्याटवोच्चतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1*] क्षणसर्पा हि
जायन्ते भूमिदानं हरन्ति
74 येत्⁶ [५५*] अग्नेरपत्य⁷ प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्वैशावी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः [1*]
लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्दि दत्तं यः काचन⁸ गां च महीं च दद्यात्
[५६*] बहुभिर्व्यसुधा⁹ भुक्ता
75 राजभिस्त्रगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं
[५७*] स्वदत्ताभ्यरदत्तां वा यद्वाद्रक्ष नराधिप [1*] महीं महिमतां¹⁰
श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छेयोनुपालनं¹¹ [५८*]
76 इति कमलदलाब्जविन्दुलोलां¹² त्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च [1*] अति-
विमलमनीभिरात्मनीकं¹³ हि ¹⁴पुरुषः/परिकीर्तयो विद्याः¹⁵ [५९*]
लिखितं चैत¹⁶ धर्माधि-
77 करस्सेनभोगिकेन¹⁷ बालभकायस्ववंशजातेन । श्रीमदभोधवर्षदेवकमलानुजीविना¹⁸
गुणधवलेन वक्षराजसूनुना ॥ महत्तको
78 गोगूराणक¹⁹ राजास्त्रमुखादेशेन²⁰ दूतकमिति²¹ ॥ मंगल महन्त्री²² ॥ ॐ ॥

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1). May He (Vishnu) whose navel-lotus was adopted by Brahman as his abode, and Hara, too, whose head is adorned by the beautiful digit of the moon, protect you !

(V. 2). May that Vira-Nārāyaṇa himself protect you here, who is all-pervading, who rests on the hood of (the serpent) Ananta, who is the rising mountain of valour, character, and greatness, and who is the progenitor of the lofty line of the good Rāshṭrakūṭas. May that Vira-Nārāyaṇa (Amoghavarsha) himself protect you here, who is powerful, who lives in endless enjoyments, who is the rising mountain of valour, character, and greatness, and the ancestor of whose lofty line was the good Rāshṭrakūṭa.

(V. 3). In the line of Yadus, long extending through his prowess, in course of time, came to be, like a heap of jewels in the sea, prince Gōvinda, ornament of the earth, and son of Prichchhakarāja.

¹ Read °मतिराच्छिद्यादाच्छिद्य.² Read °पातकैश्च°.³ Read °संयुक्तः.⁴ Read स्यादिति । उक्तं.⁵ Read षष्टिं.⁶ Read ये.⁷ Read रपत्यं.⁸ Read काचनं.⁹ Read वसु°.¹⁰ Read महीमतां.¹¹ Read °क्षेयो°.¹² Read °दशानुविन्दु°.¹³ Read °रात्मनीनेन°.¹⁴ Read पुरुषै°/पर° [Note the cross-mark above इ. The letter व is engraved below the line.—Ed.]¹⁵ Read विद्योप्याः.¹⁶ Read चैतद्.¹⁷ Read धर्माधिकारविद्य.¹⁸ Read °देवकमला°.¹⁹ Read °राजकी°.²⁰ Read °राजस°.²¹ Read दूतक इति²² Read मङ्गलं महन्त्रीः.

(Vs. 4-6). Then came lord **Karkarāt**, who bore an expansive chest with the rays of the Kaustubha jewel throbbing like Mēru which bears golden slope spread all over with lustre emitting from the morning sun; full of fear for whom were constantly the minds of the enemies, proclaimers of whose fame were (their) words, bent at whose feet were (their) heads, and lost in whose lustre was (their) glory; by whom possessing the power of Pṛithu the *mahī* (the dominions, the earth) was widened, the *bhūbhṛits* (the kings, the mountains) were pushed back by the bow, and by whom of great *ōjas* (might, splendour) and of *pratāpa* (valour, scorching heat) was dispelled the darkness, namely, the enemies.

(V. 7). Then (came) **Indrarāja**, who in the (marriage) hall, namely, **Khētaka**, seized in battle the daughter of the **Chalukya** king by the *rākshasa* (form of) marriage.

(V. 8). Then flourished on the earth king **Dantidurga**, the chief of his family, who smote hosts of elephants and humbled the circle of proud kings from the Himālayas down to the limit of the Sētu.

(V. 9). By whom kings such as the **Gurjara** lord and others were made door-keepers when in **Ujjayinī** the (Great Gift called) *Hiraṇya-garbha* was completed by the Kshatriyas.¹

(V. 10). Then in the battle field which proved a (place) of choice marriage, **Subhatuṅga-Vallabha** listlessly and forcibly wrested away the Fortune of the **Chālukya** family, bearing the garland, namely, the waving *Pālidhvajas*.²

(V. 11). Though elevated by means of incontestable throne and *chowries*, possessed of a white umbrella and enjoying a kingdom without any rival, **Akālavarsha**, who destroyed kings and chieftains, was a royal sage, a doer of unending holy acts.

(V. 12). Then **Prabhūtavarsha** became (king), and thereafter **Dhārāvarsha**, by which king was rained down, as it were, a shower with arrows on the battle field.

(V. 13). That (low) deep sound of whose drum is, as it were, the satiated Death belching out, (who is) intoxicated with potations of tasteful liquor, namely, the slightly warm blood from the enemies' heads cut off by his sword in battles and (who is) (now) with stomach filled to the throat.

(V. 14). Who seized the white umbrellas, the sporting lotuses of the *Lakshmi* (Goddess of Sovereignty), of the **Gauḍa** king, as he was fleeing between the Ganges and the Jumna.

(V. 15). Whose fame, white as the rays of the moon, having pervaded to the end of the earth on all sides, (and) having as it were uninterruptedly crossed to the other shore of the ocean in the shape of numbers of moving conches, hundreds of pearls, *śaphara* fish, and waves with manifold foam, reached heaven under the semblance of the necklaces and elephants of the gods, the heavenly river, and the *dhārtarāshṭra* (swan).

(V. 16). The son of **Nirupama**, devoted to *tri-varga* and diligent in duties, as soon as he was crowned, being desirous of openly re-instating all classes of his feudatories, with courtesies, in their respective positions, and intent upon releasing the imprisoned **Gaṅga** addressed the words: "Ye are (unto me) like (my) father," to the assemblage of councillors, while they were protecting the earth.

(V. 17). Quickly fighting in battle and capturing all his wicked vassals like great bulls, extremely uncontrollable and fierce, that had snapped (his noose) but had those of other lords cast over them, and releasing them when their spirit of defection ended, he, with his heart softened, harboured them as the ocean does the submarine fire. It was no perturbation to him. He again supported the kings (*bhūbhṛits*) that were his enemies (*vipakshas*) just as the ocean does the mountains (*bhūbhṛits*) deprived of their wings (*vipakshas*).

¹ For a description of the *Mahādāna* called *Hiraṇya-garbha*, see the *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa*, *Uttara-parvan*, chap. 176.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLV, p. 104.

(V. 18). By whom when the ungrateful Gaṅga was disaffected in consequence of fleeing away from the fine ordered by him, that villain, who had been freed from fetters on the feet, had (now) fetters put round his neck.

(V. 19). Who was the illustrious Māndhātṛi, another viceroy of the Creator, in as much as he with his lotus-like feet touched by the *makara*-shaped crowns of the lords of the earth, exerted himself to protect the earth, which had as the essence of (her) royalty the line of the **Rāshṭra-kūṭas**, which was charming in consequence of beautiful women, and towns and villages that were delightful, extensive and possessed of gardens, and which had for (her) girdle the ocean resounding clearly with (its) expansive waters.

(V. 20). Who, deafening the intervals between all the quarters with the noise of the deep-sounding drums, the sound of which was as loud as that of a new cloud, and with (his) *ḍhakkās*, *kāhalas*, and the loud *tūryas* sounding shrill, is death to the busy time of the enemies of **Tribhuvana-dhavaḷa**.

(V. 21). Who, moreover, being an unbearable store of lustre, was the Sun himself gone into the *Uttar-āyaṇa* (the north; the northern part of the elliptic), bringing his *pāḷa* (feet; rays) to stretch on the *mūrdhans* (heads; tops) of *bhūbhṛits* (kings; mountains), being of auspicious rise, covering the intervals between all the quarters with his lustre, getting at every step increase of *pratāpa* (valour; heat), having an *anurakta* (devoted; red) *maṇḍila* (feudatories; disc) and being *padmākar-ānandita* (gladdened by the hand of the goddess of sovereignty; gladdening the assemblage of lotuses).

(V. 22). Carrying away in battles the fair and unshakable fame of kings **Nāgabhaṭa** and **Chandragupta**, he, intent upon the acquisition of fame, uprooted, like *śālī* corn, other kings, in their own dominions, who had become destitute of all fortitude, and afterwards re-instated them in their own places.

(V. 23). The water of the springs of the Himālaya mountains was drunk by whose horses and plunged into by whose elephants, the thunder was redoubled in (its) caverns by the *tūrya* musical instruments of (whose) ablutions, (and) to whom, the great one, those (kings) **Dharma** and **Chakrāyudha** surrendered of themselves. He thus bore resemblance to the fame of Himālaya, and was consequently **Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa**.

(V. 24). Who returned from there, (thinking) that it was now the work of the ministerial servants, and following again the bank of the Narmadā as if (following his own) prowess, and acquiring the **Mālava** country along with the **Kōsala**, the **Kaliṅga**, the **Vaṅga**,¹ the **Dāhala**, and the **Ōḍraka**, that **Vikrama** himself made his servants enjoy them.

(V. 25). Making (his) enemies submissive, he returned to the remaining (part of the) **Rāvā**, and established himself in a capital befitting (him), at the foot of the Vindhya, performing pious deeds by constructing temples, which are stores of spiritual merit.

(V. 26). While the Mahārāja **Śarva**, lord of a small kingdom, was his own, a son was born to him who was to be Mahārāja-Śarva, lord of the earth.

(V. 27). At the time of whose birth it was foretold by astrologers that "being irresistible he would enjoy the earth bounded by the Himālayas and the Sētu, and girdled by the ocean;

(V. 28). "Of the warriors, (his) enemies, those that were bound down in battle by Amoghavarsha would be released, but, if disaffected, there would be release from fetters only by being reduced to ashes."

(V. 29). Then he was **Prabhūtavarsha**, as he satisfied the desires of those that were his own. He was **Jgaattuṅga**, being at the head of *bhūbhṛits* (kings), just as Mēru is *jagattuṅga* (lofty on earth) being at the head of *bhūbhṛits* (mountains).

¹ [I would put *Vēgi* (or *Vēṅgi*) instead. See f. n. 29 on p. 245 above.-- Ed.]

(V. 30). He (then) stood up to destroy the haughtiness of the **Dravila** kings, who were sleepless, anxious, and with minds distracted through deliberations.

(V. 31). By whose mere setting out, the clear undivided earth shakes, being shabbily covered by the instruments of his valour. **Lakshmi** too moves away, displeased, from the breasts of the enemies who hate him intensely, like a creeper pulled out by the wind. It is not the dust that has flown away to the quarters, but the loom that extended the fame of his enemies.

(V. 32). He terrified the **Kēraḷa**, **Pāṇḍya** and **Chaulika** kings, caused the sprouting **Pallava** to wither, was the afflictor who caused the **Kaliṅga** and the **Magadha** to sit and fast themselves to death,¹ was destruction to the valour of the head of the thundering **Gurjjaras** (and thus) behaved (like **Rāma**), enemy of **Laṅkā**;² (and as he) got its unimpeachable orders carried out assiduously, he was **Vikrama** of laudable valour.

(V. 33). The **Gaṅgas**, who became disaffected through baseness, were bound down with fetters and met with death. The lords of *maṇḍalas*, who were friendly, made his camp ground along with the enclosure,³ free of dust by wage, but the lord of **Vēṅgi** and others by unpaid labour.

(V. 34). By whom having forcibly by (his chastising) rod controlled, like dumb and deaf persons, the king and the prime-minister, ruined through laziness in working for their good, (and) having brought to **Hālāpura** from **Laṅkā** two statues of its lord, these, having afterwards proceeded to **Kāñchi**, were established there in the temple of **Śiva** like two columns of fame.

(V. 35). “(My) fame has occupied the three worlds, and my unique son is able to bear the burden of his world,”—so (thinking) he made his life fruitful through various religious acts. “For doing what should I stay in this (world)?”—so saying **Anupama** followed (his) fame, while going to the lofty palace, namely, heaven, to which spotless fame and holy merit formed the steps.

(V. 36). In order to protect the fame (along with the subjects) of the ancestors in his worthy family, and of his pleasing relatives, who were the Vallabhas of the peoples, and who were now living in the form of (their) good fame which filled up the world, and in order (thus) to destroy the sinfulness of **Kali**, there rules the prosperous **Amōghavarsha**, sitting on the lion-throne, the exterminator of enemies, whose deeds are praised by the wise.

(V. 37). In front of the palace of whom, the destroyer of the impurity of **Kali**, (as in front of that) of **Indra**, sounds incessantly the deep rumbling sound of loud-sounding *dhakka* and other (instruments), soaring high with the import: “there is no other lord of the earth like this one, able to protect the humble, to conquer enemies at the front of the battle, to make gifts to supplicants, and maintain the truthfulness of custom.”

(V. 38). Seeing that new kingdom which consisted of sixteen principalities but (seeing also) the king, the might of whose righteousness was profuse and ennobling, the crooked, deceitful **Kali**, distressed that it was the beginning of the **Kṛita** Age, fleeing and penetrating into the interior, distracted the feudatories, the ministers, and his relatives, who were made his own.

(V. 39). Giving deceitful counsel through false oaths, they were independent of (their) lord. Of their own accord killing the appointed officers who were worthy, all seized for themselves. ‘Another’s wife is a daughter or sister,’—such distinction there was none, as among the beasts. The **Kali** Age becoming thus supreme, good behaviour became extinct through sinful living.

(V. 40). When, withdrawing (his) expanse of lustre from the sky, the great (sun) sets, the disc of the moon and the stars shine out, attaining to the glory of a rise. When a *sa-pratāpa*

¹ The word *prāyśchitta* I take in the sense of *prāy-śchitta*. *Prāya* signifies ‘seeking death by fasting, fasting, sitting down and abstaining from food with some object in view (generally with words like *ās upaviśi* etc.)’—*Apte’s Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.

² *Lakṣhṇaganti* I take in the sense of *Lakṣh-Śrīmad-Śharati*, behaves himself like (**Rāma**), the enemy of **Laṅkā**.

³ For the words *śālyāli* and *parivṛiti* see *Above*, Vol. VI, p. 250 and n. 5.

(possessed of heat ; possessed of valour) (temporarily) ceases to be, for that length of time only do the *vijihmas* (the dismal ones ; the crooked ones) rise.

(V. 41). Following *guru* and *budha* (the two planets of those names ; elders and wise men), the lord, the sun of the **Raṭṭas**, taking, again, his rise through the greatness of the rising mountain, namely, **Ārya Pātālamalla**, and overpowering the unruly circle of *tējasvins* (luminaries ; men of fiery spirit), again, purifies the world alone.

(V. 42). The soul is the king ; the mind is his minister ; the group of senses is again that circle of feudatories according to the political science ; and speech, &c., are the servants conforming to the prescribed rules. Presiding over his place, namely, the body, he (the soul) is able to enjoy, independently, his own *vishaya* (kingdom ; worldly objects). When that enjoyer is subject to *samnipāta* (a kind of fever, collision), they all perish.

(V. 43). Who, having, with rage, destroyed the sedition-mongers that were so by regular succession from their own ancestors as does a medicine diseases, wind clouds, fire dry fuel, and the sun darkness, (and) having (thus) destroyed by fame as by moon-light the darkness of Kali from both the beginning and extremity of the earth, he shone by the beauty of the royal parasol, white like the moon.

(V. 44). From the *maṇḍala* (feudatories) struck by whose *daṇḍa* (chastising rod) pearls came to his palace like fruit from a tree (struck by a stick), (and) to his palace came a host of elephants, like a herd of boars, from the forest, with *maṇḍala* (temples) struck by *daṇḍa* (stick). With the bodies consumed by the fierce fire of whose anger the enemies were reduced to ashes ; (as) others, with bodies favoured on account of their falling at his feet, attained to prosperity.

(V. 45). Whose order the alien kings incessantly place on their head as a chaplet. Whose expanse of fame is the white veil on the row of the temples of the elephants of the quarters. Far off from whom stands the greatness of the *pratāpa* (valour ; heat) of his *karas* (hands, rays), though it is in him ? Overpowering all the *bhūbhṛits* (kings ; mountains) with his *tējas* (prowess, heat) over whom is he not a very *ina* (king ; Sun) ?

(V. 46). At whose gate the lords of the hostile territories are put to trouble by relays of door-keepers, being made to sit outside, while waiting for the proper time of (his) assembly-hall, and where, when they perceive that they will not obtain back their own bevy of courtezans and group of elephants, covered with choice gems and pearls, which have gone into his possession, they droop down.

(V. 47). That son of Jimūtakēṭha gave away his own body in order to protect a serpent ; Śibi, again, to a hawk to save a dove ; (and) Dadhīcha to (his) supplicator. But they, we are told, gratified each a single individual, (whereas) the illustrious Vīra-Nārāyaṇa presented his left finger to Mahā-Lakshmī for the pacification of a calamity to the (whole) people.

(V. 48). That donor, in the Kali Age, who was of the Gupta lineage, having killed (his) brother, we are told, seized (his) kingdom and queen, (and) thereafter the wretch caused her to write down one lac, one crore (in the document). But he, who gave away more than once his own kingdom, insignificant (to him), (saying) : ‘ of what account are the external objects ’, was bashful even when the fame (had spread) that the ornament of the exalted Rāshṭrakūṭas was the (real) donor.

(V. 49). While Amōghavarsha, whose cluster of powerful enemies are bitten by the fangs of the terrible jaw of the snake, namely, the sword in his hand, is the ruler of the earth, no (adverse) times characterised by calamities to husbandry, plagues and famines can set their foot in the Hēmana, Siśira, Vasanta, Grishma, Varshā and Śarat seasons.

(V. 50). When the (earth), as far as the coast of the four oceans, bearing his seal, was subdued, the seals of all kings were broken by the **Garuḍa seal**.

(V. 51). Those kings are, indeed, worthy of respect who were of the past and whose charity is to be maintained by us and others. The (kings of the) present were wicked and had been destroyed. Those who are to be besought for (the maintenance of) our charity are kings of the future.

(V. 52). What consideration can there be for that unstable kingdom which is enjoyed by some through valour, passed over by some to others, and given up again by some others? By the great a charity alone should be maintained for fame.

(V. 53). Considering that this life is unsubstantial and as fickle as a breeze or flash of lightning and that a grant of land is a supreme religious merit, he has promoted this gift to Brāhmaṇas.

Ll. 57 ff. And he, the P.M.P. Śrī-Prithvī-vallabha, **Śrī-Amōghavarsha**, Śrī-Vallabhanārēndradēva, who meditates on the feet of the P.M.P. **Śrī-Jagattuṅgadēva**—being well, commands the officials such as the lords of the provinces (*rāshṭra*), the lords of the districts (*viśaya*), the heads of the villages (*grāma-kūṭa*), the accountants (*Yuktaka*),¹ the deputy-accountants (*Niyuktaka*), the leading persons, and others,—all according as they are concerned.

“Be it known to you that by me, while residing at the capital of **Mānyakhṣṭa**,—for the enhancement of religious merit and fame, in this world and the next, of my parents and myself—has been granted to four Brāhmaṇas of the Bahvṛcha *śākhā*, namely, (1) Narasiṃha-Dikshita, son of Gōla-Shaḍaṃgavid,² grandson of Śāvikūvāra-Kramavid,³ a religious student of the Bhāradvāja (*gōtra*) consisting of (the *pravaras*) Bharadvāja, Agnivēśya, Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, (originally) come from **Karahaḍa**; (2) Rakshāditya-Kramavid, son of Gōvinda-Bhaṭṭa, grandson of Bhaṭṭa, of the same *gōtra* and come from the same province; (3) Trivikrama-Shaḍaṃgavid, son of Viṣṇu-Bhaṭṭa, grandson of Dāvaḍi-Gahiyasahāsa,⁴ a religious student of the Vaḍḍamukha (*gōtra*) (residing) in the same country; (4) Kēśava-Gahiyasahāsa, son of Gōvāditya-Bhaṭṭa, grandson of Hari-Bhaṭṭa, a religious student of the Vatsa (*gōtra*), (residing) in the same country;—the village called **Jharivallikā** from the Twenty-four-village Group adjoining to **Sarhajāna**. Its boundaries (are): to the east, the river **Kalluvī**, flowing towards the sea, to the south the village of the Bhaṭṭas called **Uppalahatthaka**, to the west **Nandagrāma** (and) to the north the village of **Dhannavallikā**.

That (village), so marked by the four boundaries, together with the royal share,⁵ with the appurtenances, with (the proceeds of the punishments for) faults and the ten offences, with the (right) of toll upon the appearance of a spirit,⁶ with (the right to) forced labour as it arises, and with the assessment in grain and gold, not to be entered on by the Chāṭas or Bhaṭas,⁷ and not to be seized by the hand of any (officials) belonging to the king, to be enjoyed lineally in regular

¹ D. R. Bhandarkar's *Aśoka*, pp. 53-4.

² *Above*, Vol. VI, p. 241, n. 3.

³ *Kramavid* probably signifies “one conversant with the *Krama* arrangement of the Vedic text.”

⁴ Gahiyasahāsa corresponds to the modern Ghaisās, a surname at present found among the Dēśastha, Chit-pāvan and Karhāḍa Brāhmaṇas of the Mahārāshṭra.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 189, n. 39.

⁶ When any spirit manifests itself at any particular place, many people come there to propitiate it, and the place thus becomes a source of income (Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, p. 242).

⁷ The meaning of these words is unknown. I have therefore left them untranslated. They have generally been taken to signify “regular or irregular troops,” but this is a mistake. For another meaning of *chāṭa*, see *Above*, Vol. IX, p. 284, n. 10. The correct sense, however, appears to be that deducible from the quotations which Professors K. B. Pathak and H. M. Bhadkamkar have cited from Saṃkara's gloss on the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka-ōpinishad* (*Ibid.*, pp. 296-7) and the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* (*Above*, Vol. XI, p. 176 and n.1) respectively. See also J. Ph. Vogel's *Antiquities of Chamṛā State*, Pt. I, pp. 130-2.

succession of sons, grandsons, etc., to endure for the same time with the sun, the moon, the sea, the earth, the river and the mountains, to the exclusion of previously given grants to Brāhmaṇas and gods, and according to the custom of cultivable and uncultivable land¹ for the purpose of internal adjudication² was bestowed to-day on the great festive occasion of the **Uttarāyaṇa** in the **month of Pausa** falling in the (current) **Nandana-Cyclic year, seven centuries of years increased by ninety-three having elapsed since the time of Śaka king**, for the sake of *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and *atithisantarpaṇa*, by pouring water and so forth (from the hand). No hindrance should in the slightest degree be caused by any one to one enjoying (this village), allowing (others) to enjoy (it), cultivating it, causing (it) to be cultivated, or occupying (it) in accordance with the manner of a gift to a Brāhmaṇa. Likewise, this, my gift (to Brāhmaṇas) should be assented to and supported, just as if it were their own gift, by the good kings of the future, whether my descendants or others, bearing in mind that the fruit of a gift is common (both to the grantor and to the preserver), and considering that ephemeral wealth is as fickle as the flashes of lightning and life as unsteady as the drops of water clinging to the ends of grass. And he who, with his intellect, enclosed by the cover, namely, darkness of ignorance, will assent to (the actions of) one ready to confiscate (this grant of land), will be invested with the (guilt of the) five great sins and minor sins. (For) it is also said by the divine Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vedas—[Vv. 54-59 are the benedictory and imprecatory verses with which a charter usually ends.] This has been written by the judge and *Sēnabhōgika*, **Guṇadhavala**, son of Vatsarāja, who is born in the **Kāyastha** family of **Vālabha** and serves the lotus (feet) of the prosperous Amōghavarshadēva. The *Mahattaka* Gōgū-Rāṇaka was the *Dūtaka* through the king's own verbal order.

NO. 27.—KOPPARAM PLATES OF PULAKESIN II.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D. ; HALLE (SAALE).

Impressions of these **copper-plates** were sent to me by Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri, who had received them from the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao, M.A., Telugu Encyclopædia Office, Egmore, Madras. The plates had been found near **Kopparam** in the Narasaraopet Tāluk of the Guṇṭūr District. For a description of them, and for remarks on their alphabet and language, see Mr. Lakshmana Rao's valuable article in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. IV, p. 43 ff.³ I now re-edit the inscription because I believe that I am able to improve a few of his readings and renderings. The composer of the text knew so little Sanskrit that in some places it is difficult to divine what he really wanted to express.

The inscription records a grant made by the *Mahārāja* **Satyāśraya Pulakēśi-Prithivivallabha**⁴ (line 6 f.), the "dear grandson" (l. 5) of the *Mahārāja* **Kirtivarma-Prithivivallabha** of the **Chalukya** family (l. 4). As stated by Mr. Lakshmana Rao (*loc. cit.*, p. 43), *prīya-pautra* must be a stupid error for *prīya-putra*, "the dear son." For we know from trustworthy documents that **Pulakēśin II** was not the grandson, but the son of **Kirtivarman I**.

The donee was a Brāhmaṇa of the *Śāṇḍilyāyana-gētra* and the *Āpastamba-sūtra*, who resided at **Mūgamūr** (l. 10). The grant consisted of a field of eight hundred (*nivartanas* of land) in the village of **Irbuli** in (the district of) **Karma-rāshṭra** (l. 11). The field lay to the south of

¹ For the expression *bhūmi-ckchhidra-nyāyēna*, see *Ind. Ant.*, 1922, pp. 77-9.

² *Siddhi* = "decision, adjudication, determination (of a lawsuit)"—Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.

³ See also *Madras Epigraphical Report*, for 1923, App. A, No. 14.

⁴ In this compound the shortening of the final *i* of *prithivī* is permitted by Pāṇini, VI, 3, 63; cf. compounds like *Hārīti-putra* (line 1 of this inscription), *Kāhdāca*, etc.

Koṇḍav[e]rupūr and to the north of Virpaṇu (l. 12). For Karma-rāshṭra, see above, Vol. XV, p. 250. Mr. Lakshmana Rao (*loc. cit.*, p. 49) identifies Koṇḍav[e]rupūr with Koṇḍaviḍu, and Virpaṇu with Vipparla, both in the Narasaraopet Tāluk of the Guṇṭūr District, and Mūgamūr with Mūṅgamūr in the Kandukūr Tāluk of the Nellore District.

In line 10 we are introduced to a great warrior named **Prithividuvarāja** whom Mr. Lakshmana Rao (*loc. cit.*, p. 46 f.) identifies with Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman of the Goṣ plates of Śaka 532.¹ I venture to propose another identification. If we connect the participle *sa[m*]pradatta* (l. 8) with *ājñaptiḥ* (l. 14) and with its Prākṛit form *āṇatti*² (l. 10), we are driven to consider the words *-rājyasya Prithividuvarājam=āṇatti* (l. 9 f.) a mistake—which would not be without parallels in this incorrect text—for *-rājyasya Prithividuvarājasya=ājñaptiḥ*. Now, *duvarāja* is a Draviḍian *tadbhava* of *yuvarāja*.³ If we contrast the title *Prithiviyuvarāja*, “the heir-apparent of the earth,” with *Prithivivallabha*, “the husband of the earth,” which was the title of Kirtivarman I and Pulakēśin II; and as it is stated in line 9 f. that *Prithiviyuvarāja* had “secured the kingdom to the lineage of his son,” it seems that *Prithiviyuvarāja* can be safely identified with **Vishṇuvardhana I**, the younger brother of Pulakēśin II and the founder of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty. It follows further that **Vishṇuvardhana I** continued to be dependent on Pulakēśin II in the twenty-first year of the latter’s reign (text line 13). From the Sātāra plates we already knew that he held the office of *Yuvarāja* in the eighth year (of Pulakēśin II).⁴ In a grant of A.D. 632, which was the 18th year of his own reign,⁵ and in the Timmapuram plates,⁶ **Vishṇuvardhana I** already bears the title of *Mahārāja*.

The words *Vallabha-sama[kṣh]-āvasthitē* (l. 8) may have to be corrected into *Vallabhē samakṣh-āvasthitē*, “Vallabha (i.e. Pulakēśin II) being present in person.” The mysterious words *marṇta Kali-kulanām . . . sva-bāhunā* (l. 8 f.) may be compared with *Kaliyuga-khalanirmathanai[h*]* . . . *charitaiḥ* in the Sātāra plates of **Vishṇuvardhana I**,⁷ and may be corrected accordingly into *mathā Kali-khalānām . . . sva-bāhunā*, “by his arm . . . (which was) a churning-stick of the wicked (people) of the Kali (age).” The compound at the beginning of line 9, which Mr. Lakshmana Rao (*loc. cit.*, p. 53) refers to *Prithiviyuvarāja* himself, has to be connected likewise with *sva-bāhunā*, and has to be corrected into *nishkṛishṭa-maṇḍalāgra-sanāthēna*, “wielding the drawn sword.”

Line 13 contains the date of the grant: **the year twenty-one of the reign** (of Pulakēśin II), **the month of Kārttika**, **the great ninth (tithi)**, **a Thursday**. For authoritative remarks on this date I refer the reader to the **Postscript** on pages 260-61 below, which has been kindly contributed by Mr. R. Sewell.

TEXT.⁸

First Plate.

- 1 Svasti [||*] Śrīmatām sakala-bhu[va*]na-saṁstūyamāna⁹-Mānavya-sagōtrāṇā[m*]
Hārītiputrāṇā[m*] sapta-lōka-māṭṛibhiḥ[*] Sapta-Mā-

¹ *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. X, p. 365 f.

² See e.g. above, Vol. VIII, p. 146, note 8, and Vol. XVIII, p. 7.

³ See above, Vol. IV, p. 180, note 5.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 304.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 16.

⁶ Above, Vol. IX, p. 317.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 309, text line 5 f.

⁸ From ink-impressions supplied by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, B.A.

⁹ The *s* of *stā* is corrected by the engraver from *u*.

i.

2
4

ii.

6
8

iiib.

10
12

iii.

14
16

- 2 **tribhi[ḥ*]** [sa]myag=abhivarddhitanā[m*] **Kārtikēya-paripālan-ādhigata-kalyāṇa-**
paramparāṇā[m*] bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasā-
 3 da-sā(sa)māsāda(di)ta-varāha-lāñchhan-ekshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśikṛit-āsēsha - mahābhṛitām=anēk-
 āśvamēdh-āvabhṛita(tha)-snā-
 4 na-pavitrikṛita-vapushā[m*] **Chalukyānā[m*]** kulam=abhyalamkarishṇo[ḥ*] prathita-
 kīrttē[ḥ*]¹ śrī-**Kīrttivarmma-Pṛithivivallabha-ma[hārā-]**

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 5 **jasya** priya-pau(pu)tra[ḥ*] praṇat-ānēka-mahīpati-makuṭa-taṭa-vilagna-maṇi-makarikā-
 ghṛishṭa-pād-āravinda-dvaya-
 6 sya pratigat-ārāti-chakra-vidhva[m*]sana-vivi(dhi)-viśāradasya dēva-dviya-guru-vṛiddh-
 āpachāya(yi)na[ḥ*] pit=aiva² śūra[ḥ*] **Sa-**
 7 **tyāśraya**=pratihat-ājña[ḥ*]³ śrī-**Pulakēśi-Pri(Pṛi)thivivallabha-mahārāja(jō)**
 yathāruha⁴ sanmā(mmā)nayati [||*] Viditi(ta)-
 8 m=astu **Vallabha(bhē)** sama[ksh]-āvasti(sthi)tē vidhivi(va)t=sa[m*]pradattā marnta⁵
Kali-kulanām=anēka-saṁgrāma-sāhasa-dakshēṇa

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 9 **nikṛi(shkṛi)shṭa-maṇḍalāgrā(gra)-sanāthēna** sva-bāhunā vipaksha-maṇḍala[m*] nirjitya
 sva-sut-ānvayē pratishṭā(shṭhā)pita-rā-
 10 jyasya **Pri(Pṛi)thividu(yu)varājam**=āṇatti⁷ [||*] **Mūgamūr-vv[ā*]stavyā[ya]**⁸
 Chhā(Śā)ṇḍilyāyana-gōtrasya Āpasta[m̐ba]-
 11 sūtrasya viprasya ⁹Vēdaśarmmaṇa[ḥ*] **Karmma-rāshṭrē** Irbuli-grāmē asṭha-satam¹⁰
 kshētram dataṁ(ttam) Balāka-ba(pa)lva-
 12 lā[t*] pūrvvata[ḥ*] Karmmakāra-tatākā[t*] paśchimata[ḥ*] **Koṇḍav[e]**¹¹**rupū[r]-**
 pathā[d=*] dakshināta[ḥ*] **Virpaṇu-pathā**¹² uttarata[ḥ*]

Third Plate.

- 13 **pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-sa[m*]vatsarē** **ēkavi[m*]śati**¹³ **Kārttika-māsē**
mah[ā-navamyār]¹⁴ **Bṛi[ha*]spati-vārē** pra-
 14 śastē muhūrttē=syā datti(ttē)r=ājñapti[ḥ ||*] Bhūmi-dānāt¹⁵ tpa(pa)ran=dā[na*]n=na
 bhūta[m*] na bha[vi*]shyati [||*] tasy=aiva haraṇ[āt=pā]-
 15 pan=na bhūta[m*] na bhavishyati [|| 1*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā bahubhiś=ch=
 ānupālītā [||*] yasya-yasya yadā bhūmi[s=*]tasya-

¹ An i is also affixed to the tt of ttē.² Read *Satgāśrayō=pratihat-ājñāh*.³ Read *Kali-khalānām*.⁴ Either read *-vrāstavyasya*, or replace the four genitives following it by datives.⁵ [The name seems to be Aṣṭa. The symbol for ē in l. 13 below would suggest that the first letter is a and the second letter seems to be ṭa.—Ed.]¹⁰ The ta of -satam is entered below the line. Two crosses (kākapada) above the line mark the place where it has to be inserted. Mr. Lakshmana Rao (*loc. cit.*, p. 44 f.) mistook them for numerical symbols. [The original seems to read *sat*.—Ed.]¹¹ [The letter looks more like che.—Ed.] ¹² Read *-pathād=uttaratah*.¹³ The tops of the bracketed letters are broken away, but the reading is certain.¹⁴ There is a vacant space after this word.¹⁵ Read *ēkaviśati*.

16 tasya tadā phala[m || 2*] [Sva-da]t[t]ā[m*] para-dat[t]ā[m*] vā yatnād-raksha
Yudhishtira [i*] mahī[m*] mahi(hī)bhujā[m*] śrēsh[ṭha dānā]te¹

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-6) Hail! The dear grandson (*read* : son) of the glorious **Kirtivarma-Prithivi-vallabha-Mahārāja** who adorned the family of the glorious **Chalukyas**, etc. ; whose fame was (widely) spread ; whose pair of lotus-feet was rubbed by the *makara* ornaments² of jewels attached to the slopes of the diadems of many prostrate princes ; who was proficient in achieving the destruction of the circle of opposing enemies ; (and) who honoured the gods, the twice-born, the *Gurus*, and the aged ;

(L. 6 f.) the glorious **Pulakēśi-Prithivivallabha-Mahārāja** (who), like (his) father, (is) a hero, the abode of truth (**Satyāśraya**)³ whose commands are unopposed, suitably honours (the officials of this district and informs them as follows) :

(Ll. 7-10) " Be it known (to you that), **Vallabha** being present in person, the execution (of the present grant) was formally bestowed on **Prithividuvarāja** (*i.e.* **Prithiviyuvarāja**) who, having defeated the circle of enemies by his arm (which was) a churning-stick of the wicked people) of the **Kali** (age), which was skilled in daring (deeds) in many battles, (and) which was wielding the drawn sword, has secured the kingdom to the lineage of his son."

(Ll. 10-12) " To the **Brāhmaṇa** **‘Vēdaśarman** who resides at **Mūgamūr**, belongs to the **Śāṇḍilyāyana-gōtra**, (and) follows the **Āpastamba-sūtra**, a field of eight hundred (*nivartanas*) in the village of **Irbuli** in (the district of) **Karma-rāshṭra** has been given. (This field lies) to the east of the **Balāka-palvala** (pond), to the west of the **Karmakāra-taṭāka** (tank), to the south of the road to **Koṇḍav[e]rupūr**,⁵ (and) to the north of the road to **Virparū**."

(L. 13 f.) " In the year twenty-one of the reign of increasing victory, in the month of **Kārttika**, on the great ninth (*tithi*), on a **Thursday**, at an auspicious moment, the execution of this grant (was bestowed on **Prithiviyuvarāja**)."

[Ll. 14-16 contain three of the customary verses.]

POSTSCRIPT.

BY ROBERT SEWELL, I.C.S. (RETIRED).

At Dr. Hultzsch's request I have examined the date of the Chalukya inscription published on pp. 43 to 54 of Part I, Vol. VI of the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute* which is stated to belong to " the year twenty-one of increasing victory " of a Chalukya sovereign who is perhaps identical with **Pulakēśin II**.

The details of the given date are " Thursday the *mahānavamī* day in the month **Kārttika**." It is not stated whether this 9th day was in the light or dark fortnight, but in the absence of this information it is reasonable to assume that the 9th day of the month was meant, or more accurately the day on which at sunrise the 9th śukla *tithi* of **Kārttika** was current. If the inscription belongs to the reign of **Pulakēśin II** it must have been composed about A.D. 629 or 630, or thereabouts.

¹ Read *dānāḥ=chhṛēyō=nupālanaṃ* || ³

² According to Cowell and Thomas (Translation of the *Harshacharita*, p. 266), " the word *makarikā* appears to denote a *makara*-shaped forehead ornament."

³ This was the favourite surname of **Pulakēśin II**. See Fleet's *Dyn. of the Kan. Districts*, sec. ed., p. 351.

⁴ [See footnote 9 on the preceding page.—Ed.]

⁵ [See footnote 11 on the preceding page.—Ed.]

⁶ The bracketed words are supplied from lines 8 and 10.

Calculation for a date of that period must be made either by the mean-system computation of the *First Ārya-Siddhānta*, or of the *Brahma-Siddhānta*, which latter was compiled in A.D. 628.

By either of these the 9th śukla *tithi* of Kārttika fell in A.D. 628 on a Wednesday. In A.D. 629 it fell on Sunday by the *First Ārya-Siddhānta* and on Monday by the *Brahma-Siddhānta*. In A.D. 630 it fell on Saturday by both authorities. But in A.D. 631 it fell on **Thursday**, by both these *Siddhāntas*, and that Thursday corresponded to **October 10 A.D. 631**. This last satisfies the requirements of the case if, in the practice of those days, the 9th śukla *tithi* of Kārttika marked a *mahānavamī* day. I regret that I am unable to give an opinion on this point. The modern *mahānavamī* day is, I understand, the day corresponding to the 9th śukla *tithi* in the month Āsvina.

If the day in question was actually Thursday October 10 A.D. 631, it makes the king's accession to have taken place on or after October 11 A.D. 610, seeing that it belongs to his 21st regnal year.

As regards this date it must be noted that Fleet (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 23) stated that Pulakēśin II's accession must have taken place "early in Śaka 532 (A.D. 610-1)"; that R. G. Bhandarkar fixed it as in Śaka 533, i.e. A.D. 610 or 611, according as the Śaka year was treated as current or expired (*Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 38); and that Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil (*Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 111) gives it as in A.D. 609. Fleet's fixture slightly conflicts with the date October 11 A.D. 610, since the year Śaka 532 began on March 19 in that year.

R. SEWELL.¹

No. 28.—THE SO-CALLED TAKHT-I-BAHI INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 103.

By STEN KONOW.

The stone on which this inscription is incised measures 17" by 14½", and it is now in the Lahore Museum. There is some uncertainty about its provenance. Cunningham originally stated² that it had been discovered by Dr. Bellew at Shāhbāzgarhi. Similarly Mr. Hargreaves writes in a letter dated Simla $\frac{4\text{th}}{10\text{th}}$ December 1913: "In connection with the Gandhāra

sculptures I had occasion to look up references to the very well-known and frequently quoted Takht-i-Bāhi inscription, and to my surprise find that there is no absolute certainty it emanates from Takht-i-Bāhi at all, it may very well come from Shāhbāzgarhi."

Later on Cunningham speaks about the record as hailing from Takht-i-Bāhi, without mentioning his previous note on the subject, and since that time the epigraph has always been spoken of as the 'Takht-i-Bāhi' inscription.

Both places are situated in the same neighbourhood, Shāhbāzgarhi 6½ miles east and Takht-i-Bāhi about 8 miles north-west of Mardān in Yūsufzai.

According to the Editor of *Trübner's Record*, June 1873, Dr. Bellew had left the stone at Hoti Mardān "in Dr. Johnson's compound. Several years afterwards, in 1870, he authorised

¹ Readers will learn with sincere regret that this veteran scholar, to whom Indian History and Chronology are so heavily indebted, died in London on the 30th December 1925 in the eighty-first year of his age.--E. H.

² *Trübner's Record*, June 1873, reprinted *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, 1873, p. 242.

Dr. Leitner to take away anything he might have left at Hoti Mardān. Dr. Leitner, after personal inspection, got the stone carried down to Lahore by bullock-cart, and there got the inscription both lithographed and photographed. The discovery of the stone therefore belongs to Dr. Bellew, that of the inscription to Dr. Leitner."

A rubbing of the inscription was forwarded by Dr. Leitner to Professor Dowson, who gave a notice of it in *Trübner's Record* of June 1871. A second notice was published by Cunningham in the same *Record*, June 1873,¹ and a fuller account, with an excellent plate by Dowson,² who read the date portion and, in a second note,³ gave a new reproduction of the same. Then follow editions by Cunningham,⁴ Senart⁵ and Boyer.⁶ I now edit the epigraph from excellent estampages which I owe to the kindness of Professor Vogel, who had them prepared for me when he was Superintendent of the Punjab Circle of the Archæological Survey.

The inscription consists of six lines, and the average height of the letters is $1\frac{1}{4}$ ". In the first line there is an apparent gap after the seventh letter, but nothing has been omitted, the intervening space having been purposely left without any writing on account of the roughness of the stone. Similarly there is a vacant space in the middle of l. 5.

Cunningham remarks that "as the stone has been used for many years, perhaps for centuries, for the grinding of spices, all the middle part of the inscription has suffered and become indistinct, and some portions have been obliterated altogether." In such circumstances it is intelligible that the reading and interpretation is in some places beset with considerable difficulties.

The alphabet is Kharōṣṭhī of the Śaka variety. The letter *ya* has the relatively broad angle which we also find in the Pāja inscription of Sam 111, and the Mount Banj inscription of Sam 102. The continuation of the vertical of *sa* up towards the upper curvature, which is seen in both those records, is apparently not met with. We find the same occasional lengthening of the right top of *ma* as in Mount Banj. *Bu* has the older curvilinear and not the later angular shape. The curvature of the upper end of *da* towards the right is very insignificant. There is no dental *na*, and the cerebral *na* has the rounded top which we find in the Mount Banj and Kaldarra epigraphs and also in the Pātika plate. The shape of individual letters is not, however, quite consistent, and more especially the letter *ya* has several somewhat different forms, so that it is not quite certain whether it should not, in *puyae* ll. 5 and 6, be read as *puay*. Note also the curious flourish after the last letter of the inscription, which is certainly *e*. It is perhaps due to damage to the stone during the years when it was used for grinding spices.

With regard to individual letters we may note the *akshara* following after the break in l. 1, which I follow Professor Franke⁷ and M. Boyer in transliterating *f*. M. Senart⁵ transcribed it as *bh* and Professor Lüders⁸ as *ch*. I use *f* because this writing has the advantage of greater simplicity, and because the Latin form of the name in which the letter occurs has familiarized us with the *f*. But it is not my intention to convey the impression that the actual sound was necessarily the voiceless spirant *f*. *Gudufara*, the name in question, is not Indian but Persian, derived from an old *Vindafarna* "the winner of glory". The last part of the compound is derived from the Aryan base *svar*, and *sv* is usually represented by *uv* in Ancient

¹ Reprinted *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, 1873, p. 242.

² *J. R. A. S.*, New Series, Vol. VII, 1875, pp. 376 ff., with plate.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, 1877, pp. 144 ff.

⁴ *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. V, 1875, pp. 58 ff., with plate XVI, No. 3.

⁵ *Journ. Asiat.*, VIII, xv, 1899, pp. 114 ff., with plate.

⁶ *Ibid.*, X, iii, 1904, pp. 457 ff.

⁷ *Pāli und Sanskrit*. Strassburg, 1902, p. 111.

⁸ *Journ. Asiat.*, IX, xii, 1898, p. 206.

⁹ *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, pp. 655 ff.

Persian, *i.e.*, the result was probably a voiced sound. The Kharōshthī sign itself seems to be derived from *v* and not from *p*, by adding an upward stroke to the right. A similar stroke is found in the Kharōshthī documents discovered in Chinese Turkistan, where we sometimes find the letter which is usually transliterated *st* provided with a perpendicular, rising from the right end of the cross-bar. Cf. plate XCII in Sir Aurel Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, where Messrs. Boyer, Rapson and Senart read the *akshara* as *sth* in *sthishyadi*, l. 9. I am, therefore, inclined to think that *vh*, *i.e.*, an aspirated voiced spirant, was the sound meant, and it would probably be more correct to transliterate *vh*. I do not think, however, that we can be certain about the pronunciation, and, for practical reasons, I prefer to write *f*.

I may further draw attention to the compound letters *tśa* in *sambatsārae*, l. 2, and *rjh* in *erjhaṇa*, l. 5.

With regard to orthography and phonology we may note the change of intervocalic *j* to *y* in *maharayasa*, l. 1; *puyae*, ll. 5 and 6; the softening of intervocalic *t* to *d* in *madu*, l. 5; *pidu*, l. 6; the change of *v* to *b* after an *anusvāra* in *sambatsārae*, l. 2; of *ts* to *tś* in the same word; of *shy* to *ś* in *iśa*, l. 2, and of *śr* to *sh* in *shadhadaṇa*, l. 4. Such changes are, as is well known, of frequent occurrence in Indian Kharōshthī inscriptions.

In spite of all the care that has been bestowed on the reading and interpretation of the epigraph, several points are still far from being finally settled. Dr. Thomas has, therefore, rendered a real service to scholars in preparing the new facsimile plate published together with this article.

The first line can be read with perfect certainty and has never presented any serious difficulty. Dowson read the second *akshara* of the king's name *nu* instead of *du*, but a comparison with *du* in *madu* l. 5, *pidu*, l. 6, conclusively shows that the letter is *du*. The third *akshara* has usually been rendered as *pha*, but I have already given my reasons for transliterating *fa*. We must accordingly read: *maharayasa Gudufarasa vasha 20-4-1-1*, (during the reign) of the Mahārāja Gudufara, in the 26 year. *Vasha* is also used in the Kaldarra inscription of the year 113 and the Skārah Dheri epigraph of the year 399, while the Machai record of the year 81 has *rashē*, which is probably intended in the other dates as well. There is not, however, any trace of an *ē-mātrā*. No certain inference can be drawn from the use of *varsha* instead of *samvatsara* in these instances; the word may have been chosen in our record in order to distinguish between the two dates in ll. 1 and 2, or in order to indicate that the year used in the first one began with the rains.

Cunningham and Dowson identified Gudufara with the king Gondophares of Christian tradition, and this identification has been generally accepted and may be considered as certain. The date of l. 1 has, further, always been interpreted to mean that the inscription belongs to the 26th year of the reign of King Gudufara. Epigraphists will, however, agree with me that we are only informed that it was issued during Gudufara's reign, while the year can just as well be referred to some era which may have been introduced by some of Gudufara's predecessors. If we compare the dating of Brāhmī inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period, we might be inclined to think that the latter was the case. Cf. *e.g.* No. 149a of Professor Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*: *mahārājasya rājātīrājasya devaputrasya shāhēr=Vānīshkasya rājya-samvatsarē 24* and other similar records where *sam* is used instead of *rājya-samvatsarē*. Nobody would here think of the regnal year of the king mentioned in the inscriptions, but unhesitatingly refer the date to the Kanishka era. I shall state below why I think the same to be the case in our epigraph.

Then follows, in l. 2 and the beginning of l. 3, a new date.

The first word was read *sañ* . . . by Cunningham, and *sañvatsarasa* by Dowson. E. Thomas¹ demurred to Dowson's reading, but did not suggest any alternative. Messrs. Senart and Boyer read *sambadhaē* and explained this word as meaning "du comput continu", "in the continuous reckoning". There cannot, however, be any doubt that Dr. Thomas² was right in reading *sambatsaraē*. The traces of the letters visible in the impressions and the plates make this reading absolutely certain. Moreover, the use of *tś* for Sanskrit *ts* in this very word seems to be quite regular in Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions. Thus we find *sañvatsarayē* in the Taxila copper-plate of the year 78, in the Mount Banj inscription of the year 102 and in the Pāja record of the year 111. Similarly *sañvatsarē* is the usual form in the Kharōṣṭhī documents from Eastern Turkistan.³ In the Suē Vihār plate we have *sañvatsarē*, but the upper part of the compound is misshaped, wherefore Professor Franke⁴ reads *sañvachśure* and Mr. Majumdar⁵ *sañvachchharē*. The Hidda epigraph of the year 28 and the Āra inscription of the year 41, finally, have *sambatsaraē*.

The writing *tś* is no doubt meant to render the current pronunciation of the compound *ts*. The usual Prakrit representative of ancient *ts* is *chchh*, which only differs from *tś* in being aspirated. It is probable that the form *tś* is due to the linguistic tendency of the north-western dialect which the Indo-Skythians adopted.

The same compound occurs in the Kharōṣṭhī manuscript of the *Dhammapada*, where M. Senart reads it *is*, in *ahitsai*, A¹ 8; *bhamētsu*, B 34; *bhētsīdi* Cvo 3 and *matśaṇa* Cxviii vo 2. The two last words correspond to Sanskrit *bhētsyati* and *matsyānām*, respectively, where *tś* has a similar origin as in *sañvatsara*. In *ahitsai* and *bhamētsu* a *t* seems to have been inserted between a nasal and *s* with a consequent change of *s* to *ś*. There is nowhere any trace of the aspiration which comes in in the common Prakrit form.

There are indications which seem to show that the absence of aspiration in similar compounds is an old feature of north-western vernaculars. For we find *pacha* for *paścha* in the Shāhbāzgarhī version of the Aśoka inscriptions. On the other hand, *pācho*, afterwards, in Ancient Khotanī might lead us to the conclusion that we are faced with a phonetic tendency in the home-tongue of the Indo-Skythians.

The change of *v* to *b* in *sambatsaraē* is perhaps to be explained as a result of the influence of the Indo-Skythian substratum. For not only do we find *b* for *v* after an *anusvāra* in the Kharōṣṭhī manuscript of the *Dhammapada*, where *api* and *ivu* become *vi* and *vu*, respectively, after vowels, but *bi* and *ba*, respectively, after an *anusvāra*.⁶ But in ancient Khotanī *b* frequently corresponds to Sanskrit *v*, not only in loanwords such as *bīna*, Sanskrit *vīnā*, but also in indigenous words such as *bīśī*, Sanskrit *vīśva*. The actual sound was perhaps a bilabial spirant, English *w*.

The word following after *sambatsaraē* is certainly *tiśutimaē*. M. Senart read *tiśutamaē*, but the *i*-stroke of the second *ta* is too distinct to be accidental. The form *śatimau* also occurs in the Pāja inscription, where we read *ēkada[śu*]śatimayē*, and, as remarked by M. Boyer, in the Skārah Dheri image inscription, where I follow Dr. Fleet in reading *ēkuṇachaduśatimaē*.

Then follow the numerical symbols 1, 100, and 1 1 1, and *Vēśakhasa masasa divasē*, as has always been recognized.

L. 3 ff. were not read by Dowson, and Cunningham only attempted to make out some few words. M. Senart was the first one to give a transliteration and interpretation of the greater portion of these lines, and M. Boyer gave a continuous reading of the whole.

¹ J. R. A. S., New Series, Vol. IX, 1877, p. 10, footnote.

² J. R. A. S., 1913, p. 636³.

³ Cf. Konow, *Acta Orientalia*, II, p. 114.

⁴ *Pāli und Sanskrit*, pp. 96 f.

⁵ *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Vol. III, Pt. I, pp. 462 ff.

⁶ Cf. Konow, *Festschrift Windisch*, p. 91.

The first word in l. 3 was read *pañcamē* by the two French scholars, who also agreed in reading the ensuing sign or signs as *pa*, which, according to M. Senart, is the sign of the figure 5. I cannot accept this reading and interpretation.

The first *akshara* is much damaged, and there are several strokes which are probably the result of the use to which the stone has been put. There cannot, however, be any doubt, that it is a *pa*. I cannot see any trace of an *anuvāra*, but there are some strokes at the bottom, which may be the remnants of an *u-mātrā* or of a post-consonantic *r*. The second letter consists of a vertical, bent towards the left at the top, and a distinct cross-bar. If the latter is accidental, we would think of *dha*, and if the curvature at the top is due to accident or oversight, we would have *tha*. I have already in another connexion¹ suggested to read *prathamē*, and I still think that reading the most likely one, though *pradhamē* would also be possible.

What M. Senart read as the symbol for 5 I read as *di 1*. It is, as is well known, the unvariable custom in Kharōṣṭhī to use the symbols for 4 and 1 when the number five is given in figures, and not in words. And it would be very extraordinary to find a notation of the kind suggested by M. Senart.

The ensuing *aksharas* were for the first time read by M. Boyer, and his transliteration *iśa* is certainly correct, though both letters are damaged, and it is possible that *iśē* is the reading intended. *Iśa* and *iśē* are of frequent occurrence in Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions in India and Eastern Turkistan, and the meaning is clear; they render Sanskrit *asmin* and *atra*. M. Boyer thinks that *iśa*, "with *s* instead of *ś* as in Māgadhi," is Sanskrit *ēsha*, but that explanation cannot be right, *ēsha* being nothing else than the nominative singular, and the change of *s* or *ś* to *ś* not being a feature of the vernacular. *Ś* can only be an old *sh* or the representative of an old *shy*. In the Shāhbāzgarhi version of the Aśoka inscriptions we repeatedly find forms such as *arabhiśumti*, Sanskrit *ārabhishyanti*,² and in the Kharōṣṭhī manuscript of the Dhammapada *ś* is frequently the representative of Sanskrit *shy*.³ *Iśa* would accordingly be the regular representative of a female oblique form from the base *i*, and it is possible that the theme *ishya* has developed a stereotype locative adverb *ishyē*. At all events, the base must be the pronoun which we find in *id-am*.

After *iśa* M. Boyer read *chhunamī samana*, and M. Senart . . . *padē* . . . *Chhunamī* would of course suit the context very well, but *samana* could not represent Skr. *śramaṇa*, as M. Boyer thinks, the only possible forms of that word in the dialect being *śamana* and *śamanu*.

Now there cannot, I think, be any doubt that the two last *aksharas* of the passage are *pachhē*. The traces of both letters are quite distinct, and *pa* has also been recognized by M. Senart. The new plate will show that *chhē* is also beyond doubt. *Pachhē* can scarcely be anything else than Sanskrit *pākshē*, *pakshē*, or, perhaps, *pathyē*, salutary, suitable, auspicious, here used to characterize the day or the moment when the inscription was issued.

There accordingly only remain two *aksharas* between *iśa* and *pachhē*, and so far as I can see the extant traces are more in favour of *dinē* than of *chhunē*, though it is impossible to be quite certain.

I accordingly read the second date as follows: *saṃbatśaraṇ tīsatimā 1 100 1 1 1 Vēśakhasa masasa divasē p[ratha]mē di 1 iśa [dinē] pachhē*, in the hundred and third year—103, on the first day—d. 1 of the month Vaiśākha, on this *paksha*-day, or, on this auspicious day.

The interpretation of the word *pachhē* is difficult. If we were justified in explaining it as corresponding to Sanskrit *pathyē*, we should be able to prove conclusively that the date of

¹ S. B. A. W., 1916, p. 801.

² See Johansson, *Actes du Congrès international des orientalistes* II, iii, pp. 129 and 169. where, however, the use of *s* has not been explained.

³ See Konow, *Festschrift Windisch*, p. 93.

the inscription is the first and not the fifth Vaiśākha. That date was auspicious because it was considered to be the Buddha's birthday. Tradition placed that event on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha, and the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription would accordingly show that the months in north-western India were *pūrṇimānta*, just as it can be proved to have been the case when the Kharōshthī epigraphs dated in the Kanishka era were drawn up.

There is, however, one grave objection to this interpretation. In the Aśoka inscriptions and in the Kharōshthī records from Central Asia there are two different *aksharas* which are usually both transliterated *chh*, one with, the other without a cross-bar below the head. The latter one is usually stated to be the only one occurring in later Indian Kharōshthī inscriptions. That statement is not, however, correct. We find the cross-bar form in inscription J on the Mathurā Lion capital, where we must read *palichhina*, Sanskrit *parichekhinna*, instead of Bühler's *palishtēna*. Now an examination of the Kharōshthī manuscript of the *Dhammapada* shows that the cross-bar form represents old *chh* and also *chh* derived from *thy*, while the other form stands for Sanskrit *ksh* and should probably be transliterated *ksh* and not *chh*. It is this form which is used in *pachhē*, and it, therefore, seems necessary to explain this word as Sanskrit *pakshē* or *pākshē*. I would therefore suggest to explain *dinē pachhē* as *dinē pākshē*, on (this) *paksha*-day, and assume that the day is designated in such a way in order to mark it as the first day of a *paksha*, though the *pakshas* are not usually mentioned in Kharōshthī inscriptions.

Then follow five letters which M. Boyer read *bēlasamisa*, while M. Senart could not make out more than the two last ones. M. Boyer adds that the *ē*-stroke of the first letter is, perhaps, only a flaw in the stone, and it seems to me that such is evidently the case. I, therefore, read *balasamisa*, the genitive of *balasami*, which corresponds to Sanskrit *balasvāmin*. The final *sa* is quite distinct, and I, therefore, do not venture to follow Dr. Thomas, who thinks that we ought probably to read *mira* as in l. 4.

M. Boyer saw in *bēlasamisa* the name of the donor. It seems to me that such can scarcely be the case, the donor being mentioned in l. 4, and I, therefore, think that *balasamisa* should be taken with the opening word of l. 4.

The last four *aksharas* of l. 3 were read *gōyanasa* by the two French scholars, but only M. Boyer tried to translate this word. He took *gōyana* to correspond to Sanskrit *gōyāna*, a carriage drawn by oxen, a cart in general, and drew the final *sa* to l. 4. I think, however, that the extant traces show that Dr. Thomas was right² in reading *bōyanasa* as in l. 4. I only differ from him in transliterating the nasal as the cerebral *ṇ* in accordance with my remarks, above, Vol. XIV, pp. 181 ff.

Bōyana, which is also used together with the name *Mira* in l. 4, cannot be an Indian word, M. Boyer sees in *Mira Bōyana* the Iranian name *Μισροβουζάνης*, and this explanation is probably right, but it does not help us to understand the word *bōyana* itself. It seems to contain a base *bōy* and a termination *ana*. The latter is no doubt the well-known suffix *āna*, which forms adjectives from nouns (as in Khotanī *balysāni*, belonging to the Buddha (*balysi*) and in the word *kushāna* from *kushi*) or participles from verbal bases. The base *bōy* can be identified with Iranian *baug*, to save, if we remember that a *j* between vowels has become *y* in *maharaya* and *puya*.

Bōyana can accordingly mean "saving", "saviour", and I take it to be an Iranian translation of the same title *σωτήρ* which has been Indianized on Indian coins as *trātāra*. I think that such is evidently the case, and I take *bōyanasa* as a title of *Balasami*. It follows from this interpretation that the final *sa* cannot be taken together with the first word of l. 4.

¹ J. E. A. S., 1913, p. 636^a.

² *l.c.*

Here M. Senart read *pa . . aa*, but M. Boyer was certainly right in reading *par[i]vara*. At first sight one is inclined to read *parōvara*, which might be explained as a compound of *para* and *ōvara*. *ōvara* would have to be taken as identical with *ōvaraka*, cell, which occurs in several Brāhmī inscriptions.¹ *Parōvara* might mean "the predominant cell". This explanation cannot, however, be upheld. An *ōvara* for *ōvaraka* does not occur in any other record, and even *ōvaraka* itself is never met with in Kharōshthī inscriptions. I think that M. Boyer is right in thinking that the apparent cross-bar of the first *r* of *par[i]vara* is accidental, and that there are traces of an *i* across the left extremity of the upper portion of the *akshara*.

The word *parivara*, Sanskrit *parivāra*, occurs in many ancient records. M. Boyer took it together with the final *sa* of l. 3 and explained *sa-parivara* as an adjective characterizing *gōyana*, the whole meaning "a cart together with a covering". He is fully aware of the difficulty arising from the nature of the donation, which would hardly justify the engraving of an inscription. He thinks, however, that the object of the epigraph may have been to honour the prince mentioned in l. 5 more than to record the gift. Or else, the cart may have been of great value, and the donation accordingly of especial merit. In this connexion, he draws attention to a passage in the *Divyāvadāna*,² where we read *yānam dānam dadāti riddhipādavipākapatilābhasamvartanīyam*, he gives a cart, a gift leading to the acquisition of the result of the state of supernatural power. This explanation is very ingenious, but I fear that it is too ingenious, and if Dr. Thomas' reading *bōyana* in l. 3 is accepted, we shall have to look out for another explanation.

The meaning "covering (of a carriage)" is well attested for the word *parivāra*, but it is never met with in ancient inscriptions. In Brāhmī inscriptions we find *saparivāra*, e.g., in the Nāsik inscriptions Nos. 8 and 9, and in his edition of them M. Senart remarks³: "It is, I think, too precise to translate *saparivāra* by 'with his family'. If such were his intention, the engraver would rather have used special names of kinship or some generic word, as *jāti*, which occurs elsewhere. *Parivāra* may, together with the family or even excluding it, apply to companions of the donor, fellow-workers or caste-partners." The original meaning of the word seems to be "covering", "surrounding", and it actually has this meaning in some passages in classical literature, but more frequently it must be translated by some word meaning surroundings, train, suite. This meaning does not, however, seem to give any sense in our inscription, and it may perhaps be of interest to examine other instances of its use in Kharōshthī records.

The oldest Kharōshthī inscription where it occurs is the Mathurā Lion capital. We are there informed of the fact that the chief queen of the Mahākshatrapa Rajula puts up some relics of the Buddha, together with some of her relatives, the *atēura* and the *hōrakaparivara*. Here *atēura* corresponds to Sanskrit *antahpura*, the inner court, the female apartment of the palace and those who live in it. The *hōrakas* are the officials who are called *hōramurta* in the Māṇikīālā inscription, and *hōramurta* is a "Śaka" rendering of Sanskrit *dānapati*.⁴ Now it should be remembered that *parivṛta* is used in the *Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa* (2.6.1.20) and elsewhere to denote a place enclosed with walls and used for worship, and *hōrakaparivara* might accordingly mean "the enclosed hall of the *hōrakas*" and further "the *hōraka*-department", a meaning which would be very appropriate in our passage, where the word is used in connexion with *antahpura*, which has a similar sense.

The next time we find the word *parivāra* in a Kharōshthī inscription is in the record under discussion. Then follows the Suē Vihār copper-plate of the year 11, during the reign of Kanishka,

¹ See Lüders, *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, Index of Miscellaneous Terms, *sub voce* 'apavaraka'.

² ed. Cowell and Neill, p. 482, l. 20.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 77.

⁴ See Lüders, *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, pp. 650 f.; *S. B. A. W.*, 1912, pp. 421 f.

of which we have now a good reproduction in the excellent edition by Mr. N. G. Majumdar.¹ The third line of this record, where the word *parivāra* occurs, cannot be read with absolute certainty; and I shall not, in this place, try to show how I arrive at my reading of the whole of it. We learn that a *yāthi*, a staff, has been raised (in memory) of the friar Nāgadatta, and that the Upāsikā Balanandi, the wife of a householder, and the mother of Balajā, makes a present of an *anuparivara*, which in my opinion can hardly mean anything else than a subsequent enclosing through a wall for the purpose of building up the shaft in which the staff was placed.

The word *parivāra* again occurs in the Māpikīāla inscription, where we read that the *daṇḍanāyaka* Lala erects a *stūpa*, together with some other persons and the whole *parivāra* : *sa(m)vēna cha parivarēṇa sadha*. Here we may translate "together with the whole retinue", but the original meaning of *parivāra* can very well be the same as in the Mathurā Lion capital inscription.

Finally, we meet with the word *parivāra* in the Wardak vase inscription, where I would read in l. 3 : *mahiya cha rōhaṇa sada sarviṇa avashaḍigana—sa parivara cha—agrabhagapaḍiyaśaē bhavatu*, and let my deposit—and also the surrounding wall (or chapel)—for ever lead to sharing in the preferential lot for all (beings) up to the heretics.

I think that this examination will have shown that *parivāra* can be translated by "surrounding structure", "hall", "chapel", and such is, in my opinion, the meaning of the word in our inscription, which records the donation of some structure bearing the name of Balasvāmin, the Saviour, perhaps a memorial monument, or a building raised by him.

The next word was read *yadha . . na* by M. Senart and *śadhādana* by M. Boyer. The first *akshara* can hardly be *śa*. Its top is more rounded than in the *śu* of *vēśakha*, l. 1, and the damaged *śa* of *iśa*, l. 2. Moreover, there are traces of a vertical below the upper curve. I have, therefore, suggested² to read *śadhādana*. I think that this reading is quite certain. The change of *śr* to *sh* is a regular feature in Ancient Khotanī and apparently also in the north-western dialect of the Kharōshthī inscriptions,³ though we always find *ś* in the name of the month *Śrāvāṇa*. In that word, however, the Sanskrit form would naturally exercise its influence. We find the same tendency to substitute *sh* for *śr* in the dialect of the Kharōshthī *Dhammapada*, and it is probably due to the linguistic peculiarities of the dialect which the Indo-Skythians adopted in the Indian border districts.

The third *akshara* *da* has a peculiar shape. Its lower end is curved towards the left and continued upwards in an angle. It is possible that we are here faced with the *ā-mātrā*, which is of frequent occurrence in the Kharōshthī documents from Eastern Turkistan.⁴ Or else the hook is the mark of the *anusvāra*, indicating the nasalization of a vowel before a nasal, which is a common feature in Ancient Khotanī. We must accordingly read *śadhādana* or *śadhādaiṇa*.

The corresponding Sanskrit word would be *śraddhādāna*, or *śrāddhadāna*. M. Boyer compares Pāli *saddhādeyya*, Buddhist Sanskrit *śraddhādēya*, "a gift of faith", "a pious gift".

Of the ensuing *aksharas* M. Senart only read the two first ones, in which he saw *sapa*. M. Boyer read *sapayasōvadana*, and explained this as *saprajāsuṇadanā*, taking it together with the following *mirabōyana*, so that the whole should mean "with his children Suṇadanā and Mirabōyana". He thinks that the curiously shaped last letter contains a *na* with a *du* added above after the *na* had been engraved, when there was no more space left below. I am unable to accept his reading. The initial *sa* is certain. The second *akshara* is *pa*, but has a distinct loop at the bottom, so that we must evidently read *pu*. The third letter, which was

¹ *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Vol. III, Part I, pp. 459 ff.

² *S. B. A. W.*, 1916, p. 801.

³ Cf. Konow, *Festschrift Windisch*, p. 94.

⁴ Cf. e.g. the document N. XXIV viii 9 reverse in Sir Aurel Stein's *Serindia*, Plate XXIV.

read *ya* by M. Boyer, has a distinct vertical, rising from the left hand termination, and looks like *ta*. The following *akshara* cannot, I think, be *sa*, but seems to be *dhi*, though it is different from the *dha* in *shadhadaṇa*. With every reserve I would therefore read *saputadhi*. But then the following *akshara* cannot be anything else than *ta*, though it looks more like a *ra*. The upper stroke is sloping upwards and not horizontal as in *va*. Moreover, there are traces of an upward stroke at the left termination of the letter, which has become somewhat indistinct as a consequence of the following letter having been engraved across it. That last *akshara* is quite misshaped, and it seems necessary to infer that it has not been engraved before the ensuing *akshara*. It seems as if it had originally been overlooked and was subsequently added, after the omission had been detected. There was not then sufficient space for the proper shape of the *akshara*, and its upper part was engraved above the other letters and across the preceding *ta*. We have a similar letter at the very end of the Zeda inscription, where the last word is no doubt *Samghamitrarajasa*. I therefore read the *akshara* as *sa* and the whole compound as *saputadhitasā*.

The remaining portion of l. 4 does not present any difficulty, and both M. Senart and M. Boyer agree in reading *Mirabōyanasa*. I have no hesitation in accepting this reading, only substituting *na* for their *na*. *Mira* is, as stated by M. Boyer, the Iranian *Mithra*, and it is of interest to note that *tr* has become *r* as in Ancient Khotanī.

The first three *aksharas* of l. 5 were read *ejhshuna* by M. Boyer, while M. Senart only read the first and third letters. The second *akshara* is certainly a compound, and the upper part is clearly *jh*. The curved line across the lower vertical is the usual sign of a *r* preceding the consonant, and such is evidently its significance in our inscription as well. A compound *jhsh* is in itself very unlikely and has never been met with in any Kharōshthī record, while *rjh* also occurs in the Zeda inscription. The loop below the *akshara* looks like an *u-mātrā* and it would be natural to read *erjhuna*.¹ If we bear in mind, however, that the usual way of denoting a *r* forming the first part of a compound in later Kharōshthī inscriptions is to add a loop at the bottom, it is perhaps possible to consider our compound as an intermediate form and to read *erjhana* and, finally, the reading *erjhāna* might also be possible. Cf. my remarks to the word *shadhadaṇa*, l. 4. At all events, there cannot be any doubt that we have to do with an un-Indian word.

The letter *jh* is seldom used in Indian inscriptions. Where it occurs in Kharōshthī records, it seems to represent a voiced *z*, just as is the case in the Kharōshthī documents from Eastern Turkistan, where *s* is commonly softened between vowels so that we find *dajha* for *dāsa*, *divajha* for *divasa*. The letter is found in the Zeda inscription, where *marjhaka*, l. 2, is evidently identical with Khotanī *malysaki*²; in the Māpikiāla inscription, where we must read *Kartiyasa majhē divasē* 20, with the same softening of *s* between vowels as in the Turkistan documents, and in the Ara inscription, where *Vajhēshka* corresponds to Brāhmī *Vāsishka*. This name is evidently derived from the Iranian base *vāza*, strength, vigour. Similarly *jh* is used for *z* in the coin-legends of Zoilos.

The sound *z* had long ago become obsolete in Indian languages, and considerable difficulty was experienced when it had to be expressed in foreign words. The form *Vāsishka* shows that it was occasionally written as *s*, and later on *j* became the representative of *z*, as, e.g., in the coin-legends of Zeionises. If *Kusuluka*, which occurs in the Taxila copper-plate of Patika and on the Mathurā Lion capital, is the same word as *kujula* in the name of the first Kushāna ruler, we here have *s* and *j* in the same word as different attempts at rendering the voiced *z*.

¹ I read the word so. *S. B. A. W.*, 1916, p. 801.

² Cf. my remarks, *Festschrift Hirt*, p. 250.

A fourth attempt was made in the records of Ysamotika and his successors, viz., by means of the compound *ys*¹; and this same device became the rule in Ancient Khotani.

Erjhana accordingly represents an attempt at rendering the sounds of *erzana* or *erzāna*, and there can be no doubt that in this form we have to see the same word which occurs in Ancient Khotani as *alysānai*, *eysānnai*, which is used to render Sanskrit *kumāra*. The *l* before the voiced *s* in this word, as also in *malysaki*, is certainly a later development in Khotani, which, on the whole, agrees with Old Iranian in using *r* for *l* throughout.

M. Boyer, who read *ejhshuna*, saw in this word the name of a prince and thought that this name was an Iranian compound containing *izad* as its first part. But no similar name is known to exist, and in my opinion, my explanation of the word is absolutely certain.

If now *erjhana* belongs to the language which I have called Khotani, it would be natural to infer that the individual characterized as *erjhana*, i.e., *kumāra*, belonged to the tribe or tribes who used that form of speech. His name must be contained in the fourth and fifth *aksharas* of l. 5, which M. Senart read as *kapa*, while M. Boyer, who admitted that the first *akshara* looks like *ka*, suggested to read [*bhu*]pa. There cannot be any question about the nature of the first letter. It is *ka*, and it is so clearly cut that we have no right to correct it. The second *akshara* is certainly *pa*, but underneath there are distinct traces of an *akshara* which I have formerly² suggested to read as *śa* or *sha*. It now seems to me that it must be read as *sha*, there being distinct traces of a vertical below the semi-circle, i.e., of the letter *sha*. I still think that this *kapsha* cannot be anybody else than the Kushāna prince whose name is written in many different ways, *kadphises* and *kadaphes* in Greek letters, and *kasa*, *kaphsa*, *kadapha* in Kharōshthī. With regard to the use of *sh* when the Greek rendering has *s* we may compare Kharōshthī *ayilisha*, Greek *azilises*.

We know that the national tongue of the Kushānas was identical with, or closely related to Ancient Khotani,³ and Sir John Marshall's discoveries at Taxila have shown that Kujāla Kadphises followed almost immediately after Gudufara as ruler of that place. Sir John writes⁴: "After the death of Gondophernes his empire was split up into smaller principalities, and it was then that Hermaeus and Kadphises I appear to have made their successful invasion of Gandhāra and Taxila." I therefore feel no hesitation in identifying the prince mentioned in our inscription with Kadphises I, since he is characterized by a Khotani title and bears a name which is almost identical with the names used in his coin legends.

The remaining portion of the inscription is quite clear. After *Kapsha* follows the genitive termination *sa*, separated from *Kapsha* by a wide gap, and further *puyaē madu pidu puyaē*. The curious flourish to the left of the final *ē* is, as stated above, probably accidental.

The inscription carries, as we have seen, a double date: in the 26th year, during the reign of Gudufara, and in the 103rd year. The latter date has usually been referred to the Vikrama era. Sir John Marshall has tried to show⁵ that that reckoning was instituted by Azes, and Professor Rapson⁶ endorses that view. I am unable to accept it, for several reasons. Sir John's theory is based on his interpretation of the word *ayasa* occurring after the figures denoting the year in the Taxila inscription of the year 136, which he takes to be the genitive

¹ Cf. Lüders, *S. B. A. W.*, 1912, pp. 407 ff. The recent attempt made by Mr. N. B. Divatia, *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, XXVI, pp. 159 ff., to vindicate the rendering of the compound as *ghs* is a failure. The learned author has failed to recognize that *ys* is the regular sign for voiced *s* in Ancient Khotani.

² *S. B. A. W.*, 1916, p. 801 f.

³ Cf. Konow, *Z. D. M. G.* 68, pp. 85 ff.

⁴ *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, pp. 979 f.

⁵ *J. A. B. S.*, 1914, pp. 973 ff.

⁶ *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 571 ff.

of the name *Aya*=Azes, characterizing the year as belonging to an era established by Azes. In my edition of that inscription I have mentioned¹ the reasons which have been urged by various scholars against this interpretation, and so far as I can see they are still as cogent as they were ten years ago. If *ayasa* were the name of a king, the inscription would necessarily fall within his reign. The absence of every title is, however, so extraordinary that it is almost impossible that the word can be the name of a ruler. Professor Rapson, it is true, asks² us to remember "that the inscription belongs to a people that knew not Azes. His family had been deposed and deprived of all royal attributes. The throne of Takshaśilā had passed from the Śakas and Pahlavas to the Kushānas. Azes could scarcely have been furnished with his wonted title, 'Great King of Kings', in this inscription, without prejudice to the house then actually reigning." Are we to believe, then, that the people who did not know Azes still used his name in connexion with the era current in the district?

There is another reason which, in my opinion, makes it impossible to ascribe the establishment of the era to Azes: that theory makes it necessary to separate one of the Kharōshthī inscriptions, the Taxila plate of Patika, which is dated in the same way as the other epigraphs, from the rest and construct a special era for it. That has also, as is well known, been done by several scholars. Sir John Marshall has, consistently with his interpretation of the Taxila silver scroll, explained the words *maharayasa mahāntasa Mogasa* in the Taxila plate as indicating the ruler who established the era used in the record. Professor Rapson thinks³ that this era "may possibly mark the establishment of the new kingdom in Seistān, after its incorporation into the Parthian empire by Mithradates I c. 150 B.C. If so, the date of the inscription would be c. 72 B.C., a year which may well have fallen in the reign of Maues." He further shows that the theory according to which Mithradates I conquered North-Western India is based on a misunderstanding of a statement of Orosius and goes on to remark: "The invasion of India must be ascribed not to the Parthian emperors, but to their former feudatories in eastern Irān; not to the reign of Mithradates I. but to a period after the reign of Mithradates II (i.e., after 88 B.C.), when the power of Parthia had declined and kingdoms once subordinate had become independent." M. Foucher⁴ holds a similar view, but seems inclined to refer the date of the Taxila plate to the Parthian era of 248 B.C., supposing the figure for hundred to have been suppressed, so that 78 would stand for 178 and correspond to 70 B.C.

I cannot accept any of these theories: Sir John's not because a proper name in the genitive in connexion with the date in ancient records invariably denotes the ruler in whose reign the inscription was executed, and the other ones because I do not think that we have any indication of the use of foreign eras in India in ancient times, at least not in private documents, and most Kharōshthī inscriptions are of that nature. I quite agree with M. Foucher, who discusses the supposed use of the Seleukidan era in some Kharōshthī epigraphs and, after mentioning the well-known dated coin of Platon, goes on to say⁵: "Just as much as the use of the Greek reckoning seems to us to be on its place on an essentially official and governmental piece like the Platon coin, just as difficult would it seem to us to justify it in the case of a private *ex-voto*, emanating from a simple indigenous donator." Patika can hardly be supposed to have used an old era belonging to the dynasty from which the invaders of India, the ancestors of his own suzerain, had made themselves independent. Even if we were to admit the possibility of omitted hundreds in these dates, what I do not think we are justified to do, the only natural inference from the general state of things in the Indian borderlands in the first

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 286 f.² *l.c.* p. 592.³ *l.c.* pp. 563 ff.⁴ *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra* II, p. 468.⁵ *l.c.* p. 499.

century B.C., would be that the era used in the Patika plate was instituted in commemoration of the conquest of India by the dynasty to which Moga belonged, or of its emancipation from dependance on the Parthian overlords. In other words, the initial point of the era cannot fall before 88 B.C.

The date of the Patika plate can, as is well known, be broadly fixed with reference to the Āmōhīni votive tablet of the year 72, during the reign of the Mahākshatrpa Śōḍāsa. Professor Rapson, it is true, gives¹ 42 as the date of that epigraph. He seems to be unaware of the fact that Professor Lüders has proved² that the symbol used in the Śōḍāsa inscription, something like a St. Andrew's cross, must be read as 70 and not as 40. So far as I can see, no other scholar has accepted Professor Rapson's reading, and so long as he has not shown that Professor Lüders' convincing arguments are inconclusive, we can safely adhere to the prevailing opinion.

I agree with most other scholars in referring the date of the Śōḍāsa record to the Vikrama era. It accordingly corresponds to 15 A.D. In that year Śōḍāsa was Mahākshatrpa. In the inscriptions on the Mathurā Lion capital Śuḍasa, *i.e.*, Śōḍāsa, is mentioned as Kshatrpa, while his father Rajula is characterized as Mahākshatrpa. The Lion capital must accordingly be older than the Āmōhīni tablet, how much older we cannot say. Sir John Marshall has shown³ that Rajula was probably ruling about the beginning of the Christian era, and we can provisionally date the Lion capital between, say, 1 and 10 A.D.

In addition to Rajula the inscriptions of the capital also mention another Mahākshatrpa, Kusulaa Padika, who cannot be anybody else than Patika, the son of the Kshatrpa Liaka Kusuluka, who issued the Taxila copper-plate. Sir John Marshall therefore suggests⁴ to date the Taxila plate about 17 B.C., and I do not think it is possible to refer it to an earlier period. *A priori* I should be more inclined to say between 10 and 1 B.C.

According to Sir John's theory we should accordingly have to state that about 17 B.C. an era, instituted by Moga, was in use in the country about Taxila, while, at the same time, the era of Azes had already been in use for forty years. This simultaneous use of two foreign eras at the same time and in the same neighbourhood during a prolonged period is not very likely, and the state of things becomes still more difficult if we admit, as I think it is necessary to admit, that Moga was still reigning at the time of the Patika plate, *i.e.*, according to Sir John, about 17 B.C. In that case it becomes impossible to claim Azes, who is known to have succeeded Moga, as the establisher of the Vikrama era.

The Azes theory will, I think, have to be abandoned. Everything we know from Indian tradition points to the conclusion that the Vikrama era was a national Indian era, and ancient Indian ideas seem to be traceable in the oldest Vikrama-dates.⁵ The eras used in Kharōshthī inscriptions, on the other hand, are partly framed after the model of the Macedonian calendar. That is evident from the occasional use of Macedonian month-names and from the habit of reckoning the days of the months through, from full moon to full moon, while the Indian calendar divided the month into two fortnights. It seems, accordingly, necessary to infer that the era or eras used in the Patika plate as well as in the so-called Takht-i-Bāhī inscription are of foreign origin, and if it is granted that Moga was still reigning in the year 78 of that era, and we meet with Gudufara in the year 103, it is difficult to avoid the inference that both

¹ *l.c.* p. 575.

² *Ep. Ind.*, IX, pp. 243 ff.

³ *Archæological Survey of India ; Annual Report, 1912-13*, p. 43.

⁴ *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, pp. 985 f.

⁵ *Cf. Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 135 ff.

records should be referred to one and the same era, so that there are, accordingly, 25 years between the Patika plate and the so-called Takht-i-Bāhi inscription, or, in other words, between Moga and Gudufara.

Such an interval is about what we would expect, considering the fact that only the king or kings known as Azes and Azilises seem to intervene between them. The reason why this inference has never been drawn is probably that Cunningham's dictum, that the inscription is dated in the 26th year of the reign of Gudufara, has never been challenged. I have already stated above that a comparison of other ancient records necessarily leads us to the conclusion that the Gudufara inscription is dated in the year 26 of some era which may or may not coincide with his individual reign. And if it is admitted that Moga was still reigning about 17 B.C. or perhaps even later, and that we have absolutely no real reason for referring the Gudufara date to the Vikrama era, we are inevitably led to the conclusion that the year 26 refers to an era established by some of Gudufara's predecessors, and in that case there cannot be the question of any other ruler than Azes. If, therefore, we refer the Patika date and the Gudufara date to the same era, it will be seen that the era which I think commemorates the accession of Azes begins one year before the Patika date. But then his record hails from Taxila, while the so-called Takht-i-Bāhi inscription only informs us of the fact that, 25 years later, the rule of another dynasty had extended its sway as far eastward as Takht-i-Bāhi or Shāhbāzgarhi. The conquest of Taxila did not take place in the first year of the Parthian era.

There is nothing inconsistent in this supposition. The Śaka conquest started from Seistān, reached the Indus country and thence extended over Taxila and Gandhāra. The Parthian dynasty, to which Gudufara belonged, came from the west through the Kābul country. It found a Śaka era in use in the conquered territories, and the use of this era had become so firmly established that a subject of Gudufara, 26 years after the establishment of Parthian rule, thought it necessary to record the date of his epigraph, not only in the Parthian era, but also in the old Śaka reckoning.

Nor can we wonder at the absence of any later reference to the Parthian era. The dynasty founded by Azes was short-lived. After Gudufara's reign it was replaced by the Kushānas, the successors of the Śakas, in the Kābul country and in Taxila, and the second Kushāna ruler, Vima Kadphises, reconquered "India", i.e., the Indus country and probably also Kāthiāwār and Central India, and I still think that that event was commemorated through the institution of the Śaka era, as stated in the *Kālakāchāryakathānaka*.¹ In other words, the Śaka era commemorates the final re-establishment of Indo-Skythian rule after the interruption caused by the Parthian conquest, and it is a revival of the Śaka era introduced after the first Śaka conquest of India. In this way it also becomes intelligible why Chinese sources speak of Vima Kadphises' conquest as a re-conquest.

I agree with Messrs. Foucher and Rapson that the first Śaka conquest must be subsequent to the demise of Mithradates II in 88 B.C. The subsequent weakening of Parthian power made it possible for the Śakas of Seistān to assert their independence, and the strengthening of their power resulting from the immigration of new Śaka hordes led to an expansion of their realm into the Indus country. We do not know who the first Śaka conqueror was. We only know the name of the Śaka ruler or rulers Maues, Moga, and we have seen that Moga was still ruling 25 years before the Gudufara inscription.

It has been customary to speak of several rulers intervening between Moga and Gudufara, one or two bearing the name Azes and one or two called Azilises. Opinions differ as to the nationality of this or these rulers. Some scholars think that they were Parthians, others that they were Śakas. I have never been able to understand why it should be necessary to assume

¹ Cf. my remarks, *S. B. A. W.*, 1916, pp. 811 ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 293.

the existence of more than one ruler Azes-Azilises. As pointed out by Dr. Thomas,¹ Azes is a short form of Azilises. And if we compare the coin legends, we are, I think, led to the conclusion that Azes and Azilises are one and the same person. When we find coins with the legends *basileōs basileōn megalou Azou* on the obverse and *maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa* on the reverse, or *basileōs . . . megalou Azilisu* on the obverse and *maharajasa [rajaraja]sa mahatasa Ayasa* on the reverse, the only natural inference from the use of the imperial title on both sides is that we have not to do with more than one ruler.

Nor do I think that there can be any doubt about the nationality of this ruler : he was a Parthian and not a Śaka king. That follows, in my opinion, from the coin-legends showing the names of Spalirises, Spalahora and Spalagadames. In the first place we have the coins of Spalirises, the king's brother, with the legends *basileōs adelphou Spalirisou* on the obverse and *maharajabhata dhramiasa Spalirisasa* on the reverse. Then we find Spalirises associated with Azes, with the legends *basileōs megalou Spalirisou* on the obverse and *maharajasa mahatakasa Ayasa* on the reverse. Here Azes is associated with Spalirises, but he has not yet assumed the imperial title. We may infer that he had not yet acquired the power attested by his later legends, and also that he was a Parthian ruler. Finally we find Spalirises designated as *basileōn basileōs megalou Spalirisou* on the obverse and *maharajasa mahatakasa Spalirisasa* on the reverse. In addition to Spalirises we have Spalahora, alias Spalyris, and his son Spalagadama, whose names are associated with that of the great King of Kings Vonones. There are several coin types and legends : *basileōs basileōn megalou Onōnou* on the obverse and *maharajabhata dhramikasa Spalahorasa*, or *Spalahoraputrasa dhramiasa Spalagadamasa* on the reverse ; *Spalyrios dikaiou adelphou tou basileōs* on the obverse and *Spalahoraputrasa dhramiasa Spalagadamasa* on the reverse.

Numismatists seem to agree in the opinion that Spalirises and Spalahora were both brothers of Vonones, and that the former survived Vonones and succeeded him on the throne. Vonones, on the other hand, is considered to be different from and older than the king Vonones I of Parthia (8-11 A.D.).² The name of Spalirises is not, however, anywhere combined with that of Vonones, and I cannot see any obstacle to the assumption that he was an older member of the dynasty, perhaps the father of Azes and the uncle of Vonones, in which case the latter can very well be identical with Vonones I of Parthia.

According to my view, the state of things can accordingly be summarized as follows : Some time after the demise of Mithradates II in 88 B. C., a Śaka ruler of Seistān made himself independent, invaded the Indus country and established a new era. According to the *Kālakāchāryakathānaka*³ the Jaina Kālakāchārya applied to the Śaka rulers of Sagakūla⁴ for assistance against King Gardabhilla of Ujjayinī, who had abducted his sister, and the result was that the Śakas made themselves masters in Ujjayinī, where their rule, according to some well-known memorial stanzas,⁵ lasted for four years. They were then ousted by Vikramāditya, who established his own era. As I have stated elsewhere,⁶ I see no reason for discrediting this tradition. The Vikrama era is a national Indian era, established by an Indian ruler to commemorate his victory over the Śakas. And in my opinion it is the first secular era of Indian origin. The oldest certain instance of its use is the Śodāsa inscription of the year 72, and from the fact that the date portion of this record does not make any mention of the *paksha* but simply mentions the 9th day of the month, we may infer that the calendar was partly arranged according to the principles introduced by the Śakas.

¹ J. R. A. S., 1906, p. 208.

² Cf. Rapson, *l.c.* pp. 573 f.; R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol. I, pp. 91 ff., where further references to the literature about the subject are given.

³ Z. D. M. G. 34, pp. 247 ff.

⁴ [According to the *Prabhāvakacharita* (IV. 43-44) it is *Śākhidēsa*—the country of the *Śākhis*, otherwise called *Śakas*—lying on the *Sindhu* in the west.—Ed.]

⁵ Cf. my remarks, *Acta Orientalia*, I, p. 33.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 293 f.

The best known of the Śaka rulers is Moga, who was still on the throne in the year 78 of the old Śaka era. If it is granted that the establishment of that era must be subsequent to the year 88 B.C., the year 78 cannot be earlier than 10 or 9 B.C. The Patika plate mentioning it is dated on the fifth Panemos. From the use of the Macedonian name we can infer that the year began, as in the Macedonian calendar, with the month Dios, *i.e.*, it was Kārttikādi. The month Panemos corresponds to June. If the beginning of the era coincided with October 88 and the years were current, the earliest possible date for the Patika plate would be June, 10 B.C., and if the years were elapsed, June, 9 B.C. It is not, however, probable that the era was established before one or two years after the demise of Mithradates II. On the other hand, some time was required for Patika, who in the year 78 was not even a Kshatrapa, to acquire the rank of Mahākshatrapa, and further for Śōdāsa, who was Kshatrapa when Patika was Mahākshatrapa, to be promoted to Mahākshatrapa, a position which he held in 15 A.D. We can, therefore, with some confidence, state that the last ten years before the beginning of our era must be the period when the Patika plate was engraved.

Now I have tried to show that a new, Parthian, era had been established one year before the date of the Patika plate, by Azes, the first Parthian conqueror of the Kābul country and Western Panjāb, and that the so-called Takht-i-Bāhī inscription is dated in the 26th year of that era. That would take us to the time 16-20 A.D., which would be a very likely date for Gudufara, who is generally assumed to have come on the throne in 19 A.D.

Gudufara is, as I have already mentioned, certainly identical with the King Gondophares who, according to Christian tradition, summoned the apostle Thomas to his court. This tradition is not, however, of much use for chronological purposes. In the first place, the name of the king is not mentioned before the third or fourth century A.D., and, in the second, the whole tradition cannot prove anything more than that the name of the King Gudufara had become known in the Christian east about the time of Christ's death or of the first Christian mission.

We do not know how long Gudufara's rule lasted. We learn from the Panjtār inscription that a Kushāṇa-Mahārāja (*Gushana maharaya*) had come into power in the year 122, *i.e.*, 19 years after the date of our inscription, and from the Taxila silver scroll that this same Kushāṇa had assumed the imperial titles *mahārāja rājātirāja dēvaputra* 14 years later, in the year 136. If the so-called Takht-i-Bāhī inscription belongs to one of Gudufara's first years, he cannot, accordingly, have held undisputed sway for more than about twenty years, and we do not know anything which militates against such an assumption.

With regard to the ruler mentioned in the Panjtār and Taxila records opinions differ, but all scholars are agreed that it is the same ruler who is mentioned in both inscriptions. From a consideration of the find-places of the two epigraphs we can infer that he had, between the years 122 and 136, extended his sway eastwards, and the increase of his power consequent on this extension is illustrated in the higher titles used in the Taxila scroll. But both find-places full within the territory which the Chinese called Kipin,¹ and which, according to them, was conquered by Kadphises I, while "India", which was subdued by Kadphises II, must be located outside of Kipin.

In full agreement with this state of things Sir John Marshall² has shown good reasons for identifying the Kushāṇa-Mahārāja of these records with Kujūla Kadphises, and I am more convinced than ever that he is right, though the prevailing opinion seems to be that Vima Kadphises is the ruler mentioned.

¹ Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 290 ff.

² *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, pp. 977 f.

We know from the *Hou Han-shu*, the annals of the Later Hans, Ch. 118, fol. 11^{vo} that the *hi-hou* of Kuei-shuang, K'iu-tsin-k'io, i.e., Kujāla Kadphises, after conquering four other *hi-hous*, established himself as *wang* (king) and used the dynastic title "King of Kuei-shuang", i.e., Kushāna King, that he invaded An-si (Parthia), seized the territory of Kao-fu (Kabul), annihilated P'u-ta and Kipin, and that all these territories formed his empire. He became eighty years old, and was succeeded by his son Yen-Kao-chen, i.e., Vima Kadphises, who "again" conquered India, where he appointed a general to rule as his viceroy.


The *Hou Han-shu* cover the period beginning with 24 A.D. Kujāla Kadphises' consolidation of the Kushāna empire accordingly falls after that date. Before then he can only have been a petty *hi-hou* or a young prince. But afterwards he gradually became king (*wang*) and king of Kuei-shuang.

It will be seen that all these details point to the conclusion that the Kushāna-Mahārāja was Kujāla and not Vima Kadphises. The latter ruler does not seem to have resided in India. He ruled through a viceroy, and in my opinion this viceroy is the Soter Megas, whose "coins are found in extraordinary abundance, and over a wide stretch of country extending from Peshāwar to Mathurā. These facts point to a great power and a long reign, and are much in favour of the supposition that we must look for Soter Megas amongst the most important of the kings and satraps known to us, as it is very improbable that such a great potentate would be nameless and unknown except from these coins. The style of the coins, which are in copper only, and the absence of square forms point to a period about the Kushāna conquest, so that Soter Megas was probably a contemporary of one of the two Kadphises."

"Certain types almost invariably exhibit in the field the Kharōshthī *akshara vi*,"¹ and I agree with Cunningham that this *vi* may possibly be the initial of the king's name, though Mr. Whitehead does not accept this view. If it is correct, we would have a clear indication of Vima Kadphises being the suzerain on whose behalf the Soter Megas coins were issued.

Mr. Whitehead thinks it possible that these coins were struck by more than one ruler. I think that he is right, and that the Soter Megas coinage covers the period from the accession of Vima Kadphises to the installation of Kanishka. Sir John Marshall is no doubt right in assuming² an interval between the reigns of Kadphises II and Kanishka, but we have no information about the Kushāna rulers who held sway at headquarters after the demise of Vima Kadphises.

Moreover the designation *Kushāna-Mahārāja* is more easily understandable, without the addition of any personal name, in the case of the ruler who first introduced it, than with his successor, and if Vima Kadphises was the king who introduced the later Śaka era, as I think we must infer from a comparison of Chinese tradition and the *Kālakāchāryakathānaka*, he cannot be the Kushāna-Mahārāja of the Panjtār and Taxila records. We can only think of Kujāla Kadphises.

It has been urged against this that the Taxila scroll shows a monogram  which is characteristic of the coins of Vima Kadphises. Sir John Marshall has, however, drawn attention to the fact that the same monogram also occurs on the coins of his predecessor, and I may add that it is likewise met with on coins of Zeionises. Professor Rapson³ objects that the coins in question "bear the name not of Kujāla Kadphises, but of Kujāla Kara Kadphises, who was probably another member of the dynasty . . . Kujāla Kara Kadphises seems to have succeeded the Satrap Zeionises in the kingdom of Pushkalāvati, and he may have been contemporary with Vima Kadphises."

¹ Cf. Whitehead, *l.c.* p. 160².

² *Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1912-13*, p. 8².

³ *l.c.* p. 582¹.

Not being myself a numismatist I feel some hesitation in differing from a scholar whose knowledge of Indian coins is probably at the present time unsurpassed. I cannot, however, help thinking that numismatists are too much inclined to construct different rulers at the hand of different coin-types. Just as I have not been able to convince myself of the existence of more than one Azes, in the same way I fail to see that the variety in the titles used by Kujāla Kadphises makes it necessary to assume the existence of more than one ruler of that name. We must not forget that Chinese tradition assigns a long period to his reign.

Kujāla Kara Kadphises cannot have been a petty chief or a subordinate ruler like the Kshatrapa Zeionises. He is designated as *maharaya rayatiraya* and *maharaya rayaraya devaputra*. Similar titles, viz., *maharaja mahata* and *maharaja rajatiraja* are met with on coins which bear the name of *Kuyula Kapha*, and I do not think that it can reasonably be doubted that Kujāla Kadphises and Kujāla Kara Kadphises are one and the same person. Sir John Marshall¹ found at Sirkap a coin showing, on the obverse, the bust of Hermaeus with a corrupt Greek legend, and, on the reverse, a Kharōshthī legend of which we can at least read *jūla kara*. Here Kujāla Kara's name occurs on a coin showing the bust of Hermaeus, and thus his identity with Kadphises I becomes still more probable. We do not know the etymological meaning of the word *kujāla*.² I may add that I do not any more think it likely that it is a Turki word.³ We have no certain traces of Turkish in the language or titulature of the Indo-Skythians. The title *yavuga*, which has often been stated to be an adaptation of the Turki *yabyu*, has not been etymologically explained, and it is perhaps more probable that it is originally an Iranian word which has been taken over by the Turks than that the opposite should be the case.

I therefore identify Kujāla Kara Kadphises with Kujāla Kadphises and cannot admit that the use of the monogram in question on the Taxila silver scroll can be urged against the view that the Kushāna king mentioned in the inscription is Kujāla Kadphises.

There is still another reason which strongly speaks in favour of this identification: Vima Kadphises is never, in his coin-legends, designated as a Kushāna, and nobody would, I think, *a priori* be inclined to identify him with the *Gushana-maharaja* of the Panjtār inscription and the *maharaja rajatiraja devaputra Khushana* of the Taxila silver scroll, if it were not for the common theory that the Śaka era was established by Kanishka.

I do not overlook the fact that Sir John Marshall has found some coins at Sirkap which seem to show the legend *maharajasa rajatirajasa Khushanasa yavugasa*, while the obverse bears the head of a Kushāna king, resembling that of Vima Kadphises. Sir John⁴ is inclined to ascribe these coins to Vima Kadphises and writes: "The epithet *Yavuga* (=Turkish *yabgu*) is found on coins of Kujāla Kadphises, and is supposed to have been replaced by the title *maharaja rajatiraja* after the conquest of India. The simultaneous use, however, of the two terms in one and the same legend appears to indicate that the prevalent view regarding the meaning and use of this title is not wholly correct." He is not, it should be noted, certain about the assignation of these coins to Vima Kadphises, and, in my opinion, the use of the title *Khushana yavuga* goes a long way towards proving that they should be assigned to Kujāla Kadphises. The legend informs us of the fact that he who was then the *maharaja rajatiraja* had risen to that exalted position from the rank of a *Khushana yavuga*, and I cannot help thinking that there is a touch of justifiable pride in the wording of the legend.

¹ *l.c.* p. 52.

² Cf. Lüders, *S. B. A. W.*, 1922, pp. 260 f.

³ Hultzsch, *Z. D. M. G.* 69, p. 176, thought of *gijlā*, strong, and I have myself, *S. B. A. W.*, 1916, p. 799, compared *gūzel*, beautiful.

⁴ *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1912-13*, pp. 44 ff.

Professor Rapson¹ has no doubt about the identity of the *maharaja rajatiraja Khushana yavuga* with Vima Kadphises. He says: "Most of the coins of Kujūla Kadphises show clearly both by their types and by their fabric that they were struck in the Kābul valley. They are imitated from the barbarous issues of that region which still continued to reproduce mechanically the legends with the name of the last Yavana king, Hermaeus, long after his death. They are found in enormous numbers beyond the limits of the Kābul valley in Takshaśilā, where the stratification of the objects discovered in the excavations proves unquestionably that, in that district, they are rather later than the coins of Gondopharnes. At first sight the evidence of the finds would thus seem to show that Kujūla Kadphises himself was later in date than Gondopharnes and that he was the actual conqueror of Takshaśilā; but since the coins in question manifestly come from the Kābul valley, we must suppose that they represent the ordinary currency of the Kushānas at the time when the invasion took place, and that they were introduced into Takshaśilā as large numbers of Sassanian coins were brought into the country of the lower Indus from Irān by the Hūnas of the fifth century A.D. It is, therefore, by no means impossible that Kujūla Kadphises may have been not later than, but contemporary with, Gondopharnes; and there is no reason to doubt the statement of the Chinese writers that it was not Kujūla Kadphises, but his son and successor, Vima Kadphises, who extended the dominions of the Kushānas from the Kābul valley to N.-W. India."

I quite agree with Professor Rapson that the bulk of Kujūla Kadphises' coins may have been struck in the Kābul valley, but in other respects I differ from him *toto coelo*. The Chinese sources do not, as we have already seen, tell us that Vima Kadphises, and not Kujūla Kadphises, conquered N.-W. India. They state that the latter invaded An-si (Parthia), conquered Kao-fu (Kābul), P'u-ta (probably the country about Ghazni) and Ki-pin. But we know that Ki-pin comprised parts of the Panjāb, *i.e.*, N.-W. India,² and the "India" conquered by Vima Kadphises cannot be identified with N.-W. India.

In such circumstances it seems to me that the Sirkap coins must be ascribed to Kujūla, and not to Vima Kadphises. Coins of the known types of the former were found in the same locality, but no coins of Vima Kadphises or of Soter Megas. It cannot be objected that Kujūla Kadphises' bust does not occur on any of the coins which can, with certainty, be ascribed to him. Professor Rapson has given the explanation of this fact: these coins were struck in the Kābul valley, and it was only after the conquest of Takshaśilā that Kujūla Kadphises introduced his bust on his coins, probably in direct imitation of Gondopharnes.

It is of interest to note that the form *Khushana* occurring in the Sirkap legends is also found on some coins of Kujūla Kadphises with the legend *Khushanasa yavusa Kuyula Kaphsasa sachad hramathitasa*, and some of these coins were found together with the new type at Sirkap, with the legend *Khushanasa yavugasa Kuyula Kasasa*.

So far as I can see, the cumulative weight of all these indications makes it necessary to ascribe the silver coins found at Sirkap, with a head "resembling" that of Vima Kadphises, to Kujūla Kadphises and to infer that they were struck during his rule at Taxila, in imitation of the practice adhered to by his predecessors.

Now I have tried to show above that the date of the Gudufara inscription must fall between 16 and 26 A.D. Nineteen years later, *i.e.*, between 35 and 45, the Kushāna ruler of the Panj-tār record had assumed the title *Mahārāja*, and 33 years later, *i.e.*, between 49 and 59, he uses the imperial titles *Mahārāja rājātirāja dēvaputra*. If the ruler in question was Kujūla Kadphises, he had already a distinguished career behind him when he began his conquest of the Parthian empire. He had succeeded some other ruler as *yavuga*, and he had subjected four

¹ *l.c.* p. 581 ff.

² Cf. Franke, *Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntnis der Türkvölker und Skythen Zentralasiens*, Berlin, 1904, pp. 59 f.

other *yarugas* to his rule. He cannot have been quite a young man. If we assume that he was about 40 years old at the time of the Panjtār inscription, his death must have taken place between 75 and 85 A.D., and it will be seen that the establishment of the Śaka era, which I ascribe to his son and successor, falls within that period. On the other hand, he can hardly have been an old man when he started on his eventful career. We know from Chinese sources that that happened after 24 A.D. We can infer, with some confidence, that he was born shortly before or shortly after the beginning of our era, and as he died an octogenarian, that would take us to the same time as I have come to above. I am unable to see how Vima Kadphises can possibly be pressed into the period between Gudufara and the establishment of the Saka era,¹ and the theory that that reckoning was introduced by Vima Kadphises is the only explanation which is not merely based on general chronological considerations but derived from definite statements in Chinese and Indian literature, and I have not seen any serious grounds urged against it.

In such circumstances my identification of the prince (*erjhaṇa*) Kapsia mentioned in l. 5 of the Gudufara inscription with Kujāla Kadphises receives considerable support. He is not distinguished by any title which would lead us to infer that he was a ruling prince. He is not even styled *yaruga*, but simply characterized as *erjhaṇa*, i.e., *kunāra*. We would naturally infer that he had not yet risen to the rank of *yaruga*, and at all events, that his conquest of the other *yarugas* had not yet taken place. He may have been a young man, of say twenty years, and if he were born about the beginning of the Christian era, the date of the Gudufara inscription would correspond to c. 20 A.D.

I do not think that it is possible to arrive at more definite results at the hand of the materials themselves, without any hypothetical interpretation of their text. I believe, however, that there is one indication in one of the ancient Kharōṣṭhī records which may some day lead us to an absolutely certain conclusion about the initial point of the era. I refer to the word *ayasa* in the Taxila scroll inscription.

I have stated above that I think it impossible to explain this *ayasa* as the genitive of the name *Aya*, Azes. But then *ayasa* must be connected with *ashādasa masasa*, and the only question is why the month is characterized as *aya*. *Aya* might, of course, correspond to Sanskrit *ārya*, and Professor Jacobi has mentioned the possibility that the month may have been called Aryan because the Indian and not the Macedonian month is mentioned. It will, however, be seen from a comparison of the dates of the Gudufara, the Pāja, the Kaldarra and the Panjtār inscriptions, that the use of the Indian and not the Macedonian names of the months was a common feature at the time when the Taxila silver scroll was inscribed. I therefore still think, as I thought when I published the record, that *ayasa* corresponds to Sanskrit *ādyaśya*. It should be remembered that *ādya* does not become *ajja* in any Prakrit dialect, and that the change of *dy* to *yy* is attested through *uyyāna*, Sanskrit *udyāna*, which is met with both in Pāli and in the Shāhbāzgarhi version of the Aśoka edicts.

When the month Āshāḍha is designated as the "first" Āshāḍha, that does not, of course, mean that Āshāḍha was the first month of the year, but that there were two Āshāḍhas in that particular year. Can this information help us to settle the question about the precise date of the record?

The reply would, of course, be in the negative, if we had to do with the ancient Indian calendar of the Jyōtisha, according to which there was an intercalated Āshāḍha every five years. I have, however, already drawn attention to the fact that the calendar used in the old Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions is not purely Indian but contains foreign, Greco-Macedonian, elements. In other

¹ The difficulty becomes still greater if the Gudufara date and those of the Panjtār and Taxila records are referred to the Vikrama era.

words, we have to do with the initial stages of that development which finally led to the recasting of Indian astronomy and the Indian calendar on purely scientific lines.

The question then arises whether we should not be justified in applying the methods of the *Siddhāntas* to the date of the Taxila silver scroll. It is true that the *Siddhāntas* are later than the inscription. According to Dr. Thibaut,¹ the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* and some other *Siddhāntas* are probably at least some centuries older than 500 A.D., but not necessarily more than two or three centuries older. But then it should be borne in mind that the *Siddhāntas* are the result of a long development and not the first laying down of scientific astronomical principles. It is, therefore, not excluded that their methods can be used for a still older period. The question is not so much what the general Indian astronomer knew about calendar matters in the first century A.D., as what the Indo-Skythian successors of the Greek princes had learnt from their predecessors and how they had arranged their Greco-Indian calendar.

I do not myself understand anything about astronomy, and I cannot, therefore, form an independent opinion. I have, however, submitted the question to my friend the Dutch scholar Dr. W. E. van Wijk, who has been good enough to calculate which years between A.D. 50 and 80 had an intercalated Āshāḍha according to the *Siddhāntas*. He has informed me that such was the case in the years 52 and 71 A.D., and Mr. Sewell has accepted this result.

Of these two dates only the former one is possible. For, if Sam. 136 corresponded to 71 A.D., the 5th Panemos 78, the date of Patika plate, would correspond to 13 A.D., only two years before the Śōḍāsa inscription, and two years are not sufficient for covering the events falling between the two records. The year 52, on the other hand, excellently suits the facts as we know them. If it should prove to be right, the date of the Gudufara inscription would correspond to 10 March 19 A.D., i.e., about 60 years before the beginning of the Śaka era, and if Kapsha, i.e., Kujāla Kadphises, were then twenty years old he would have been born in 1 B.C. The year 103 would have begun in October 18, and the accession of Azes, if the figure 26 refers to an era instituted by him, would fall in the year 9-8 B.C., wherewith it is impossible to know whether the use of the term *varsha* for 'year' points to a year beginning with the rains and not with the autumn.

If this result is accepted, it would become possible to give the dates corresponding to those occurring in other Kharōṣṭhī records of the older series. The Patika plate of the 5th Panemos 78=June 6 B.C.; the Machai inscription of the year 81=4-3 B.C.; the Mount Banj inscription of the year 102=18-19 A.D.; the Pāja inscription of the 15th Śrāvaṇa 111=23 June 27 A.D.; the Kaldarra inscription of the 20th Śrāvaṇa 113=5 July 29 A.D.; the Panjtār inscription of the 1st Śrāvaṇa 122=7 June 38 A.D.; the Taxila silver scroll of the 15th of the first Āshāḍha 136=17 May 52 A.D.; the Dewai inscription of the 8th Vaiśākha 200=24 March 116 A.D.; the Loriyān Tangai inscription of the 27th Prōshthapada 318=27 August 234; the Jamālgarhi inscription of the 1st Aspau (?) 359=September 276 A.D.; the Hashtnagar inscription of the 5th Prōshthapada 384=7 June 300 A.D.; the Skārah Dheri inscription of the 10th (or 20th) Āshāḍha 399=28 April or 8 May 315 A.D.²

I give these identifications with every reserve. Future research may make it necessary to fix the initial point of the era some few years later than I have done, but the relative chronology is, I think, certain. The new arrangement also removes a great difficulty which has been felt by everybody who has studied the history of the Indo-Skythians: the many different eras supposed to be used side by side in their records. The late Dr. Fleet consistently maintained that all the dates of Indo-Skythian records should be referred to the Vikrama era, which he held to be introduced by Kanishka. I do not think that anybody holds that view at the present date.

¹ *Astronomie, Astrologie und Mathematik*, p. 45.

² See *Acta Orientalia*, III, pp. 82 f.

Most scholars are of opinion that the Patika plate stands alone with an era of its own, that the older series should be referred to the Vikrama era, while the Kanishka group is dated in Śaka years. The dates with years higher than 300, finally, it has become customary to refer to the Seleukidan era. M. Foucher¹ has demurred to the latter part of the prevalent theory. I have quoted his remarks about the improbability of the use of a foreign era in private votive inscriptions above, and I think that they are quite to the mark. But I do not think that his own solution of the difficulty is in any way better. He holds that the high figures should be referred to the so-called Maurya era, a suggestion which had already been made by Mr. R. D. Banerji in his valuable paper on the Scythian Period of Indian History.² He reckons the year 322 B.C. as the starting point of the Maurya era and draws attention to the fact that the beginning of the Śaka era comes exactly 400 years after that date. In his opinion the Śaka era is only a continuation of the Maurya era, with omitted hundreds.

It is extraordinary how tenacious this idea of suppressed centuries is. I quite accept the dictum of the late Dr. Fleet³: "There is, in fact, no sound reason for thinking that this irrational method of recording dates was used in ancient times in any territory which comes in any way within the scope of our inquiry." The results of referring the Kharōshthi inscriptions with years higher than 300 to the Maurya era are, moreover, just as fatal as if we use the Seleukidan reckoning. We would have to date the Loriyān Tangai statue in the year 3 B.C. and the Hashtnagar pedestal in 63 A.D. Now palæography seems to be in discredit at the present date, but still I think most scholars would experience some difficulty in ascribing the Loriyān Tangai epigraph to an earlier date than the Gudufara and Pāja inscriptions. M. Foucher himself thinks that the epoch of the Loriyān Tangai *stūpa* is late, and according to him, approximately the second century A.D. The *point d'appui* for this dating is the Kanishka reign, which he supposes to begin about 78 A.D. If now the accession of Kanishka took place more than 50 years after that date,⁴ the Loriyān Tangai *stūpa* must be referred to the third century, as I have done above. M. Foucher, it is true, places the inscribed statues from Loriyān Tangai and Rājār (Hashtnagar) before Kanishka, but it seems to me that his reason, the good style of the foldings of the garments, is far from being convincing. If an older image was broken and had to be replaced by a new statue, the Gandhāra artists of a later period were certainly not more backward in imitating ancient models than the Indian craftsmen of the present day. And statues without heads and hands are, it would seem, not the very best material for drawing chronological conclusions.

Moreover, it would seem to be a necessary preliminary to the reawakening of the theory of a Maurya era to show that the strong reasons cannot be accepted which have been brought into the field in order to show that the whole idea of such an era is without any foundation. And it would have been well to try to explain the curious fact that there is not the slightest reference to any such era in the numerous epigraphs of the great Maurya emperor Aśoka. His inscriptions are, it should be remembered, official documents, and if a Maurya era had been in existence, we should certainly expect to find it used in them. The only inscription in which the Maurya era is supposed to be mentioned, belongs to a different dynasty, that of the Chēdis, and besides, the supposed date is given in such a way that no unbiassed person could be supposed to understand the meaning.⁵

M. Foucher has made no such attempt. He has been content to state that his whole theory stands and falls with the Maurya era, and there is, so far as I can see, absolutely no more

¹ *l.c.* pp. 484 ff.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, 1908, pp. 25 ff.; see especially p. 67.

³ *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 984.

⁴ I hope to show that such was actually the case in my edition of the Zeda inscription.

⁵ For further details I may refer the reader to my remarks, *Acta Orientalia*, I, pp. 12 ff.

foundation for the belief in its existence than there would be if somebody were to suggest that an era was instituted to commemorate the conquest of India by Alexander.

The only objection against referring the high dates in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions to the old Śaka era of which I can think, is that it seems difficult to understand why it was not replaced by the Kanishka era. But then we have the analogy of the Gudufara inscription, which shows that the old era had gained such a firm footing in Yūsufzai that it survived the introduction of a new, Parthian era. There are, on the whole, no traces of Kanishka and his successors in Yūsufzai proper. The capital was no more Pushkalāvati or Shāhbāzgarhī. Those districts, and the country further to the north, where the Gandhāra school of art had had a richer development than anywhere else, were no more in the centre of political activity. Peshāwar, on the high road to the stronghold of the Kushānas in Badakshān,¹ had become the most important city in the west, and the route from Taxila to Peshāwar did not lead through Yūsufzai. That country had been reduced to be an out-of-the-way territory, where Buddhist civilization and art remained, but where political vicissitudes were of little importance. No wonder that the indigenous donors and sculptors went on using the old era, undisturbed by the accession of Kanishka.

TEXT.

- 1 Maharayasa Gudufarasa vasha 20 4 1 1
- 2 samba[tsarae ti]śatimae 1 100 1 1 1 Vesākhasa masasa divase
- 3 [pratha]me [di 1 i]śa [dipe] pachhe Balasamisa [bo]yaṇasa
- 4 par[i]vara [sha]dhad[a]ṇa sapu[ta]dhitasa Mira boyāṇasa
- 5 erjhaṇa Kap[sha]sa puyae madu
- 6 pidu puyae

TRANSLATION.

(During the reign) of the Mahārāja Gudufara, (in) the year 20, in the hundred-and-third year—103—on the first day—d. 1—of the month Vaiśākha, on this *puksha*-day, the chapel (?) of Balasvāmin the Saviour [is] the pious gift of Mira the Saviour, together with his son and daughter, in honour of Prince Kapsha, in honour of his mother and father.

No. 29.—FOUR BHANJA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS.

By

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The Government Epigraphist for India forwarded to me impressions of 4 sets of copper-plate grants belonging to the Bhañja dynasty sent to him by the late Mr. Tarini Charan Rath, B.A., District Munsiff of Aska, Ganjām District. Brief notices in respect of them appeared in Rao Sahib Krishna Sastri's *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1917-18 on pages 12 and 135 ff., paragraphs 10—14. I now edit the charters from the impressions supplied by him, which are reproduced in the accompanying plates.

The Bhañja grants yet discovered number eleven² including the present ones, four of which have been edited in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society* and the rest in this Journal including the one of the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, which has been re-edited by Dr. Kielhorn in Volume IX, above. For facility of reference the charters have been assigned

¹ Cf. Chavannes, *T'oung Pao* II. viii, p. 187?

² Sixteen. See Postscript.



distinguishing letters given below, especially because some of them bear the same name, having been found in the same locality. In editing the two Baudh charters Mr. R. D. Banerji distinguished them by the letters A & B and Mr. Mazumdar gave to the Sonpur grant the letter C, which have been retained in my scheme.

A. Baudh grant of Raṇabhañjadēva of the 54th year; by Banerji, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, page 322 ff.

B. Baudh grant of Raṇabhañjadēva of the 26th year; by Banerji, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, page 325 ff.

C. Sonpur grant of Śatrubhañjadēva; by Mazumdar, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, page 98 ff.

D. Bāmaṅghāṭi grant of Raṇabhañjadēva, *J. B. A. S.*, XL, Part I, page 165 ff.

E. Bāmaṅghāṭi grant of Rājabhañjadēva, *J. B. A. S.*, XL, Part I, page 168 ff.

F. Orissa grant of Vidyādharaḥaṇḍadēva, *J. B. A. S.*, LVI, Part I, page 154, re-edited by Kielhorn in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, page 271.

G. Ganjām plates of Nēṭṛibhañjadēva, *J. B. A. S.*, Vol. V, page 669.

H. Ganjām plates of Nēṭṛibhañjadēva edited below.

I. Ganjām plates of Nēṭṛibhañjadēva edited below.

J. Ganjām plates of Vidyādharaḥaṇḍadēva edited below.

K. Antirigām plates of Yaśabhañjadēva edited below.

The description of these plates supplied by the Epigraphical office is reproduced below.

H. Ganjām plates of Nēṭṛibhañjadēva.

"This is a set of three copper-plates, oblong in shape, strung together on a ring of the same metal, which passes through a hole of about $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter near the proper right margin and has its ends riveted into the arms of the bracket at the back of the seal accompanying it. The ring was uncut when the plates reached this office. The plates have writing on five faces in all, the first plate being engraved only on the inner side. They measure about $6\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth and $3\frac{3}{4}$ " in height. They bear slightly raised rims on either face, though those of the first plate are worn out a little. The ring has a diameter of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ ". The seal is circular in shape and has a diameter of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ". On its countersunk surface it bears in relief the figure of a lion at the top of proper left with the legend 'Śrī-Nēṭṛibhañjadēvasya' below it in two lines. The entire set weighs about 158 tolas."

I. Ganjām plates of Nēṭṛibhañjadēva.

"This is a set of three copper-plates, oblong in shape, strung together on a ring of the same metal which passes through a hole about $\frac{1}{3}$ " in diameter at about 1" from the proper right margin. The ring was uncut when the set reached the office. It carries a fixed seal which is now partly damaged and must have been circular in form originally. The engravings on it are all lost. The first plate is written only on one side while the other two have writing on both the faces. The plates have very slight rims. They measure 6" in breadth and $3\frac{1}{4}$ " in height. The set weighs 71 tolas."

J. Ganjām plates of Vidyādharaḥaṇḍadēva.

"This is a set of three copper-plates, oblong in shape and strung together on a ring $2\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter, which passes through a hole of about $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter near the proper right margin. The ring carries a seal into the two arms of the bracket on the back of which are fixed its two ends. The seal is much damaged so that nothing remains of the original engravings on its surface. Its diameter is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ". The plates measure $7\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth and $3\frac{1}{2}$ " in height. They have writing on four faces in all, the first and the last ones being blank in outer faces. The first plate is broken to the extent of 1" in the right hand top corner. The total weight of the set is 85 tolas. The plates are not uniformly thick, the first being slightly thinner than the other two."

K. Antirigām plates of Yaśabhañjadēva.

"This is a set of three thin copper-plates strung on a ring of the same metal passing through a hole about $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter near the proper right margin. They are oblong in shape and have four faces of writing in all, the first and the last being blank on the outer sides. They have no rims worth the name; still the writing is in good preservation. The ring which is about $1\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter carries a turned knob into the base of which its two ends are fixed. The knob is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ " long and is a miniature representation of the *kalāśikā* seen on the top of the broad umbrella used in the South Indian temples. The plates are a little drawn out in the side margins and have therefore slightly rounded corners. They measure about $8\frac{1}{4}$ " in breadth and $3\frac{1}{2}$ " in height. The weight of the set is 72 tolas. The plates were found in a village called **Antirigām** in the Pūrbakhaṇḍa division of the Chatrapur tāluk, not far from Jaugūḍa, in a field while ploughing."

The language of all the records is Sanskrit written in the Nāgarī character influenced by the Oriyā style more conspicuously in charter K than the three others, which closely resemble one another not only in characters, but in the phraseology used in them. All the records as usual are divided into three portions, the first and the third in verse, the former recording the invocations to the family god and the genealogy of the king and the latter benedictions and imprecations quoted from religious books, while the second or the middle portion in prose deals with the business in hand. There is also a little prose at the end of the records giving the names of the messenger, the writer, the engraver and the seal-affixer. The first portion being composed by a learned man of the court once for all during the currency of a reign, is always ornate and so it is in the present grants. The second is usually full of mistakes, as business respects neither rhetoric nor grammar and goes straight to the point, even admitting forms like *Scāmisya*, *Śarmisya*, *Agnihōtrisa*, so long as the sense is not obscured. Imprecations being mere quotations from Dharma-Śāstras are pure formalities of the age, given little care in point of accuracy, though in well written records they receive as much attention as the other parts of the records. In our records there is ample evidence of the carelessness with which quotations have been entered. In some cases the verses are incomplete, in others they have been mutilated and strung together in a new form, for instance, see J, where a verse occurs as follows :—

यस्यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फलं । मा भुयफलशङ्का वः परदत्तानुपालनः ॥
which gives a jumble of mis-spellings and misjoinders.

As regards the peculiarities in writing a full description has been given by Dr. Kielhorn in his article on the Orissa plates of Vidyādharaḥaṇḍa, re-edited by him in Vol. IX, pp. 271 ff. in this Journal. His remarks almost wholly apply to the plates H, I and J, and need not be repeated. The plates K are more modern than the other three and exhibit more prominently the Oriyā style of writing, the chief characteristic of which is the rounding of the straight or angular portions into a curve. The plates H, I and J will show that the top lines of letters are not straight, but slightly curved, furnishing each letter with a sort of a horn. In K the form of क gets transformed into क, अ into अ, ग into ग and so on. These are really Oriyā letters. Of course Oriyā characters are no other than Nāgarī letters with the inevitable rounding resulting from an iron stylus playing on palm leaves, which would be torn if straight lines were drawn on them. As a matter of fact the slanting limbs of the letters in all these four records are too prominent to require any mention. I would not therefore dilate any further on this point.

I shall now proceed to the contents of the records and the historical data they give us. The charters H and I were issued from Vañjulvaka by Nēṭṭribhañjadēva surnamed Kalyāṇakalāśa, son of Raṇabhañjadēva, grandson of Śatrubhañjadēva and great-grandson of Śilābhañjadēva,

H grants a village named **Rātāṅga**¹ in the **Vāsudēvakhaṇḍa-vishaya** to a number of Agnihōtrins belonging to the Kauśika- and Vatsa-gōtras. The plate I grants a village named **Māchchhāḍagrāma** of the **Māchchhāḍakhaṇḍa** to another donee of the Vātsya-gōtra. These two records do not give either the residence of the donees or the place whence their forefathers came, nor do they state the occasion on which they were granted. They state as usual that the gifts were made for increasing the religious merits of the king's father, mother and self. They do not refer to any date whatsoever, but simply say that they were issued at the king's own order and written by the Minister for peace and war, in the case of H by **Savarāja** and in the case of I by **Kubēra**. Both were incised by a goldsmith (*akṣhaśālīka*) named **Durgadēva**. The seal in H was affixed by **Māmmā**, apparently a short form of **Mahāmāyā** (the queen) and in I a lady, named **Jachchhikā** of the noble family. The messenger for H was **Bhaṭṭa Sumaṅgala**, but the name of that in I is not legible.

The charter J was issued by **Mahārāja Vidyādhara** **bhañjadēva**, surnamed **Amōghakalaśa**, son of **Śilābhañjadēva**, grandson of **Digbhañjadēva** and great-grandson of **Ranabhañjadēva**. It was issued from the ancestral capital **Vaṇḍulvaka** and records the grant of a village named **Mūlamāchchhāḍa** (i.e., **Māchchhāḍa** proper) situated in the **Māchchhāḍakhaṇḍa-vishaya** to **Bhaṭṭa Purandara**, an emigrant from **Manmānā**, situated in the district **Taḍisama-vishaya** in **Varabdhī**² (province). In this case as in the previous two, the gift was made for increasing the religious merit of the donor and his parents and bears no date. The record was composed by **Stambha**, the Minister for peace and war, and incised by the goldsmith **Kumārachandra**, and the seal was affixed by **Trikaliṅga-Mahādēvi**, on the record being apparently presented by the Prime Minister **Bhaṭṭa Kēśavādēva**. One **Chāchika** is recorded as the *vārgulika* which appears to be an alternative term for *dūtaka* or messenger.³ All these names occur in plate F except the last, with a medley of offices, which throw a doubt on its genuineness, but this is susceptible of being explained, as would appear later on. The last charter K was issued in the 3rd year (of the king's reign) on the 11th day of the bright fortnight of the **Kārtika** month (known also as **Prabōdhini** **Ēkādaśī**), the day on which **Vishṇu** awakes from his four months' sleep, granting the village **Komyāna** of **Vōḍa-vishaya** to the astrologer **Jagadhara-Śarmaṇ**, resident of **Paṭṭavāḍapāṭaka**, situated in the district of **Koṇṭarāvāṅga-vishaya**, emigrant from **Vapabhūmi**, situated in the middle of **Thihāra-vishaya** by **Yaśabhañjadēva**, son of **Rāyabhañja** II, who was son of **Vīrabhañja**, who was son of **Rāyabhañja** I, who was son of the **Rājādhirāja** **Dēvabhañja**, styled *Samasta-Khiṇjali-dēs-ādhipati* or lord of the whole **Khiṇjali** country, which connects him with the family headed by **Śilābhañjadēva**, from whom the kings referred to in the preceding three (H, I, J) records, were descended. Though **Khiṇjali** is not mentioned in the three foregoing records in hand, it finds a mention in A, B and C. In the latter there is a mention of **Ubhaya-Khiṇjali-maṇḍala** which shows that the **Khiṇjali** was divided into two *maṇḍalas* or divisions, though owned by the same king. The records, however, do not show how **Dēvabhañja**, the original ancestor of **Yaśabhañja**'s family, was connected with the parental stock to which all the kings mentioned in plates A to J appear to belong. From these eleven⁴ records of the **Bhañja** family the following tentative genealogy⁵ may be made out :—

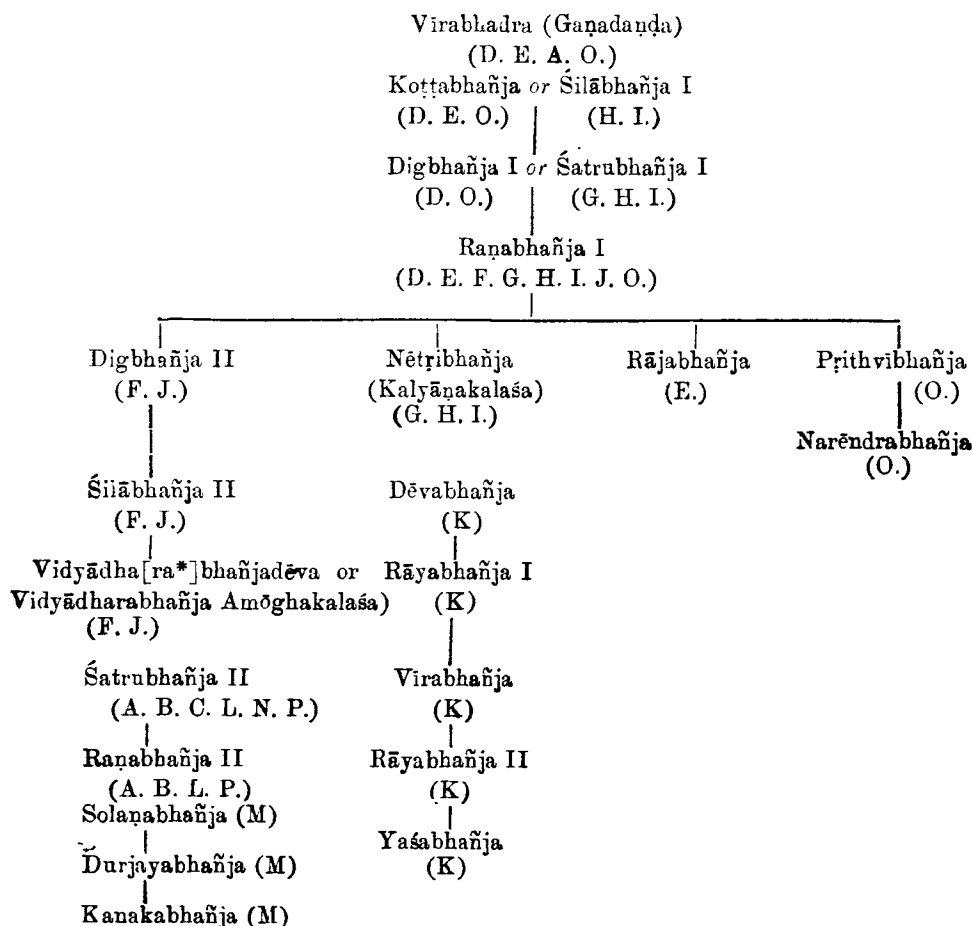
¹ [R. B. Krishna Sastri would read this name as **Arātaha**; see his *Ep. Rep.* for 1917-18. p. 12, No. 6.—Ed.]

² [R. B. Krishna Sastri would read it as **Varēndhi**, see *ibid.*, p. 136, para. 13.—Ed.]

³ [If it is a derivative of the Telugu *vargu* = ledger, the official might have been a ledger-keeper of land given. By analogy it appears to be supported by the Kanarese expression *vargakoḍu* which means "to deliver land to somebody as his property."—Ed.]

⁴ Sixteen. See Postscript.

⁵ [In drawing the genealogical tree we should not lose sight of the fact that some of these rulers used different seals, for such a difference can well indicate a different house or branch of a dynasty.—Ed.]



NOTE:—Letters in the brackets refer to the charters as named in this article and the postscript. Gaṇadaṇḍa appears to have been the title of the original ancestor, which is found in some records in a corrupted form as Gandhaṭa.

In the Bāmanghāṭi charters (D. E.) which appear to be the oldest, it is stated that the original ancestor of the Bhañja family was one Virabhadra, who was reared up by Vaśiṣṭhamuni. From him was descended in the main line king Koṭṭabhañja whose grandson was Rāṇabhañja; this seems to imply that there were several other branches, the senior being the one in which Rāṇabhañja I was born. As the saying goes, two swords cannot remain in a single scabbard, the junior members of the family had apparently no alternative but to settle elsewhere, either as subordinate or independent rulers. It appears that the senior branch continued to observe the Orissa practice of repeating the names of its ancestors, while the junior ones adopted a different scheme. Thus in the main branch with 8 kings, there is only one whose name is not repeated, while in the second there is only a single name out of 6, which has been repeated. In the main line there were 2 Śilābhañjas, 2 Digbhañjas, 2 Śātrubhañjas, and 2 Rāṇabhañjas, although in one case the first Digbhañja was apparently identical with the first Śātrubhañja. In the junior branch there were only 2 Rāyabhañjas. In the main line the word Bhañja forms an integral part of the proper name, without which the latter would be ridiculous. In the junior line this is not the case as its elision would still give an appropriate connotation. For instance, it would be extremely uncomplimentary to name one's

son as Śatru or enemy, unless *bhañja* were to be an integral part of it, which would make him the 'vanquisher of an enemy'. Similarly *śilā* is a rock, but with *bhañja* added, it makes its wearer 'the breaker of rocks'. *Raṇa* is battle, but a king is no battle; he is *Raṇabhañja*, the 'conqueror in battle'. *Diś* are the 4 or 10 quarters. Obviously the king cannot be *diś*, but it is a great compliment to him to be called *Digbhañja*, the 'victor of all the quarters'. There is only one name in that line which appears to be self-sufficient without the *bhañja* and that is *Vidyādhara* found in two plates (F and J) where in each case the last letter *ra* is absent which, however, is supplied by the seal attached to the charter F. By the way I may here note that the king had the title of 'Āmōghakalaśa', which was conjecturally read by Dr. Kielhorn as *Dharmmakalaśa*, owing to an over-engraving in the part where the epithet occurred. It was natural for him to read it as such, on the analogy of *Kalayāṇakalaśa* attached to the name of *Netribhañja*, especially as the last letter looked like double *m*, which was apparently meant for *gh*. Dr. Kielhorn has clearly shown that plates F are palimpsests, but what is most curious is that the alterations are most prominent in the names of the donor, his title and his ministers. Plates J show that the Prime Minister was *Bhaṭṭa Kēśava*deva, who presented the charter to the queen for affixing the royal seal, and that the composer of the charter was *Stambha*, the Minister for peace and war, in whose office it appears that such records used to be prepared. In plates F the offices are reversed, whereby *Kēśava* becomes Minister for peace and war, while *Stambha* becomes the *Mantri*.¹ The alterations were so carelessly made that *Khambha* (the popular form of *Stambha*) continued to be shown as Minister for peace and war and, as such the writer of the charter. This led Dr. Kielhorn to suppose that *Stambha* and *Khambha* were different names, occupying the offices of *Mantri* and *Sandhi-vigrahika* respectively, while *Kēśava* was put down as a messenger, in view of the fact that no messenger was mentioned in the record.

My view of the matter is that the record F was originally prepared during the reign of a short-lived king, the immediate successor of *Śilābhañja* II, but it could not be issued before his death. At this stage *Vidyādhara*, the younger brother of the deceased, was installed, not without a *coup d'état*, which brought the Minister for peace and war to prominence causing the supersession of the Prime Minister *Kēśava* by *Stambha* for the time being. The accession of *Vidyādhara* to the throne must have been an occasion for munificent gifts and apparently the charter F was issued in hot haste, with necessary corrections, though not very carefully carried out as

¹ Our record J which has no signs of being tampered with at all reads as follows at the end :—

साङ्कितं श्रीविक्रमहादेव्या (a) मंत्रिणा श्रीमहेश्वरदेवेन । (b) वारुणिकचाचिकेन लिखितं संधिविग्रहिक श्री-
खम्बेन । चरकौर्षवाचसालीकुमारचन्द्रेण ॥

I think the original record was exactly like this, except perhaps that at (a) the word *प्रवेशितं* and at (b) *समानितं* or some such equivalents were omitted. In tampering with the record the first alteration to have been made was the insertion of the family name of *Stambhadēva* as *Tējadika*, which took the place of *pravēṣitam* at (a) leaving no room for the word *mantriṇā* to precede his proper name, which was next inserted in the place of *Kēśavadēva*. The official designation *mantriṇā* had therefore to follow instead of preceding his name against the usual practice. Thus the word *mantriṇā* had to be put in the place of the unknown word at (b). This necessitated the insertion of his part of the duty (that is, presenting the record to the queen for affixing the royal seal) further on, again against the usual practice, and the word *प्रवेशितं* had therefore to go in the place of *वारुणिक*. There remained now *Kēśava*'s name to be inserted and it was apparently put in the place occupied by *चाचिकेन* which was as usual followed by *लिखितं संधिविग्रहिक*, which was left intact, the duty and the office of the displaced minister thus being joined with his name in this manner. What was omitted to be done was the elision of *खम्बेन* which created an almost meaningless colophon as follows :—

साङ्कितं श्रीमहादेव्या तेजडिकेन श्रीमहेश्वरदेव मंत्रिणा प्रवेशितं केशवेन लिखितं संधिविग्रहिक खम्बेन चरकौर्ष-
वाचसालीकुमारचन्द्रेण ॥३॥

[The expression *Tējadika* might be connected with the Telugu and Kanarese *Tēji* meaning a horse. The title may have been derived from the fact of *Stambha* or his ancestors having been originally *Kēpe*s of royal horses.—Ed.]

referred to before. Things may have afterwards resumed the normal condition including the restoration to office of previous employees, when the charter I was issued. This would also account for the peculiar name Vidyādhara as Śilābhaṇḍa II's successor, who should have been in the ordinary course named as Dighbhaṇḍa III, (who should be no other than the deceased elder brother of Vidyādhara in the present case). I feel this is rather a wild conjecture, but until evidence to the contrary is available, there is nothing strange about it. In Orissa the śāstric custom of continuing ancestral names¹ has survived even up to the present day. For instance, the Rāja of Bāmra is either a Sūḍhaladēva or a Tribhuvanadēva and I have personally known three generations, Sir Sūḍhaladēva, his son Tribhuvanadēva and his grandson Sūḍhaladēva again. In Pāl Lahṛā, situated between Bāmra and Keonjhar, the Rāja is either "Pāt Gaṇēshvara Pāl" or "Pāt Muni Pāl". In the Bhaṇḍa family the recurring names appear to have been four, viz., Śilā, Dig, Śatru and Raṇa, and each has had a repetition according to the inscriptions found. There is nothing to prevent the discovery of a third name-sake of any or all of them.

There are a number of geographical names in the records which have been yet found, but no serious attempt was ever made to identify them. In an appendix to this article I have tried to identify not only places mentioned in the four records in hand, about which I have added a special note in the end, but also those mentioned in charters previously edited. It will be seen from them that the oldest charters D and E refer to villages in the extreme north of the Mayūrabhaṇḍa State, A, B and C to those in the Baudh State to the west, and the remaining ones to those in the Ganjām District. This gives an indication of the extent of the Bhaṇḍa kingdom, which apparently included almost all the tributary states² of Orissa together with the northern portion of the Ganjām District covering about 15,000 square miles, about half of which is occupied by Mayūrbhaṇḍa and Keonjhar States, both of which were owned by Ubhaya-Khiṇḍal-yadhipati, or the lord of both the Khiṇḍalis. This title was retained by the latest king of the family, viz., Yaśabhaṇḍa of charter K, who styled himself as Samasta-Khiṇḍal-dēśādhipati or the 'lord of the whole Khiṇḍali country', which can be no other than the present Keonjhar. The aspirate of the first letter disappeared, a soft *v* after *i* crept in after the Oriyā mode of pronunciation and the *l* at the end changed into *r*, which transformed the original name into Keonjhari or Keonjhar.

The latest *Imperial Gazetteer*³ states, "Keonjhar is divided into two widely dissimilar tracts, Lower Keonjhar being a region of valleys and lowlands, while Upper Keonjhar includes

¹ Cf. V. A. Smith, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 291.

² The traditions of the various Rāj families of these states support it; for instance, the Keonjhar Rāja claims descent from a brother of the Bhaṇḍa king of Mayūrbhaṇḍa State, which is referred to later on in some details. Pāl Lahṛā was admittedly a subordinate of Keonjhar, which claims that one of its Rājas got Athamalik from the Puri king. The Daspallā chief traces his origin to a younger son of Rāja Nārāyaṇa Bhaṇḍ of Baudh, where they say the original Rāja was a Brāhman, but was ousted by the Bhaṇḍa chiefs (Cunningham, *Arch. Rep.*, Vol. XIII, p. 110). The Bonai State of which Rehrakhol is a branch has a peacock for its crest with a curious story, which looks like a variant of the origin of Mayūrabhaṇḍa kings discussed later on. The Bonai legend avers that its original ancestor when born was abandoned and was in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy when a peacock swallowed it and kept it in his craw, until the danger was over. The infant was born under a Kadamba tree, so the family came to be called Kadambavamsī, but it regards the peacock as sacred. This peacock totem certainly establishes a connection with the Mayūrabhaṇḍa family. The Bāmra family are Gaṅgavamsīs, whose connection with the Bhaṇḍas has been shown later on. The chiefs of Dhenkanal admit that they were feudatories of the old Orissa Rājas, who conferred the title of Sāmanta on them. The Athamalik Rāja who bears a similar title has a tradition of his origin similar to that of Mayūrabhaṇḍa, i.e., from an emigrant from Jaipur. The Khandāpara and Nayāgarh States, the latter being an offshoot of the former, got the title of Rāja during the Marāṭha campaign of Orissa. None of the other states, Baramba, Hindol, Narasinghpur, Nilgiri, Bangir, Talcher and Tigaria, encompass an area of more than 400 square miles and could not but have been subordinate to the Bhaṇḍas if they existed as separate entities in those times. See "Who is who in India", Part VIII, Lucknow edition.

³ See Vol. LXV, p. 292

the mountainous high lands." These are natural divisions which must have existed, as they do to-day, during the Bhañja rule, and the word "*ubhaya*" meaning 'both' found in the records in connection with *Khiñjali* not only justifies its use, but affords a clue for the identification of the country. Local chroniclers also support the fact that Keonjhar was ruled by the Bhañja Rājas. Hunter's *Gazetteer*¹ plainly records:—"Keonjhar State originally formed part of Morbhañj, but about 200 years ago, the tribes of this part, finding it a great hardship to travel through the perilous forests of Morbhañj to obtain justice from their prince, separated themselves and set up the brother of the Morbhañj Rāja as their independent ruler." That is to say, Keonjhar separated from the parental stock less than 300 years ago and was part of the Mayūrabhañja State where many of the Bhañja inscriptions were incised.

The records show that there were about three capitals of the Bhañja kings, either co-existing or at different periods of their rule. D. and E., the oldest records as noted before, give *Khijīnggā* or *Khijjīnga* as the residence of the king. This is identical with the present Khiching to the west of Baripada, the present head-quarters of the Mayūrabhañja State. It still contains numerous ancient remains about which Rai Sahib Nagendra Nath Vasu remarks:—"The superior workmanship of these has indeed been a startling discovery for us. The faces of the goddesses beam with radiant smiles which seem to be a realization on stone of the best dreams of poets and artists. The smiles look as fresh and soft as newly-blown buds and illustrate that motherly grace which is a pure Indian conception and is quite distinct from what we find in the Italian painter's Madonna."² A., B. and C. refer to *Dhritipura* as the old capital which is untraceable. F., G., H., I. and J. were issued from *Vañjulvaka* and as the villages mentioned in them are all found in the Ganjam district, it is perhaps not unfair to conclude that *Vañjulvaka* was also situated within that district. The name connotes a superabundance of cane plants, for which the Ganjam district is noted. The last record, K., mentions no capital at all.

In spite of the extensive area occupied by the Bhañja family and its branches, it, however, appears that they were not the sovereign lords of the country they ruled. The original ancestor of the family appears to have been an officer of some *Gaṇa* or Hindu republic, as his title *Gaṇadaṇḍa* indicates. The title was apparently a short form of *Gaṇadaṇḍa-nāyaka* or *Gaṇadaṇḍa-pāla*, the former being equivalent to a Minister and the latter to an officer in charge of the maintenance of the army.³ There are numerous instances of ministers or army officers becoming kings, whenever they found the administration over them weak. Traditions of a strong member of the democracy usurping the power of government and finally becoming king are not wanting in the Orissa *Janapadas* as the political communities were called in olden days of which the Aṭhmallik State is an excellent example. It was ruled by eight representatives of the people by turns, which gave it the name of Aṭhamallika (the tract ruled by eight). It is not very far away from Mayūrabhañja. What wonder that Virabhadra and his descendants should have seen their opportunity and become the sole masters of their political community. Judging from the titles of the inscriptional kings of this line, however, it does not appear that they ever attained to paramount sovereignty, and as such they must have become the *Māṇḍalikas* of the Mahākōśala kings, firstly of the Sōmavamśis of Vinitapura (Binka) and later on, of the Haihayas of Ratanpur, both of whom bore the title of Trikaṭīṅgādhipati or "Lord of the Trikaṭīṅgas," which, apparently, included the Orissa Tributary Mahals. The omission, in the grants, of references to any sovereign power, however, indicates that the Bhañjas enjoyed much extended powers and were at any rate semi-independent chiefs.

¹ Vol. VIII, p. 121 (Second Edition).

² *Mayūrabhañja Arch. Rep.*, Part I, Preface, para vii.

³ Mr. Jaysawal's *Hindu Polity*, Part II, pp. 134 and 147.

There is no record of any conquest made by them, the eulogistic epithet of *Jagadēkamalla-vijayī* added to the name of Yaśabhañja being ambiguous. It may mean 'the conqueror of Jagadēkamalla' or 'the one warrior and conqueror in the world'.¹ It, however, seems that the Rājas of the Bhañja dynasty were connected with the Southern Jaipur instead of the Northern Jaipur of Rājputāna, to which local chroniclers connect them, in the wake of all Rājputs, who consider it an honour to link themselves with the country regarded as the true home of the Kshatriyas. The Jaipur Zamindār, formerly a Rāja, who still holds an estate covering about ten thousand square miles, relates that the predecessors of his family belonged to Śilāvamaśa,² and we know from the Buguda³ and Śaśānka's charters⁴ that the family of Śilōdbhavas or Śailōdbhavas (born of rock or hill) were ruling on that side about the 7th century A.D. It sent out its scions to different parts of the country, one of whom settled in the Vindhya in the Central Provinces and conquered many countries round about, as revealed by the Ragholi plates,⁵ the only record yet found about that branch. Another adventurer, apparently, settled in Mayūrabhañja. The date of the advent of the Mayūrabhañja conqueror, as related in local chronicles (*viz.*, 1,300 years ago),⁶ very well fits in with the dates of the inscriptional Śilōdbhavas, and the family has more than one Bhañja named after Śilā. In fact, the oldest ancestor found in the inscription is named Śilābhañja. Distinguished Indian families usually seek for supernatural origins. As is well known, Rājputs claim descent direct from the Sun or the Moon. This may look edifying, but they have pushed the matter so far as to make it ridiculous. Some trace their origin from an inanimate object or an animal of any kind whatsoever, because such an origin implies some miraculous power. It mystifies the real origin which lurks beneath it and which might cause a blush in its bare nakedness. Here is, for instance, the origin of the Śilōdbhavas as recorded in the Buguda⁷ plates of Mādhavarman :—"There was a personage named Pulindasēna, famous amongst the people of Kalinga. He, although endowed with many excellent qualities, did not covet sovereignty for himself, but rather worshipped Brahmā in order that the god might create a fit ruler of the land. And Brahmā granted his wish and created out of a rock the lord Śilōdbhava, who became the founder of a distinguished family." Laid bare, the story would show that the dwellers of the local mountains or rock produced a person, who became the ruler and as such the founder of a dynasty. In editing the Ragholi plates I have shown how Śailavamaśa was patronymic and how the metronymic of the same family was Gaṅgavamaśa. The dynasty was thus the outcome of a mountaineer husband and a river-born wife (the sacred Ganges), which was delicately turned into a compliment, when describing the local river Śālimā on whose bank Kōṅgēda, the capital of their kings, was situated.⁸ "On its banks covered with flowers of excellent trees," said the eulogist, "pools of water have formed resembling the river of gods (Gaṅgā), which issued from the sky and the streams of whose waters are split and dashed outside by masses of rocks."⁹ Bereft of the allegory, this would signify that a brave mountaineer of Orissa married a Gaṅgavamaśī lady and their son became the founder of a new dynasty. By a similar process the Aṇḍavamaśa family was evolved from a pea-hen's egg. A scion of the Śailavamaśa left his parental home and went to the country where peacocks (Māyūra) abounded, which gave to the people of that locality the appropriate name of Māyūrikas,⁹ as found in the Rājīm stone inscription of Jagapālādēva. He defeated them and thus became the Mayūrabhañja (breaker of Māyūras) and in due course married a Māyurki, a local lady, whose

¹ [The attribute जगदेकमलविजयी given to Yaśabhañja in l. 11, Plate K, is very significant and may lead one to surmise that he defeated one of the Western Chālukya kings of Kalyāṇi, perhaps Jagadēkamalla II himself or one of the feudatories.—H. K. S.]

² Hunter's *Gazetteer*, Vol. VII, p. 64 (Second Edition).

³ Above, Vol. VI, p. 143 ff.

⁴ *New Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. XVII, p. 355.

⁵ Above, Vol. VI, p. 146.

⁶ Above, Vol. III, p. 41 ff.

⁷ Above, Vol. IX, p. 41 ff.

⁸ Above, Vol. IX, p. 42.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 135 ff.

progeny became the founder of a new dynasty. A Māyurki, literally pea-hen,¹ lays eggs and, therefore, her offspring must be *aṇḍajaḥ* or born of an egg. The peacock became the family totem and that is why there is still a strict prohibition against killing peacocks in the Mayūrabhañja State.

Postscript.

It was after I had sent my article to the Government Epigraphist on 6th May 1923 that I received a letter from Mr. McLeod Smith, Dewan of Mayūrabhañja State, dated 21st May 1923, in which, besides giving certain local information in reply to my queries, he was good enough to add that in 1916 a copper-plate grant was found at Khaṇḍadeuli in Parganā Khāntā Pir of the Bāmanghāṭi sub-division, and was published in the 4th volume of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* which I had not consulted at all. This led to a research which brought to light as many as three other grants² of the Bhañja family, published by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar in Vol. II of the Journal, and a genealogy of the same dynasty as given by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the 3rd volume of the same Journal. Had these been before me when I was drafting the above article, the discussion in it would have assumed a somewhat different form, but it is now too late to recast it. I would, therefore, note here the salient points after inserting new names of kings in the genealogical table on page 286 above, and some geographical names in the Appendix, which deals with identification of places. For facility of reference letters L., M., N., O. and P. have been given to these records as follows :—

L. Tasapaikerā grant of Raṇabhañjadēva by Mazumdar, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Volume II, pp. 167 *et seq.*

M. Baudh grant of Kanakabhañjadēva by Mazumdar, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Volume II, pp. 356 *et seq.*

N. Kumrukela grant of Śatrubhañjadēva by Mazumdar, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Volume II, pp. 429 *et seq.*

O. Khaṇḍadeuli grant of Raṇabhañjadēva ? (Narēndrabhañjadēva) by Haraprasad Śāstri, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Volume IV, pp. 172 *et seq.*

P. Patna Museum grant of Raṇabhañjadēva of the 21st year by R. D. Banerji, *Ep. Ind.* (awaiting publication).

Only two records, M. and O., give new names of kings; M. gives Kanakabhañja, son of Durjayabhañja, who was son of Śolanabhañja. They belonged to the Bhañja branch ruling at Baudh and were possibly connected with Śatrubhañja II and his son Raṇabhañja II of A., B., C., L., N. and P. The Plate O. gives Narēndrabhañja, son of Prithvibhañja, son of Raṇabhañja I, son of Koṭṭabhañja, descended from Virabhadra, the original ancestor of the Bhañjas.

In dealing with Plate M., Mr. Mazumdar has given a lengthy discussion on the dates of the Bhañja grants in general, and has come to the following conclusions :—

(1) The present chiefs of Mayūrabhañja and Keonjhar States have no connection with the inscriptional Bhañjas.

(2) There were several offshoots of the early Bhañjas, of which one ruled at Baudh and had under its sway the Baudh and Kimiḍi tracts during the times of Śatrubhañja II. These split up during the reign of his son Raṇabhañja II, who remained a feudatory at Baudh, while a descendant of Nēṭribhañjadēva established a new line of rulers at Kimiḍi.

(3) Kanakabhañja flourished about 1475 A.D. His line was independent of Raṇabhañja II.

¹ [That would be Māyūrī or Māyūrikā, but not Māyurki. The latter, if connected with Māyūraka, will have a different connotation for which see Monier-Williams' Sanskrit-English Dict. under Māyūraka.—Ed.]

² [The two Bhanja grants from Daspalla which Mr. B. Bhattacharyya has edited in the same journal (Vol. VI, pp. 266 ff.) are also to be added to this list.—Ed.]

Mr. R. D. Banerji, reviewing Mr. Mazumdar's discussion, declared the date assigned to Kanakabhañja as absolutely impossible on palæographical grounds. 'We cannot,' he said, 'admit the existence of a Raṇabhañja in 1200 A.D., because the Raṇabhañja of the Bāman-ghāṭi grant¹ was living in the third quarter of the 11th century, according to Mr. Mazumdar, and palæography shows that Raṇabhañja (II), son of Śatrabhañja (II), is earlier than Raṇabhañja (I), son of Digbhañja (I). Mr. Banerji would place Kanakabhañja in the beginning of the 12th century A.D.'

It would thus appear that the Bhañja chronology still remains a subject of great controversy, but, although I do not find sufficient reasons in support of Mr. Mazumdar's theory dissociating the present families of Mayūrabhañja and Keonjhar States from the inscriptional Bhañjas by relegating their origin to an adventurer of Rājputāna, I agree with him as regards the date of Raṇabhañja II, about the end of the 12th century A.D., until Mr. R. D. Banerji establishes his contention, for which he says he is ready. Kanakabhañja may or may not have been very far removed from Raṇabhañja II; but the mere fact that Kanakabhañja's two ancestors only are mentioned in Plate M. does not warrant the conclusion that his grandfather was not connected with the Bhañjas known to have been previously ruling at Baudh. It is true that the Bhañja family sent out several offshoots and they became rulers of different tracts, but at present there is nothing to show that Kanakabhañja's line was a distinct one and supplanted Raṇabhañja II's. Again, the adoption of the Kāśyapa-gōtra in place of the old 'Aṇḍaja' or egg-born is no proof of disparity in view of the accepted rule that 'he who has no gōtra belongs to the Kāśyapa-gōtra.' Kanakabhañja belonged to a much later date than his original ancestor. He must have noticed the contempt with which the origin from an egg must have been looked upon in his time. The easiest thing for him or his immediate predecessors was, therefore, to relegate themselves to the sage Kaśyapa, to which nobody could raise an objection.

By a misreading of the word Khimjali as Khinḍini or Khiñjini Mr. Mazumdar was led to identify it with Khimiḍi and consequently to the conclusion that a branch of the Bhañja family held sway there. In essence he is not very far from the truth, in that a branch belonging to the line of Nēṭribhañja did rule in the Ganjam District, the eastern portion of which was certainly under the Bhañja sway, as a number of villages granted were situated in the Gumsūr, Aska and Chatrapur taluks to which Kimiḍi in the same district adjoins towards the west. Kimiḍi may or may not have been included in the Bhañja dominions, but it was certainly not of such an importance as to have induced the kings to adopt the title of 'Lords of Kimiḍi.' The title 'Lords of both the Khiñjalis (Keonjhar)' was an ancient one, and all the branches of the Bhañja family appear to have taken pride in calling themselves as such, irrespective of whether they continued to be rulers of that tract or not.

With due deference to the learned Mahāmahōpādhyāya Haraprasad Sastri, M.A., C.I.E., who has edited the charter O., which he calls 'Khaṇḍadeuli inscription of Raṇabhañjadēva,' I may perhaps be permitted to state that his descriptive title is inaccurate. The grant should have been described as one of Nārēndrabhañjadēva, who was the real grantor and not his grandfather Raṇabhañjadēva. The latter comes in merely as one of the several ancestors of the donor. The text reads :²—

श्रीरणभंजाख्यः तस्य चौ(चो)पयि(यी)कात्मज(जः) श्रीपृथ्वीमञ्जसुतश्रीनरेन्द्रमञ्जदेवो भूतः ।
 स च मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभितद्वये * * * * बोनुलाग्राम[ः] * * * *
 रान्को आभिधानाय प्रतिपादितो अस्माभिः

¹ The only dated Bhañja charter yet found (D) bears the date 288 which Mr. Mazumdar assigns to the Chōla-Gaṅga era. It is thus equivalent to 1060 A.D.

² J. B. O. R. S., Vol. IV, p. 176.

FOUR BHANJA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS:

H-Ganjam Plates of Netribhanjadeva.

i.

2
4
6
8

2
4
6
8

Handwritten text in Odia script, likely a grant or record, with line numbers 2, 4, 6, and 8 on both sides.

ii.

10
12
14
16
18

10
12
14
16
18

Handwritten text in Odia script, likely a grant or record, with line numbers 10, 12, 14, 16, and 18 on both sides.

iii.

20
22
24
26
28

20
22
24
26
28

Handwritten text in Odia script, likely a grant or record, with line numbers 20, 22, 24, 26, and 28 on both sides.

iiia.

[illegible]

iiib.

40

नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥
महाभारत ॥ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥
महाभारत ॥ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥

40



The language is defective no doubt, but it is clear that the words स and अस्माभिः in the above extract refer to Narēndrabhañjadēva¹ and not to Raṇabhañja. The above extract is preceded by verses giving the genealogy of the Bhañja kings from Virabhadra to Raṇabhañja, apparently taken from a charter composed during the time of Raṇabhañja in which the last line stood as follows :—

श्रीरणभञ्जस्यातः सानुन्व(न)यं प्राह भूपालान् ॥

It appears that the word प्राह has misled the above-named scholar. It was suited to the time when it was composed and not to the one when it was adopted by his grandson's grant-writer. The latter's composition in prose quoted above is an index of his poor knowledge of Sanskrit, although to the best of his ability he endeavoured to convey his meaning by repeating श्रीरणभञ्जस्यः after the close of the quotation in verse and connecting him with his reputed son तस्य चोपयीकामजः, whose सुत or son was नरेन्द्रभञ्जदेवः. And स (he, viz., the latter) was the person who granted the village.

H.—Ganjām Plates of Nētribhañjadēva.

First Plate.

- 1 ओ² [॥*] स्वस्ति [॥*] जयति कुसुमवा(वा)णप्राणविज्ञोभदक्षं स्व-
- 2 किरणपरिवेषोर्जित्यजोर्लुलेखं [॥*] त्रिभुवनभवनान्तर्द्योत-
- 3 भास्वत्प्रदोषं(पः) कनकनिकषगौरं वि(व)भु नेत्रं हरस्य [॥१*]³ शेषाहिरि-
- 4 व ये फणाः प्रविल[स*]न्युद्गास्वरेन्दुत्विषः प्रालियाचलशृङ्गकोट-
- 5 य इव त्वङ्गन्ति येत्युन्नताः। नृत्ताटोपवि[घट्टि]ता इव
- 6 भुजा राजन्ति ये शान्धवास्ते सर्वाघविघातिनः सुरसरित्तो-
- 7 योर्मयः पान्तु वः ॥ [२*]⁴ विजयवज्रलवकात् [॥*] अस्ति जयश्रीनिल-
- 8 यः प्रकटगुणस्तसर्वरिपुगर्वः कल्याणकलशनामा
- 9 राजा निर्दू(धू)तकलिकलुषः⁵ भञ्जामलकुलतिलक[ः*] श्रीशिला-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 10 भञ्जदेवस्य प्रपौत्रः श्रीशत्रुभञ्जदेवस्य नप्ता श्रीरणभ-
- 11 ञ्जदेवस्य सूनुः परममाहेश्वरो मातापितृपादानुध्यान-
- 12 रतः श्रीने[तृ]भञ्जदेवः कुशलो वा[सु]देवखण्डविषये रा-
- 13 जराज[॥*]नकराजपुत्रान् विषयपतिदण्डपाशिक[॥*]न् यथा-
- 14 कालाध्यासिनो व्यवहारिणो ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणान् करणपुरो-
- 15 गान् निवासिजनपदांश्च यथाहं मानयति वो(बो)धयति
- 16 समादिशति सर्वतः शिवमस्माकमन्य[त्] विदितमस्तु

¹ This is further confirmed by his name being inscribed in the medallion (seal ?) at the top, as communicated to me by Babu Kāmākhyā Prasad Basu, Deputy Collector of Mayūrabhañja State.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Metre: *Mālinī*.

⁴ Metre: *Śardulavikrīḍitī*.

⁵ [From अस्ति . . . to कलुषः scans as *Ārya*.—Ed.]

- 17 भवतां एतद्विषयसम्बन्धा(स्वहो) ॥¹ ३रातङ्ग्यामसुतुसी(स्त्री)मापरि-
 18 च्छिन्नीस्माभिन्म[रि*]तापिन्नोरात्म[न*]श्च पुण्याव(भि)वृद्धये ॥¹ वा-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 19 जसनेयचरणाय ॥¹ कण्वशास्त्राय ॥¹ कौशिकगोत्राय³ अघ-
 20 मरिष(र्ष)णप्रवर(राय) विष्वा(श्वा)मित्र[व*][त्]अनुप्रव[राय*] ॥¹ अद्दचदेवस्य
 21 नम्रा जनदे[व]स्य सुत¹ अग्निहोत्रि(त्री) गोलशर्म(र्मा)⁴ अपरगौलश-
 22 र्म(र्मा) ॥¹ नाम अद्दचदेव[:*] ॥ वच्छ(त्स)गोत्रभार्गव[व*]त् । अवनवत् आत्म-
 23 ना अउर्व(और्व)जामदग्निश्च[रि*]नुप्रवर ॥¹ गुह्यशः(श) अग्निहोत्रि-
 24 स्य⁵ नम्रा भा(भ)दृषद्सुलासुतभट्टअग्निहोत्रि भोवड ? ॥¹ वो-
 25 दड ॥¹ मा(म)हादेव ॥¹ शा(शो)वड ॥¹ नाना(मम्यः) ॥¹ [स]लिलधारा-
 पुरःसरिण वि-
 26 धिना प्रतिपादितो(तम)स्माभि[:] । अ(आ)चन्द्रार्कतारा(रं) यावत् अचाटभट्ट-
 27 प्रवेशेन सर्ववाधापरिहारेणाकरत्वेन भुञ्जद्भिर्भूमिगौर-
 28 वात् न केनचिद्वाघातनीयं [॥*] अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदारमुदा-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 29 (दुग्द ॥⁶) हरद्विरग्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयं [॥*] लक्ष्म्यास्तडित्स-
 30 लिलवुद्दु(बुद्दु)दचञ्चलाया दानं फलं परयशः[*]परिपालनञ्च ॥⁷ [३*] उक्त-
 31 च धर्मशास्त्रे [॥*] व(व)डुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभि[:*] सगरादिभि[:*] ।
 यस्य-
 32 स्व यदा भु(भू)मिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फलं ॥[४*] मा भु(भू)दफलशङ्का वः पर-
 33 दत्तेति पार्थिवाः⁸ । स्वदानात्फलमानन्त्यं परदत्तानुपालनं(ने) ॥[५*] स्व-
 34 दत्ता(त्ता) ३परदत्ताम्वा यो हरेत वसू(सु)न्धरां [॥*] स विष्ठायां कृमिभे-
 (भू)त्वा पितु-
 35 मिः सह पश्यते ॥[६*] षष्ठि(ष्टि) वर्ष(र्ष)सहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति भु(भू)-
 मिदः । अ(आ)-

¹ Punctuation superfluous.

² [See f. n. 1 on p. 285 above.—Ed.]

³ [The plate gives नीचावत् and अघसरिणाय.—Ed.]

⁴ This appears to be the name of the first donee ; the second donee also bore the same name, his alternative name being Añchadēva, the same as his grandfather's name. The meaning is rather obscure. What follows in the nominative should all have been in the dative, referring as it does to the description of donees of another gōtra.

⁵ Read चो.

⁶ These *akṣharas* with punctuation are superfluous and should be omitted.

⁷ Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.

⁸ The two letters त्रि and वा have been cut off by the ring-hole of the plate, the former wholly and the latter partially.

⁹ This letter is cut off by the ring-hole of the plate

I-Ganjam Plates of Netribhanjadeva, with damaged seal.

ii a.

iib.

18
20
22
24

- 36 चेसा चानुमन्ता च स एव नरकं व्रजेत् [॥७*] इति कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु)-
वि(बि)न्दुलो-
37 ला(लां) त्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च [१*] सकलमिदमुदा[हृ]तञ्च
38 बुद्धा(बुद्ध्वा) नहि पुरुषै[ः*] परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्या[ः*]¹ [॥८*] स्वयमादिष्टो
रात्र(त्रा)

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 39 दूतकोच भट्टसुमङ्गल[ः*] ॥ लिखितञ्च स[१]न्धिविग्रहिकसव-
40 राज(जेन) ॥ ऊ(उ)त्कीर्णश्चाक्षश[लि]कदुर्मदेवेना(न) ॥ लाञ्छितं मा-
41 आया[ः॥*]

I.—Ganjām Plates of Nēṭribhaṇjadēva.

First Plate.

- 1 ओ² [॥*] स्वस्ति [॥*] जयतु कुसुमवा(वा)णप्राणविजोभद[त्तं]
2 स्वकिरणपरिवेशो(षो)र्जित्यजोर्षेन्द(न्दु)लेखं [१*] त्रिभुवन-
3 भवनान्तर्द्योतभास्वप्र(त्प्र)दीपं(पः) कनकनिकषगोर(गौरं) वि(ब)भुने-
4 त्रं हरस्य [॥१*]³ शेषाहेरिव ये फणाः ⁴प्रविरलन्त्युद्गास्वरे-
5 न्दुत्विषः । प्रालेयाचलु(ल)गृङ्गकोटय इव त्वङ्गन्ति येत्यन(त्युच्च)-
6 ता[ः॥*] नृत्ताटोपविघ[ट्टि]ता इव भुजा राजन्ति ये शाश्व[वा]-
7 स्ते सर्वाघविघातिनः सुरसरितो(त्तो)योर्मय[ः*] पान्तु वः [॥२*]⁵
8 विजयवच्चुल्लवका[त्*१] अस्ति जयश्रीनिलय[ः*] प्रकटग(गु)ण-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 9 [य]स्तुसर्वरिपु[ग]र्व्वः⁶ कल्याणकलशनामा राजा निर्घ(र्घ)तक-
10 लिकलुषः भस्त्रामलकु[ल*]तिलक[ः*] श्रीशिलाभस्त्रदेवस्य प्रपौ-
11 तः श्रीशत्रुभस्त्रदेवस्य नप्ता श्रीरणभस्त्रदेवस्य स्रुत[ः*] परम-
12 माहेश्वरो मातापितृपदानुध्यानरतः श्रीनेतृभस्त्रदेव[ः*] कु-
13 शलो मङ्गाङ्गखण्डराजराज[१*]नकराजपुत्रान् विषयपतिद-
14 ण्डपाशिकान् यथाकालाध्यासिनो व्यवहारिणो ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणान् कर[त्*]-
15 पुरोगान् मि(नि)वासिजनपदां[श्च] यथाहृ(हृ) मानयति वो(वो)धयति स-
16 मादिशति सर्वत[ः*] शिवसम्प्राकमन्यत् विदितमस्तु भव[तां] एत-
17 द्विषयसम्बन्धा(म्बन्धो) मच्छदग्रामस्तुसि(स्त्री)मापरि[च्छि]न्नो[स्माभी](भि)-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 18 आर्तापिचोरात्मन(त्मन)स पुष्पाव(भि)हृ[हृ]ये वाजसेन(सनेय)च[र*]णाय व-
च्छ(त्स)[गो]-
19 चाय प्रवरश्चक्रिरसचनुप्रवरभ[१*]मैव[वाय*] करम्पसामि-

¹ Metre: *Pushpitāgrā*.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Metre: *Mālinī*.

⁴ Read प्रविशसन्त्यु^o as in H. above and J. below.

⁵ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁶ [See footnote 4 on p. 293 above.—Ed.]

- 20 स्व(स्वामिनो) नमा(मे) केशवस्य सुत(ता)[य*] भट्टदण्ड(द्रटाय) सलिलधारा-
पुरस(स)-
21 रेख विधिना प्रतिपादितो(तम)स्माभिः अ(आ)चन्द्रार्कतारा(र) याव[त्*] अचा-
22 टभटप्रवे[शे]न सर्ववा(वा)धा[प]रिहारेणाकरत्वेन भुञ्ज-
23 ह्निर्हर्मागोरवा[न्*]न केनचिद्व्याघातनीयं [॥ अ*]अत्कुलक्रममुदार-
24 मुदाहरद्भिर्न्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयं [॥*] लक्ष्म्या-
25 स्तडित्वलिलवुहु(बुहु)दचच्चलाया दानं फलं परयश[ः]प-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 26 रिपालनञ्च [॥३*]¹ उक्तञ्च धर्मशास्त्रे [॥*] बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता रा-
27 जभि[ः*] सगरादिभि[ः*] । (१) यस्यस्य य[दा] भूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा
28 फलं [॥४*] मा भूदफलशङ्का यः परदत्तेति पार्थिवा[ः*] । (१) स्वदाना-
29 त्फल[मानंत्यं] परदत्तानुपालनं(ने) [॥५*] स्वदत्ता परदत्ताम्वा यो
30 हरेत वसुधरां [॥*] स विष्ठां(ष्ठा)यां कृमिर्भूत्वा पित्र(तृ)भिः
31 सह पच्यते [॥६*] षष्टि(ष्टि)वष(वर्ष)सहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति भूमिदः ।
32 अक्ष(आक्षे)प्ता चानुमता(न्ता) च स ए(तान्ये)व नरकं व्रजेत् [॥७*] इति
कमलदला-
33 म्ब(म्बु)वि(वि)न्दुलोलां त्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च । (१) सकलसि(मि)द-
34 [मु]दा[हृ]तञ्च वु(बु)ध्वा नहि चे(पु)क्षेत(ः) परकीर्तयो विलोप्या[ः] [॥८*]
सर्व²

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 35 स्वयमादिष्टो राज्ञा दूक(त)कोच ओ — — — लिखि[त]ञ्च
36 सान्निविगृहिककुने(वे)र(रे)[ण*] उत्कीर्ण(श्चा)क्षसा(शा)लिकदुर्मदेवेन ।
37 लाञ्छित(तं) जच्छिकाया[ः*] सत्कुलोनायाञ्च [॥*]

J.—Ganjam Plates of Vidyādharaḥḥāṇjadēva.

First Plate.

- 1 ओ³ [॥*] जयति कुसुमवा(वा)णप्राणविचोभदक्ष(क्षं) स्वकिरणपरि-
[वेधोर्जि]⁴-
2 त्यजोने(खे)न्दुलेख(खं) [॥*] त्रिभुवनभवनान्तर्द्योतभास्व[त⁵]अदीपं(पः) कनक-
[निकष]⁴-
3 गौरं विष्णुनेत्र(त्रं) हरस्य⁶ [॥१*] शेषाहिरिव ये फणा[ः*] प्रविलसन्त्यु-
द्भास्वरेन्दुत्वि[षः]⁴
4 प्र[॥*]लेयाचलशृङ्गकोटय इव त्वङ्गन्ति येत्युन्नता[ः*] नृता(त्ता)टो(टो)पविघ्न-
5 टिता इव भुजा राजन्ति ये घान्(शास्त्र)वा ।⁷ ते(स्ते) सर्वाधविघातिन[ः*]
सु[र*]-

¹ Metre : *Posantatilakā*.

² [These two letters appear to be superfluous.—Ed.]

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ The portion of the plate containing the letters in square brackets is broken off.

⁵ [Superfluous.—Ed.]

⁶ Metre : *Mālinī*.

⁷ Punctuation superfluous.

i.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 २ वृद्धिर्लभ्यते ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ वृद्धिर्लभ्यते ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 ४ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ वृद्धिर्लभ्यते ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ वृद्धिर्लभ्यते ॥
 ६ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ वृद्धिर्लभ्यते ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ वृद्धिर्लभ्यते ॥
 ८ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ वृद्धिर्लभ्यते ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ वृद्धिर्लभ्यते ॥
 १० श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ वृद्धिर्लभ्यते ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ वृद्धिर्लभ्यते ॥

iii.

१२ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ वृद्धिर्लभ्यते ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ वृद्धिर्लभ्यते ॥
 १४ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ वृद्धिर्लभ्यते ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ वृद्धिर्लभ्यते ॥
 १६ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ वृद्धिर्लभ्यते ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ वृद्धिर्लभ्यते ॥
 १८ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ वृद्धिर्लभ्यते ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ वृद्धिर्लभ्यते ॥

iib.

20 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 २२ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ २ ॥
 २४ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ ३ ॥
 २६ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ४ ॥

iii.

२८
 ३०

- 6 सरिस्तो(त्तो)योर्मयः पान्तु व[ः ॥२*]¹ स्वस्ति विजयवज्रत्वकात् [।*]
 [अ*]स्ति त्रि(श्री)वि-
 7 जय²निलयप्रकटगुणगणग्रस्तसमस्तरिपुवर्ग(र्गं) आ(अ)नो(मो)घक-
 8 लश(शो)नाम राजा निर्हु(र्धू)तकलिकलुषकत्तप[ः*] भञ्जामलकुल[तिल*]को
 9 महाराजश्रीरणभञ्जदेवस्य प्रप्तौ(पौ)त्र[ः*] श्रीदिग्भञ्जदेवस्य न-
 10 नप्तात्³ श्रीशिलाभञ्जदेवस्य सुत[ः*] परममाहेश्वरो मा-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 11 [ता*]पितृपादानुध्यातो भञ्जामलकुलतिलको महाराजश्रीविद्या-
 12 ध[र*]भञ्ज[दे]व[ः*] कुशली माहाडखण्डविषये यथाकालाध्यासिकुडु(टु)-
 स्वि(म्बि)न[ः*]
 13 सामन्तविषयपतिभोगिभोग्यादि⁴ यथाहिं(हं) मानयति वो(वो)[ध]यति स-
 14 म[।*]ज्ञापयति सर्वतः शिवमस्माकमन्यद्दिदितमस्तु भवता(तां) एतद्दि-
 15 ष[यस]स्व(स्व)द्व(द्वो) सु(मू)लमाहाडग्रामोय(यं) ॥⁵ चतुस्त्रीमापरिच्छिन्नी(त्री)
 16 मातापि[त्रो]रात्मनश्च पुन्या(ण्या)भित्तद्वये मा(आ)चन्द्रार्क(र्कं) ग्रावत् स-
 लिल-
 17 धारापुरस्सरेण विधिना अकरत्वे[न*] वाजसनेयचरणाय रौहित-
 18 सगोत्राय रौहित[।*]ष्टकविश्वामित्रप्रवराय विश्वामित्रवत् [अ*]-
 19 ष्टकवत् रौहितवत् अनुप्रवराय वरेष्वि(म्बि)समन्व(म्बद्वे)⁶ तडिसमावि-
 षय(ये)

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 20 मन्मणाविनिर्गतहरिश्च⁷ शर्मणो नप्ता(प्ते) देवडशर्मणस्य⁸ :
 21 सुतभट्टपुरन्दरः⁹ प्रतिपादितोस्माभिर्यः[।*]यस्ययस्य यदा भु(भू)मिस्त-
 22 स्यतस्य तदा फलं [।*] माभुय(भूद)फलशङ्का व[ः*] परदत्तानुपालनः
 (ने) [॥३*] स्व-
 23 दत्ता(त्तां) परदत्ता(त्ता)म्वा यो हरेति(त) वसुन्धरान्(म्) । स्व(स)
 विष्ठाया(यां) क्षमिर्भु(भू)-
 24 त्वा पितृभिस्सह पच्यते ॥[४*] इति कमलद[ल*]म्बु(म्बु)-
 25 वि(वि)न्दुलोला(लां) त्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च [।*] स-
 26 कलमिदम(सु)दाहृतं(त)ञ्च वु(वु)ध्वा न हि पुरुषै[ः*] परको-

Third Plate.

- 27 त्तयो विलोप्य(प्याः) [॥५*]¹⁰ इति [॥*] लाञ्छितं श्रीतृ(त्रि)कलिङ्गमा(म)-
 हा[दे]-
 28 व्या मा(मं)त्रिणा श्रीभा(भ)ट्टकेश्व(शव)देवेन ॥ वार्गुलिकचाचिक(के)न

¹ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

² Read जयश्रीनिलयः.

³ Delete त् [as well as न at the commencement of the line.—Ed.]

⁴ Here some words appear to have been omitted through oversight. Apparently the correct reading was

भागभोग्यादिजनपदाय.

⁵ Punctuation unnecessary.

⁶ [See foot-note No. 2 on p. 285 above.—Ed.]

⁷ Probably हर्ष.

⁸ [Delete स्य —Ed.]

⁹ Read सुताय भट्टपुरन्दराय.

¹⁰ Metre: *Pushpitāgrā*.

- 29 लिखितं साधिविग्रह(ग्रहिक)श्रीस्ते(स्त)म्भेन ॥ उत्कीर्ण(र्ण)चाक्षसा(शा).
 30 लि[कु]मारचन्द्रेण(ण) ताम्र(स्त्र)शाश(स)नमिति ॥ था ५५

K.—Antirigām Plates of Yaśabhañjadēva.

First Plate.

- 1 श्री¹ स्वस्ति [॥*] आसीद्राजाधिराजो निजभुजविजिताशेषवीरारिवर्णः ।
 स्वर्गव्यापारभारप्र-
 2 [मु]दितहृदयोद्यद्यशोजिष्णुतुष्यः ॥(1) रुद्रध्यानैकधीरो विनयगुणनिधिर्भूपतिर्दो(दे)-
 3 वभञ्जः [1] साचात्र(त्र)श्रीनिवासी वसतिरपि सतां चेतसः सान्द्रभावं ॥² [१*]
 आसीत्तस्यात्मजो[पि]
 4 चित्तिपतिमहितो नीतिशास्त्रैकदक्षः [1] क्षीरसाविधानव्यवसितहृदयः पुष्प-
 रा[सि](ग्रि)-
 5 प्रचारः ॥(1) संग्रामे वैरिवीरप्रहरणनिपुणो भूपतिर्भोगपुञ्जः सर्वाका-
 राभिरामो
 6 भुवि विदितयशा रायभञ्जः समन्तात् ॥[२*] एतस्माद्भुवि नैकविक्रमगुणः
 सौन्दर्य-
 7 सारोदयो जातो राजशिरोमणिर्गुणनिधिः सार्थैकनामाभवत् । शास्त्रा-
 8 स्त्र[व्य]वहारचारुच[तु]रः प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीभृतां व्यर्थान्क(र्थीक)र्तुमलं भुजानिति
 भुवि श्री-
 9 वीरभञ्जो नृपः ॥[३*]³ आसीद्भक्तकुलाब्धि(ब्धि)वर्धनविधुर्विद्याविनोदान्वितो
 जित्वाजो
 10 परिप[न्नि]पार्थिवचयनाथः⁴ पृथिव्याक्षिरं ॥(1) पृथ्वीपालनलब्ध(ब्ध)पुष्प-
 निचयः कारुण्यसा-
 11 रौ[घभू]स्तल्लुर्विजयैकधामविदितः श्रीरायभञ्जः सुधीः ।[1] ४*] तल्लू-
 नुजगदेकमहावि-
 12 जयो चाचाकृत(ष्टाकृत)श्रीयुतः श्मश्रुन्मौलिविभूषणोत्प(त्प)लमखिलग्रांघ्रि-
 पद्मद्वयः ।

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 13 राकोशद्विजहन्वन्दनपटुर्हन्दीक्षतारित्रजो भाति श्रीयस(श)भञ्जदेवपति-
 14 र्हर्षैककर्मोद्यतः ॥³ [५*] स्वस्ति श्रीसकलसुरगुरुद्विजकुलकमलकलि-
 15 काविकासनार्ककलप्रत्यवि(र्थी)कदय(र्थ)नसमक्ष(र्थ)महीमहनीयमहामहिमप्रशस्त-
 सम-
 16 स्तस्त्रिष्वलिदेशाधिपति श्रीयशभञ्ज(भञ्ज)देवः कुशलो । सकलसामन्तस-
 त्रिविग्रहपा-
 17 [त्रा]भात्योपजीविजनस्वर्गसमुद्रवाशेषराजन्य[व]र्गसकलखण्ड-
 18 पालप्रभृतीन् श्री(वी)धयत्यादिशति च मतमस्तु समस्तमेतद्भवतां । वोडा-

¹ Expressed by a symbol.² Metre : Brāhmarī.³ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīṭikā.⁴ Read चक्रावधः

ii a.

iib.

iii.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

- 19 विषयान्तःपातिकोम्याणग्रामः स्वशी(सी)मापरिच्छिन्नः सोद्देशश्चताद्यने-
 20 कवचलतादिसमेतः सविटपारण्यः सजलस्थलमत्स्यकच्छपः स-
 21 जलक्षेत्रभूमिरचट्टभट्टप्रवेशः सकलभागभोगहिरण्यादिप्रत्याय-
 22 समेतस्तस्मात्प्रशासनोक्त्याकरत्वेनाचन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालमस्माभिर्य-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 23 था भूमिदानविधानेन मातापित्रोरात्मनः स्ववंशानां च पुण्यविवृद्धये । श्रीहारावि-
 24 षयमध्यवपभूमिग्रामविनिर्माताय कोण्टरावङ्गविषयान्तःपातिपट्टवाडपाटक-
 25 वास्तव्याय भारद्वाजगोत्रायाङ्गिरसवा(वा)हंसत्यभारद्वाजत्रिप्रवराय यजुर्वेदा-
 ध्यायि-
 26 ने माध्यन्दिनीयशाखाय अनन्तकण्ठपण्डितप्रपौत्राय ज्योतिषिक¹श्रीधरपौत्राय
 27 श्रुतिस्मृतिज्योतिःशास्त्रविद्वाराधरपुत्राय श्रौतस्मार्त्तकर्म(र्मा)निपुण[ज्यो]तिःशा-
 स्त्रैकधी-
 28 रदीक्षितजगधरशर्मणे कार्तिकशुक्लपक्षे विष्णोर्बृहत्(च्छ)यनेकादश्यां हस्तो-
 29 दकेन प्रदत्तः(तं) । एतच्च सर्वैरनुमन्तव्यं । भाविभिरपि नरपतिमिर्दानमिदमनु-
 मत्य पा-
 30 लनीयं । भूमिदानफलगौरवादपहरणे च दोषश्रवणात् । सम्बत्त(त्) ३ कार्तिक
 31 शु(शु)दी(दि) एकादशी । अत्र धर्मातुसंशिनः(शंसिनः) श्लोका लिख्यन्ते । व(व)-
 हुभिवसुधा दत्ता राजभिः स-
 32 गरादिभिः [१*] यस्यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फलं ॥[६*]
 भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति
 33 यच्च भूमि(मि) प्रयच्छति [१*] उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतौ स्वर्गगामि-
 नौ ॥[७*] षष्टिम्(ष्टिं)

Third Plate.

- 34 वर्षसहस्राणि स्व[र्गे] वसति भूमिदः ॥ हरहरकमाप्नोति यावदा[भू]-
 35 तस(सं)प्लवं ॥[८*] गामेकां स्व[र्ग]मेकां च भूमेरप्यर्द्धमङ्गुलं । हरहरकमा-
 36 प्नोति यावदाभूतसंप्लवं ॥[९*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरत वसुधारां [१*] स
 37 विष्टायां कृमिभूत्वा पिबेभिः सह पच्यते ॥[१०*] मा भूमि(द)फलशङ्का
 वः पर-
 38 दत्तेति पाथि(र्थि)वाः । स्वदानात्फलमाप्ने(प्नो)ति परदत्तानुपालने ॥[११*] [३]ति
 39 कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु)वि[बि]न्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च । सकल-
 मिदमुदाहृतं च व(वु)-
 40 द्वा न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥^३ [१२*] अस्मदंशजभूपतिर्यदि पुनर्भू-
 वपोन्यवंशोद्भ-
 41 वो महत्तां परिपालयेदिह महीं तस्मै धृतोऽस्यञ्जलिम् [१*] यो वा लोभव-
 शाच्च पा-
 42 पङ्क(ङ्क)दयात् क्रोधाच्च मच्छासने व्याघातं कुरुते भविष्य नियतं निःसन्ततिः
 किलिवधौ ॥^३ [१३*]

¹ The letter क is inserted above the line.

^३ Metre : Pushpitāgrā.

^३ Metre : Śārdūlanikṛīḍita.

APPENDIX.

Geographical names in the records of Bhañja Kings of Orissa with identifications where ascertained.

Designation of the record and reference to its publication.	Place of find.	Place whence issued.	Villages granted together with the Country or Districts in which they were situated.	Grantee's residence and place whence he emigrated.	REMARKS.
A. Baudh grant of Ranabhañjadēva. (Above, Vol. XII, pp. 322 ff., and Negrentranath Vasu's <i>Mayurbhañja Arch. Report</i> , Vol. I. p. 135 ff.)	Jagati in the Baudh State.	.....	(1) Kōṇināhi (Kontinvi) = Kontami, about 2 miles south of Baudh, situated in the <i>viśāṅga</i> of— (1a) Khāṭiyā whose head-quarters was apparently Khāṭiyā (which is untraceable and has probably merged into Machhia Khanda, a <i>garjana</i> of the Baudh State. Khāṭiyā was included in— (1b) Khinjal-maṇḍala = the present Keonjhar State.	Residence— (1) Amvasasara = Ambasrabhita (?) in Sonpur State, about 12 miles from Baudh. Emigrated from— (2) Apilomulēri = ?	A. B. and C. mention Dhritipura as old capital.
B. Baudh grant of Ranabhañjadēva. (Above, Vol. XII, pp. 323 ff.)	Landore in the Baudh State, now changed to Govindapur.	.....	(2) Vāḷisringā = Bāḷainga, about 2 miles from Baudh and situated on the confluence of the Mahānadi and Sāṅki = Sāki in the Baudh State included in the— (2a) Khāṭiyā- <i>viśāṅga</i> = (1a) of— (2b) Khinjal-maṇḍala = (1b).	Emigrated from— (3) Khaḍavāpali = ?	B. and C. speak of Ubhaya (both) Khinjal-maṇḍala = Upper and Lower Keonjhar.
C. Sonpur grant of Śātrubhañjadēva. (Above, Vol. XI, pp. 98 ff.)	Sonpur State	.....	(3) Mlupādī = ? of— (3a) Rōyārā- <i>viśāṅga</i> whose head-quarters Rōyārā is on the borders of the Sonpur State.	Emigrated from— (4) Alāpagraha = ?	
D. Bāmanghātī grant of Ranabhañjadēva. (<i>J. B. A. S.</i> , XL, Part I, pp. 161 ff., and <i>Mayurbhañja Arch. Report</i> , Vol. I, pp. 141 ff.)	Jamdepur of Bāmanghātī sub-division in the Mayurbhañja State.	Khijjings = Kiching of Mayurbhañja State.	(4) Timandirā = Probably Teṇḍrā, S. W. of Bāmanghātī. (5) Nākolāda = ? (6) Jambupadraka = Probably Jamdā, 8 miles west of Bāmanghātī. (7) Pāsannā = Pāsannā, 7 miles N. W. of Bāmanghātī included in the <i>viśāṅga</i> of— (4a) Korandiyō whose head-quarters is represented by Korinjīyā, 5 miles from Kiching and of—	.....	D. and E. both mention Kichjings Kotte or Khijjings, i.e., the fort Khijjings (= Kiching, 90 miles from Baripadā), as the residence of the king. His original ancestor is stated to have been living in Kotāśrama-tapōvana = Kuting, 32 miles from Baripadā.

E. Bāmanghāṭī grant of Rājā- bhañjadēva. (<i>J. B. A. S.</i> , XL, Part I, pp. 161 ff., and <i>Mayūr. Arch. Rep.</i> , Vol. I, pp. 144 ff.)	Jandapir of Bā- maghāṭī sub- dn. of the May- ūrbhañja State.	Klijiñga = Kich- ing of the May- ūrbhañja State.	(4b) Dēvakupda whose head-quarters is represented by a place of the same name about 8 miles west of Bāman- ghāṭī, 76 miles west of Baripadā, capital of the Mayūrbhañja State. (8) Brāhmanavasti = Brahmanavās, 6 miles from Bāmanghāṭī in the Mayūrbhañja State situated in the <i>viśāya</i> of— (9a) Brāhmanavasti which is now repre- sented by the Bāmanghāṭī sub-divi- sion. (9) Tuṇḍurāva = Tundurā village in the Askā taluka of the Ganjam District situated in the <i>viśāya</i> of— (9a) Ramalavva, whose head-quarters was apparently at Ravulabādo in the Askā taluka. (10) Māchchhāḍagrāma = Māchhgaon in the Cuttack District situated in the <i>viśāya</i> of— (10a) Māchchhāḍa Khaṇḍa whose head- quarters was Māchhgaon. (11) Rātānga = Rōtongo in Gumsūr Taluk of Ganjam District situated in the <i>viśāya</i> of— (11a) Vāṇḍēva Khaṇḍa whose head- quarters was Vāṇḍēvapura, 4 miles from Rātānga. (12) Māchchhāḍagrāma = (10) in the <i>viśāya</i> of— (12a) Māchchhāḍa Khaṇḍa = (10a). (13) Māchchhāḍagrāma = (10) situated in the <i>viśāya</i> of— (13a) Māchchhāḍa Khaṇḍa = (10a).	.....	In all the grants from F. to K. Vāñjulvaka is mentioned as the capi- tal of the donors.
F. Orissa grant of Vidyādhara- bhañjadēva. (<i>J. B. A. S.</i> , LVI, Part I, p. 163, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , Vol. IX, p. 271, and <i>Mayūr. Arch.</i> <i>Rep.</i> , Vol. I, pp. 146 ff.)	.....	Vāñjulvaka	.....	.....
G. Gumsūr grant of Nētrībhañ- jadēva. (<i>J. A. S. B.</i> , Vol. VI, p. 669 ff. and <i>Mayūr. Arch.</i> <i>Rep.</i> , Vol. I, pp. 146 ff.)	Gumsūr in the Ganjam District.	Ditto	Ditto	.....
H. Ganjam grant of Nētrī- bhañjadēva (just dealt with).	.....	Ditto	Ditto	.....
I. Ganjam grant of Nētrī- bhañjadēva (just dealt with).	.....	Ditto	Ditto	.....
J. Ganjam grant of Vidyādhara- bhañjadēva (just dealt with).	.....	Ditto	Ditto	Emigrated from— (5) Manmānā = Mandāra (?) in the Gumsūr Taluk situated in the <i>viśāya</i> of— (5a) Tadiśanā or Tedi- sani = Tadiśinga (?) in the Gumsūr Taluk, 20 miles north of Man- dāra, included in the (5b) Vārebhī? (province) = ?	

¹ See above, p. 286, f. n. 1.² *Ibid.*, f. n. 2.

APPENDIX—*concd.*

Geographical names in the records of Bhañja Kings of Orissa with identifications where ascertained.

Designation of the record and reference to its publication.	Place of find.	Place whence issued.	Villages granted together with the Country or Districts in which they were situated.	Grantee's residence and place whence he emigrated.	REMARKS.
K. Antirigām grant of Yaśa-bhañjadēva (Just dealt with).	Antirigām in the Chatrapur Taluk of the Ganjam District.	Yaśajulvaka.	(14) Komyāṇa = Konomonā in the Chatrapur Taluk of the Ganjam District situated in the <i>viśaya</i> of— (14a) Vōḍā whose head-quarters was Boḍḍa Patṭi, 8 miles from Konomonā in the Chatrapur Taluk of the Ganjam District.	(6) Residence Paṭṭavāḍa-pāṭaka = Patatupuram in the Chatrapur Taluk situated in the <i>viśaya</i> of— (6a) Kōṭarāvaiga whose head-quarters is Kōṭayagada in the Chatrapur Taluk, 8 miles from Patatatanam. (7) Vapabhūmigrāma = Boppangi in Gumeṣṭur Taluk situated in the <i>viśaya</i> of— (7a) Thihāra = ?	Jaipuri is mentioned as conquered by this line of kings. It may be Jaipur Zamindari in the south.
L. Tāsapalkerā grant of Rana-bhañjadēva. (<i>J. B. O. R. S.</i> , Vol. II, pp. 187 ff.)	Binkā in the Sonpur State.	.....	(15) Tāsapalkerā still existing included in— (15a) Uttarapalli = Uṭtaratīra or tract north of the Mahanadi.	Emigrated from (8) Bhaṭa Nirōla = (9) Residence Kāmāri = ?	Refers to Ubhaya-Khūṇ-jeli = Upper and Lower Keonjhar.
M. Baudh grant of Kanaka-bhañjadēva. (<i>J. B. O. R. S.</i> , Vol. II, pp. 356 ff.)	Baudh, capital of the State of the same name.	.....	(16) Bāhulā = ? (17) Beṇḍaki = ? (18) Jamarāpura = ? (19) Simhipura = ? included in— (19a) Dharmapura tract and bounded on the east by Māharapura, on south and west by Kōpāsimhā and on the north by Telanadi = Tel river.	Emigrated from— (10) Madhyadēśa = Tract between Bengal and Orissa— Residence. (11) Hastigrāma = ?	Refers to the Baudh State as the kingdom of the family.

N. Kumurukelā grant of Satrabhañjādēva. (J. B. O. R. S., Vol. II, pp. 459 ff.)	.....	(20) Kamarukelā still existing in the Sonpur State and included in— (21) Jaintāpurā — ? (20a) Kihñjālī-maṇḍala — (1b). (30b) Uttarapalli district — (15a). (22) Bonulā — ? included in— (22a) Siddhāhīrā—viśākya and Ut-tarakhaṇḍa. (23) Vāhiravāda on the Mahānadi included in— (23a) Dakṣiṇapālī or the tract to the south of the Mahānadi.	..... Emigrated from— (12) Vāṅgakuti — ? Residence— (18) Gandhatapāṭi — ? 	Refers to Kihñjīngakotta — Kiching. Mentions Dhritipura as the old capital of the Ubhaya-Kihñjāla.
O. Khapadeull grant of Rapa-bhañjādēva (ac) (Narēndrabhañjādēva). (J. B. O. R. S., Vol. IV, pp. 173 ff.)	Khaṇḍa d e u l l i of M a y ū r- bhañja State.	.....	.....
P. Patna Museum grant of Rapabhañjādēva. (Ep. Ind., awaiting publication.)	.....	.....	.....

NOTE.—With reference to the geographical places mentioned in the 4 records in hand it may be noted that Rottango, heretofore of its Oriya pronunciation, would be regularly Bātāṅga, like Kodolibosonto, which is no other than Kadalibesanta included in the Kudala taluka of the same district. Bātāṅga was included in the Vāṇḍavākhaṇḍa, whose reminiscence is left in Vāṇḍavapur. Machhāḍagrāma, or Māchhāḍagrāma of the Māchhāḍakhaṇḍa or Machhāḍakhaṇḍa, has been the subject of a gift in 8 charters, G. H. & J., twice by Nātrībhañja and once by Vidyādharañja. This appears to indicate its great importance, as apparently the relatives of the donee's family were very anxious to get it back as often as his direct line failed. The name is very expressive, meaning, as it does, the village of fishes. It was at the same time situated in a district having the name "a fish tract". But I could not find a name answering to it in the lists of Ganjam district villages. There is, however, in the Cuttack district a port named Māchhagāon about 9 miles from the Devi estuary and about 40 miles from Gumsūr, which can well be our Māchhāḍagrāma and so I have identified it with that. Owing to the superabundance of fish in that tract, it was appropriately named Māchhāḍagrāma (the village of fishes) and it retains its name intact with the exception of the superfluous *ra* (the Oriya genitive sign) dropped.

The donee in J. came from Mannāpā of the Tadiamā or Tadiamā-viśākya. The latter appears to be named after the Tāda or palm trees which abound in the Ganjam district. In the Gumār taluk there is a village Tarsingī and another named Mañḍarā. It would therefore appear that the first represents the village from which the *viśākya* Tadiamā took its name and the second the corruption of Mannāpā, something like the present Bhañḍarā representing the old Bhañḍarā (see Hirālā's *C. P. and Berar Inscriptions*, page 107). The charter K. gives a number of geographical names, several of which must be sought for in the Chatrapur taluka, where the plates were found in a field, while ploughing, indicating that they had not been carried about from place to place at any rate for several years past. The village granted was Konyāpa likely to be corrupted into Konyāna, which in the Oriya month would become Konomono or Konomona, with which it has been identified. The donee was a resident of Patāpāda-*viśākya* which is apparently the present Patāpur (or Patāpuram). The donee's residence was included in the Konyāvaṅga-*viśākya*, whose head-quarters appears to be represented by Konyāva-*gaḍa*. The donee's family had emigrated from Vapabhūmi, which may be identical with Boppangī. The name of the *viśākya* read as Thihārā is doubtful and it would therefore be useless to try to identify it.

[Mr. C. R. Krishnamachari would identify the Māchhāḍagrāma or Māchhāḍagrāma, the Thihārā, the Bhañḍa-Nirōla, and the Uttarāpātha villages of these grants with Mājigām in the Berhampur, Tikharepāda in the Gumsūr, Nirā in the Aska and Uttarāsali in the Parlakimedi talukas of the Ganjam district respectively.—Ed.]

No. 30.—THE MUNGIR PLATE OF DEVAPALADEVA : SAMVAT 33.

By LIONEL D. BARNETT.

This charter was first published in the year 1788, in Vol. I of the *Asiatick Researches*, p. 123 ff. where a lithographic reproduction and an attempt at translation were presented. About that time the plate disappeared. In 1892 the late Professor Kielhorn republished the text with a corrected translation in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXI, p. 254 ff., on the basis of the edition in the *Asiatick Researches*; as will be seen, he accomplished the task with his wonted skill and success. But no trace of the original plate could be found.

Recently, while repairs were being made in Kenwood House, a dirty and discoloured metal plate inscribed with Indian characters was found hidden away between a beam and the roof. It was brought to me for identification, and I at once recognised it as the long-lost charter of Dēvapālādēva. Then Mr. Plenderleith, of the Science Laboratory attached to the British Museum, came to my aid and skilfully removed the accumulated grime and rust of many generations, so that it is now restored to its original condition, a fine and almost perfectly preserved specimen of medieval Indian metal-work. It seemed desirable to publish a photographic facsimile with an emended transcription of the text, and I have been permitted to do this by the kindness of the Right Honourable the Earl of Iveagh, G.C.V.O., Senior Trustee of the Kenwood Estate.

The plate is of thick copper, measuring $18\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height and $13\frac{3}{4}$ inches in width. On the top of it is soldered a seal, $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches high and at the base $7\frac{3}{8}$ inches wide; in the central panel of this is the well-known Sārnāth device, the *dharma-chakra* with two antelopes at the sides, under which is the royal name, *Śrī-Dēvapālādēvasya*. It is in excellent preservation: with the exception of a very few unimportant syllables, the characters are as cleanly cut as when the plate came from the engraver's hand. The script is typical of the region and date; the letters are about $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch in height. It is needless to treat of the contents, as they are fully discussed in Kielhorn's paper.

The main part of this document, scil. from the beginning to *kārya iti*, l. 46, is duplicated in ll. 1-42 of the Nālandā plate published in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 310 ff. The divergences are few and slight, and I have only noticed the more important.

TEXT.¹

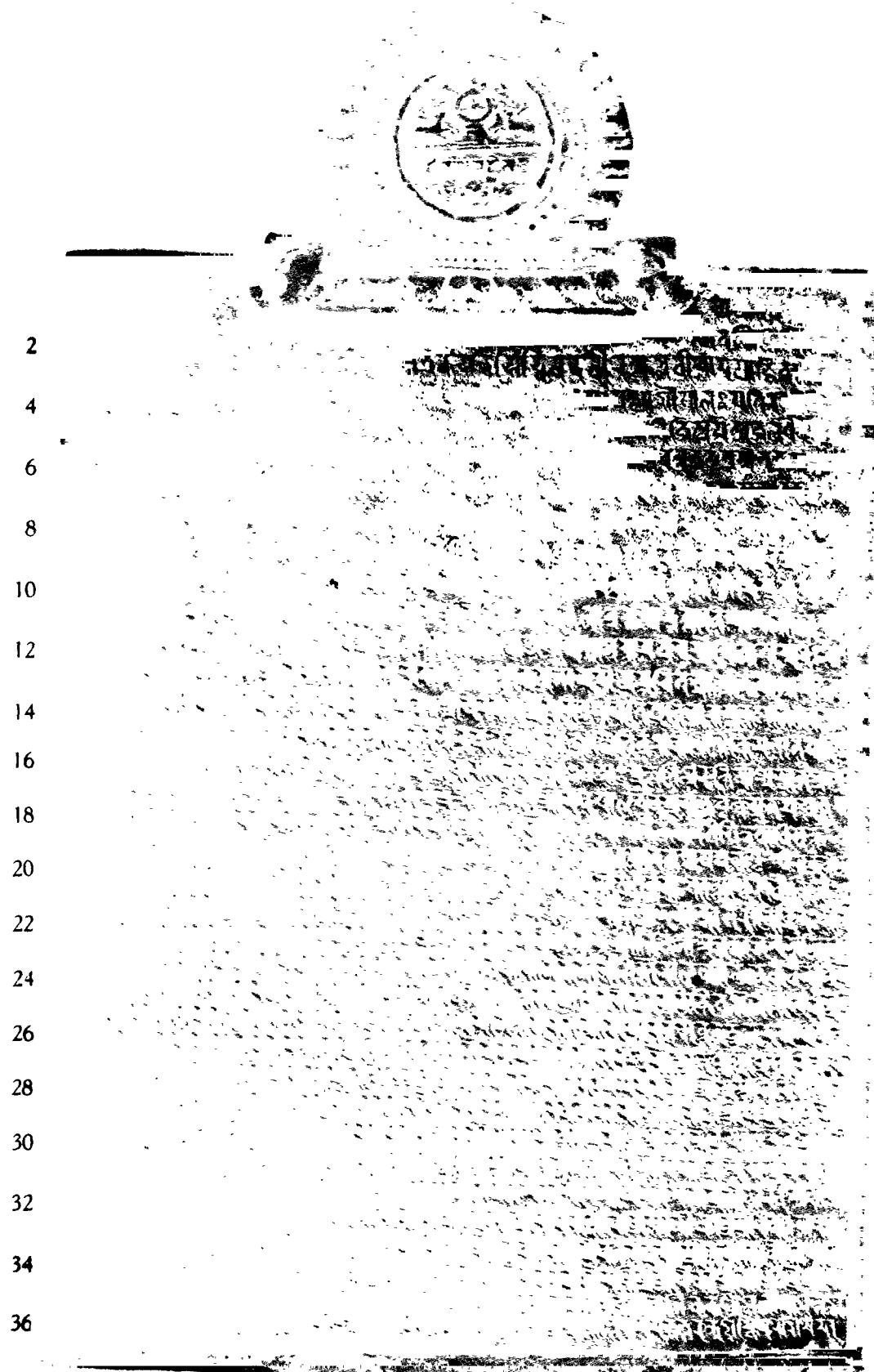
First Side.

- 1 Om² svasti | Siddhārthasya par-ārtha-susthira³.
- 2 matēḥ san-mārgam=abhyasyatas=siddhis=siddhim=a-
- 3 nuttarām=bhagavatas=tasya prajāsu kriyāt | yas=traidhātuka-sat[t*]va-siddhi-pada-vīr-
atyugra-vīry-odayā-jitvā nirvṛti-
- 4 m=āsasāda sugataḥ san=sarvva-bhūm-iśvaraḥ⁴ || [1*] Saubhāgyan=dadhad=atulaṁ
śriyas=sapatnyā Gōpālāḥ patir=abhavad=vasu-
- 5 ndharāyāḥ | dṛiṣṭ-āntē sati kṛtinām surājñi yasmin=śraddhēyāḥ Prithu-Sagar-ādayō-
py=abhūvan || [2*] Vijitya yēn=ā jaladhēr=vasundha-
- 6 rām vimōchitā mōgha-parigrahā iti | sa-vāshpam=udvāshpa-vilōchanān=punar=vvanēshu
va(ba)ndhūn=dadṛishu(śu)r=mmataṅga-jāḥ || [3*] Cha-
- 7 latsv=anantēshu va(ba)lēshu yasya viśvambharāyā nichitam rajōbbhiḥ | pāda-prachāra-
kshamam=antariksham=vihaṅgamānām suchiram=va(ba)bhūva || [4*]

¹ From the original plate.² Denoted by a symbol.³ [The letter looks more like *ta* than *ra*—Ed.]⁴ The Nālandā plate (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 318) has *sarv-ārtha-bhūm-iśvaraḥ*, which is probably right.

Mungir Plate of Devapala : the 33rd Year

Scale : One Third Linear of the Original



A.—Obverse

- 8 Śāstr-ārtha-bhājā chalatō=nusāsya varṇṇān=pratishtāpayatā sva-dharmm | śrī-
Dharmmapālēna sutēna sō=bhūt=svarga-sthitānām=anṛiṇaḥ
- 9 pitṛiṇām || [5*] Achalair=iva jaṅgamair=yadīyair=vichaladbhir=dviradaiḥ kadar-
thyamānā | nirupaplavam=amva(mba)raṁ prapēdē śa-
- 10 raṇam rēṇu-nibhēna bhūta-dhātṛi || [6*] Kēdārē vidhin=ōpayukta-payasām Gaṅgā-
samēt-āmvu(mbu)dhau Gōkarṇ-ādishu ch=āpy=anu-
- 11 shthitavatām tīrthēshu dharmmyāḥ kriyāḥ | bhṛityānām sukham=ēva yasya
sakalān=uddh[ri*]tya dushṭān=imān lōkān=sā-
- 12 dhayatō'nushaṅga¹-janitā siddhiḥ paratr=āpy=abhūt || [7*] Tais=tair=dig-vijay-
āvasāna-samayē samprēshitānām=paraiḥ sa-
- 13 tkārair=apanīya khēdam=akhilam svām svān=gatānām bhuvam | kṛityam=bhāvaya-
tām yadīyam=uchitam prityā nṛipānām=abhūt=s-ō-
- 14 tkaṇṭham hṛidayam divas=chyutavatām jāti-smarānām=iva || [8*] Śrī-Parava(ba)-
lasya duhituḥ kshiti-patinā **Rāshtrakūṭa**-tilakasya |
- 15 **Raṇṇādēvyāḥ** pāṇir=jagṛihē griha-mēdhinā tēna || [9*] Dhṛita-tanur=iyam Lakshmīḥ
sākshāt=kshiti=nu śarīriṇi kim=avani-patēḥ
- 16 kīrttir=mūrttā'thavā¹ griha-dēvatā [|*] iti vidadhatī śuchy-āchūrā vitarkavatīḥ
prajāḥ prakṛiti-gurubhir=yā śuddh-āntam guṇai-
- 17 r=akarōd=adhaḥ || [10*] Ślāghyā pativrat=āsau muktā-ratnam samudra-śuktir=iva
śrī-**Dēvapālādēvam** prasanna-vṛittam² sutam=asūta || [11*]
- 18 Nirmmalō manasi vāchi samyataḥ kāya-karmmaṇi cha yaḥ sthitaḥ śuchau
rājyam=āpa nirupaplavam pitur=vō(bō)dhi-sat[t*]va iva
- 19 saugataṁ padam || [12*] Bhṛāmyadbhir=vijaya-kramēṇa karibhis=tām=ēva Vindhy-
ātavīm=uddāma-plavamāna-vāshpa-payasō dṛi[shṭāḥ] punar=vā(bā)ndha-
- 20 vāḥ | [|] Kamvō(mbō)jēshu cha yasya vāji-yuvabhir=dhvast-ānya-rāj-aujasō hēshā-
mīśrita-hāri-hēshita-ravāḥ kāntās=chiram vikshitāḥ³ || [13*]
- 21 Yaḥ pūrvam=Va(Ba)linā kṛitaḥ kṛita-yuḡē yēn=āgamad=Bhārgavas=trētāyām praha-
taḥ priya-praṇayinā Karṇṇēna yō dvāparē | vichehbinnaḥ kali-
- 22 nā Śaka-dvishi gatē kālēna lōk-āntaram yēna tyāga-pathaḥ sa ēva hi punar=
vispashṭam=unmilitaḥ || [14*] A(Ā) Gaṅg-āgama-mahitā-
- 23 t-sapatna-sūnyām=ā **Sētu**-prathita-Daśāsya-kētu-kīrttēḥ | urvīm=ā Varuṇa-nikē[ta*]nāch-
cha sindhōr=ā Lakshmī-kula-bhavanāch=cha yō
- 24 vu(bu)bhōja || [15*] Sa khalu Bhāgīrathī-patha-pravarttamāna-nānāvidha-nau-vāṭaka-
sampādita-sētu-va(ba)ndha-nihita-śaila-śikhara-śrē-
- 25 nī-vibhramān=niratisaya-ghana-ghanāghana-ghaṭā - śyāmāyamāna - vāsara - Lakshmī-samā-
ravdha(bdha)-santata-jalada-samaya-sa-
- 26 ndēhāt | udichin-ānēka-nara-pati-prābhṛitikṛit-āpramēya-haya-vāhinī-khara-khur-ōtkhāta-
dhūlī-dhūsarita-dī-
- 27 g-antarālāt | paramēśvara-sēvā-samāyāt-āsēsha-Jamvū(mbū)dvīpa-bhūpāla-pādāta-bhara-
namad-avanēḥ | śrī-**Mudgagiri**-samāvā-

¹ The elision of *a* is denoted by an *avagraha*.

² Kielhorn read *prasanna-vaktraṁ*, and this is supported by the Nālandā plate, l. 16. But our plate has distinctly *-vṛittam*.

³ Our plate has clearly *vikshitāḥ*, as was read by Kielhorn; the Nālandā plate however has *chira-prīṇitāḥ*, l. 13).

- 28 sita-śrīmaj-jaya-skandhāvārāt parama-saugata-paramēśvara-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāj-
ādhirāja-śrī-Dharmapāladēva-
- 29 pād-ānudyātāḥ parama-saugataḥ paramēśvara-parama-bhaṭṭārakō mahārāj-ādhirājaḥ
śrīmān=Dēvapāladēvaḥ kuśali |
- 30 Śrīnagara-bhuktau Krimilā-vishay-āntaḥpāti-sva-samva(mba)ddh-āvichchhinna-tal-
ōpēta-Mēshikā-grāmē samupagatā-
- 31 na(n) sarvvān=ēva rāṇaka- | rāja-putra- | amātya- | mahākārttākṛitika- | mahā-
daṇḍanāyaka- | mahā-pratīhāra- | mahā-sā-
- 32 manta- | mahādauḥśādhāśādhani- | mahā-kumār-āmātya- | pramātri- | sarabhaṅga- |
rājasthāniya- | uparika- | dāśā-
- 33 parādhika- | chaurōddharanika- | dāṇḍika- | dāṇḍapāśika- | śaulkika- | gaulmika- | ksha-
(kshē)trapa- | prāntapāla- | kōṭṭapāla- |
- 34 khaṇḍaraksha- | tad-āyuktaka- | viniyuktaka- | hasty-aśv-ōshṭra-va(ba)la-vyāpṛitaka-
[*] kiśōra-vaḍavā-gō-mahishy-aj-āvik-ādhyaksha- | dūta-praishani-
- 35 ka- | gamāgamika- | abhityaramāṇa- | vishaya-pati- | tara-pati- | tarika- | Gauḍa-Mālava-
Khaśa-Hūṇa-Kulika-Karṇāṭa-Lā[ta]-chāṭa-bhaṭa-
- 36 sēvak-ādīna(n) anyāmś=ch=ākīrtitān sva-pāda-padm-ōpajivinaḥ prativāsinaś=cha vrā-
(brā)hmaṇ-ōttarān mahattara-kuṭumvi(mbi)-purōga-mēd-ā

Second Side.

- 37 1ndhraka-Chaṇḍāla-paryantān samājñ(ā)payati Veditam=a-
- 38 stu bhavatām yath=ōparilikhita-Mēshikā-grāmāḥ sva-si-
- 39 mā-trīṇa-yūti-gōchara-paryantaḥ sa-talaḥ s-ōddēśaḥ s-āmra-madhūkaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ
sa-matsyaḥ sa-trīṇaḥ s-ōparikaraḥ sa-daś-ā-
- 40 parādhaḥ sa-chaurōddharanaḥ pariḥṛita-sarvva-pīḍaḥ | a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśō¹kiñchit²-
pragrāhyō rājakulīya-³pratyāya-samē-
- 41 tō bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyēn=ā-chandr-[ārka]-kshiti-sama-kālaḥ⁴ pūrvva-datta-bhukta-
bhujyamāna-dēva-vra(bra)hma-dēya-varjīto mayā mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha pu-
- 42 ŋya-yaśō-bhividdhayē vēd-ā[rtha]-vidō yajvanō Bhaṭṭa-Viśvarātasya pautrāya
vidy-āvadāta-chētasō Bhaṭṭa-śrī-Varāharātasya putrāya |
- 43 pada-vākya-pramāṇa-vidyā-pāram-gatāya | Aupamanyava-sa-grō(gō)trāya | Āślāyana⁵-
sa-vra(bra)hmachārīṇē | Bhaṭṭa-[pravara⁶]-Vihēkarāta-miśrāya
- 44 śāsanīkṛitya pratipāditāḥ [*] Yatō bhavadbhiḥ sarvvair=ēva bhūmēr=dāna-phala-
gauravād-apaharaṇē mahā-naraka-pāta-bhayāch=cha dānam=i-
- 45 dam=anumōdya pā[la]niyam prativāsibhiḥ kshētrakaraiś=ch=ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyair-
bhūtvā samuchita-kara-hiraṇy-ādēy-ādi-sarvva-pratyāy-ōpana-
- 46 yaḥ ka(ā)rya iti | [Sa]mvat 33 Mārga-dinō 21 | Tathā cha dharm-ānuśāsa(sa)na-
śōkāḥ | Sarvān=ētān bhāvināḥ pāṭhivāndrān

¹ [The symbol seems to read *śāśa*.—Ed.]

² The elided *a* is denoted by an *acagraha*.

³ [Like the Nālandā plate, this charter clearly gives *samasta* before *pratyāya*. Kielhorn was doubtful about the reading of this word. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 256, f. n. 3A.—Ed.]

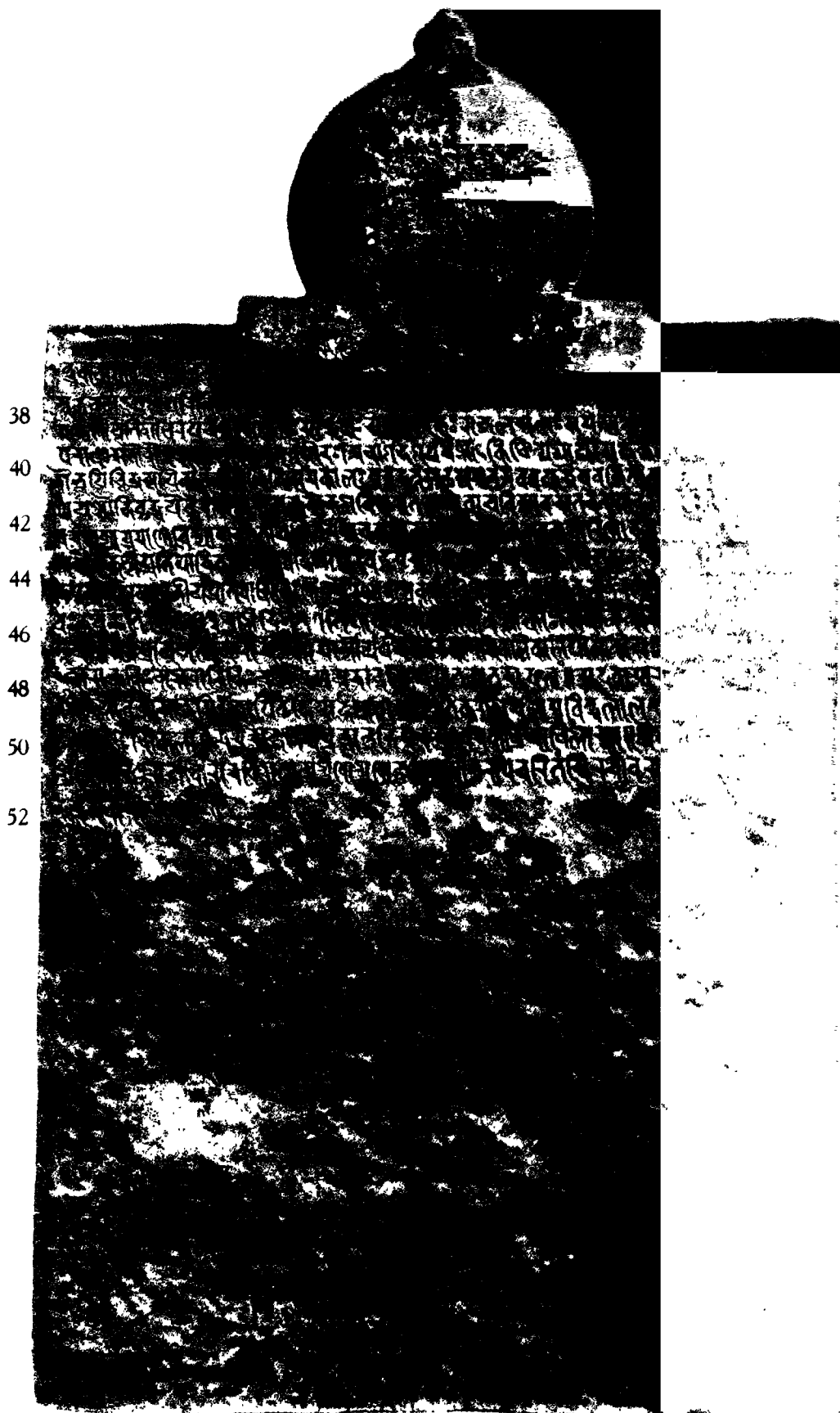
⁴ [I think the text reads *kālaḥ* as it does in the Nālandā plate, L 36, cf. other nasal symbols for *kālaḥ* in ll. 38 and 51.—Ed.]

⁵ Read *Āślāyana*.

⁶ So read in previous editions : the letters are no longer legible.

Mungir Plate of Devapala : the 33rd Year

Scale : One Third Linear of the Original



- 47 bhūyō bhūyaḥ prārthayaty=ēsha Rāmaḥ [1*] sāmānyō=yaṁ dharma-sētur=
nṛipāṇām(m) kālē kālē pālaniyaḥ kramēṇaḥ [16*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vasudhā
48 dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ [1*] yasyayasya yadā bhūmiḥ(s=)tasyatasya tadā
phalam || [17*] Sva-dattām=para-dattām=vā yō harēta vasu-
49 ndharān(m)² [1*] sa vishṭhāyā[m*] kṛimir=bhūtvā pitribhis=saha ³pachyat[ē] [18*]
Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlan(lām)² śrī(śrī)yam=anuchintya manushya-
50 jivitañ=cha | sakalam=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha vu(bu)ddh[v*]ā na hi purushaiḥ para-
kirttayō vilōpyā[h*] || [19*] Srēyō-vidhāv=ubhayaṇśa-⁴vī-
51 suddhi-lhājām rāj=ātka(ka)rōd=adhigat-ātma-guṇam guṇa-jñāḥ | ātm-ānurūpa-chari-tam
sthira-yauvarājyaṁ śrī-Rājyapālam=i-
52 ha dūtakam=ātma-putram || [20*]

No. 31.—TEKKALI PLATES OF DANARNAVA'S SON INDRAVARMAN.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D. ; HALLE (SAALE).

Ink-impressions of this inscription⁵ were kindly made over to me by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri. The plates belong to Sri L. N. Deb, Esq., Yubraj of **Tekkali** in the Ganjam District of the Madras Presidency. These are "three copper-plates, each measuring about 5½" in breadth and 2½" in height, and strung on a ring of the same metal. The first plate is inscribed only on the inner face, and the third plate bears only one line of writing on the outer face. The plates do not appear to have had raised rims. The ring is 3" in diameter and is fixed in a circular seal measuring 7½" in diameter, on which is engraved the worn figure of a standing bull with raised hump, facing the proper left. The three plates, with ring and seal, weigh 60 tolas."

The writing on the plates is in a state of very good preservation. The alphabet resembles that of other early grants of the Gāṅgas of Kalinga. The letters ण and ञ have the same shape as in the majority of them,⁶ while in one of the grants of Indravarman⁷ the ण closely resembles the ञ. The *jihvāmūliya* is employed in line 18, and the *upadhmāniya* five times. A final form of *m* occurs in line 27. The group म् is written correctly in line 10, but is expressed by म् in lines 3 and 31. In line 30 occur the numerical symbol 100 and the two decimal figures 5 and 4. The language of the inscription is on the whole very correct Sanskrit prose, with three verses 'sung by Vyāsa', quoted in lines 25-29. Line 14 contains a few Dravidian words (*amba-achchi-pōṭi*).

The date of this inscription (l. 30) is the year 100 54=154; i.e. the first of the three figures is expressed by the numerical symbol '100', and the two remaining figures are decimals. This fresh date induced me to re-examine the year of the Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarmaṇ, son of Guṇārṇava, which I had originally read as 100 80 3.⁸ Kielhorn noted already that the middle figure is certainly not the numerical symbol '80', but the decimal '8'.⁹ The third figure of the year does not resemble the usual form of '3'; but, as the date is recorded also in words, it must be meant for '3'. Bühler solved this little problem in a very ingenious manner by explaining

¹ Read *kramēṇa*.

² [The original wrongly gives *pāchyatē*—Ed.]

³ [I think we can read it as ण—Ed.]

⁴ Read *ubhaya-vaṁśa*.

⁵ See the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1924, p. 10, App. A, No. 1, and p. 97, para. 2.

⁶ See e.g. above, Vol. XIV, p. 361; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 123; above, Vol. III, p. 121.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII, p. 120.

⁸ Above, Vol. III, p. 133.

⁹ Above, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 91, note 7.

the figure '3' of these plates as an abbreviation of *lōka*, 'the (three) worlds'.¹ Hence the year is in reality **100 83** = 183. The day of the same grant consists of the *decimal* figure '2' followed by a cipher (0) = 20. If we now re-examine the date of the Purle plates of Indravarman, son of Dānārṇava,² the year turns out to be (not 100 40 9, but) **100 37** = 137, and the day **20 0** = 20; and the year of one of the Chicacole plates of Indravarman is not 100 40 6,³ but **100 38** = 138, and its day is **10h** (still expressed by a numerical symbol). If we go back to the other Chicacole plates of Indravarman,⁴ we find that both the second figure of the year and the first figure of the day are expressed by numerical symbols: **100 20 8** = 128, and **10 5** = 15. Subsequently to 100 83 = 183, the year of the Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarman, son of Guṇārṇava,⁵ even the *fi st* figure ceases to be represented by a numerical symbol and is expressed by a decimal in **195**, the year of the Siddhāntam plates of Dēvēndravarman, son of Guṇārṇava.⁶ The day of the same grant is **5h**⁷ (changed unnecessarily by the editor into [८*]॥). I may be excused for having gone into such details, because this digression will in future induce editors, including myself, to be more careful and methodical in handling the dates of the Eastern Gāṅgas.

I shall now recapitulate the years of some of the earlier Gāṅga grants, at the end of which the names of certain officers are mentioned.

No. I. Urukā plates of Hastivarman, surnamed Rājasimha or Raṇabhīta (above, Vol. XVII, p. 333). Year **80 0** = 80, in words and figures. Written by Vinayachandra, son of Bhānuchandra.

No. II. Achyutapuram plates of Indravarman, surnamed Rājasimha (above, Vol. III, p. 129). Year **80 7** = 87, in words and figures. Written by the same officer.

No. III. Parlā-Kineḍi plates of Indravarman, surnamed Rājasimha (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 134). Year **90 1** = 91, in words and figures. Written by the same officer.

No. IV. Chicacole plates of Indravarman (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 121). Year **100 20 8** = 128, in figures alone. Engraved by Āditya-Mañchin,⁸ son of Vinayachandra.

No. V. Purle plates of Indravarman, son of Dānārṇava (above, Vol. XIV, p. 362). Year **100 37** = 137, in figures alone. Engraved by Khaṇḍichandra, son of Āditya-Bhōḡika.

No. VI. Tekkali plates of Indravarman, son of Dānārṇava (the subjoined grant). Year **100 54** = 154, in figures alone. Engraved by the same officer.

No. VII. Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarman, son of Guṇārṇava (above, Vol. III, p. 133). Year **100 83** = 183, in words and figures. Engraved by Sarvachandra, son of Khaṇḍichandra-Bhōḡika.

From the preceding list it follows that Nos. I—III were written by Vinayachandra. No. IV was engraved by his son Āditya. Nos. V and VI by Khaṇḍichandra, son of Āditya, and No. VII by Sarvachandra, son of Khaṇḍichandra. In this manner, the names of these menials become an important confirmation of the correctness of the dates of their masters. Moreover, No. V was written by the *Sarvādhikṛita* Śāmbapurōpādhyāya, son of the *Hastyaḍhyakṣha* Dharmachandra II (29-31). In lines 29-32 of the subjoined grant (No. VI of the above list), the latter is stated to have been written by the same officer.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Epigraphy, translated by Kient, p. 78.

² Above, Vol. XIV, p. 362.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 123. In column XV of the Table of Numerals in Bühler's *Indian Paleography*, the symbol '00' must be transferred to the line '3'.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 121.

⁵ Above, Vol. III, p. 133.

⁶ Above, Vol. XIII, p. 125.

⁷ Cf. *Ind.* in the Chicacole plates of Indravarman, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 123.

⁸ See *Bhōḡika* in Nos. V—VII. Mañchin is perhaps an equivalent of the Telugu *Bhōḡi*, 'a palankeen-bearer'; cf. above, Vol. XIII, p. 215, text line 30. Brown's *English Telugu Dictionary* has the form *Bōḡi*.

The executor (*ājñā*) of this grant was the *Mahāmahattara* **Harīśarman** (l. 29 f.). The donee was a Brāhmaṇa named **Skandaśarman** (l. 17), who lived at **Garakhōṇna** (l. 15). The royal donor was **Dānārṇava's** son, the **Kaliṅga** king **Indravarman** of the **Gāṅga** family, who issued this edict from his residence of **Kaliṅganagara**. He seems to have made the grant for the spiritual merit of his mother **Achchipōṭi** (l. 14). The grant was made **at an eclipse of the sun** (l. 15) in the year **154** (of the Gāṅga era) (l. 30). It consisted of a field at the village of **Tuṅgannā** (l. 11) or **Tuṅgana** (l. 21) in the district of **Rūpyavatī** (l. 11).

I am unable to identify either the village granted or its boundaries (ll. 18-22) But the **Rūpyavatī-vishaya** (l. 11) may be connected with the [Rū]pāvarttani-vishaya¹ which contained the village of Sellāda. For, according to Mr. G. Ramadas,² this village belongs to the Tekkali Tāluk, and the subjoined grant is preserved at Tekkali.

TEXT.³

First Plate.

- 1 श्रीं स्वस्ति [॥*] सर्वर्तुसुखरमणोयाद्विजयश्रीनिवासात्कलिङ्गन-
- 2 गरवासकान्महेन्द्राचलामलशिखरप्रतिष्ठितस्य चराचरगु-
- 3 रोस्मकलभुवननिर्माणैकसूत्रधारस्य भगवतो गोकर्ण-⁵
- 4 स्वामिनश्चरणकमलयुगलप्रणामाद्विगतकलिकल-
- 5 ह्यो गाङ्गामलकुलतिलको नयविनयसम्पदामाधार[ः] स्वासि-
- 6 धारापरिस्फुट्वाधिगतसकलकलिङ्गाधिराज्यं प्रविततचतुर्दधि-
- 7 सलिलतरङ्गमेखलावनितलामलयशः⁶ अनेकसमर-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 8 संघट्टविजयजनितजयशब्दप्रतापोपन्नतसमस्तसाम-
- 9 न्तचूडामणिप्रभामञ्जरीपुष्करस्थितचरणे परममा-
- 10 हेश्वरो मातापितृपादानुध्यातश्चोमहानाणवसूनुश्चोमान्महा-
- 11 राजेन्द्रवर्मा रुप्यवतीविषये तुङ्गनाग्रामे सर्वसमवेतान्कुटु-
- 12 ब्धिनस्त्रमाज्ञापयत्यस्ति⁸ विदितमस्तु वो यथास्मिन्यामे हल-
- 13 स्य भूमिर्ब्रह्मदेयदण्डमानमिता सर्वकरभरै परिरुत्याच-
- 14 न्द्रार्कप्रतिष्ठाङ्गत्वा अस्मन्नक्षिपोटिभट्टारिकाया पुण्याभिह-
- 15 हये सूर्योपरागे सलिलपूर्वकं गरखोन्नवास्तव्याय शाण्डि-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 16 स्वसगोत्राय वाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारिणे वेदवेदाङ्गपारगा-
- 17 य स्कन्दशर्मणे सम्पत्ता [॥*] तदेवं विदित्वास्य स्वकीयां भूमिं भुञ्जानस्य न

¹ Madras Epigraphical Report for 1919, p. 14, Appendix A, No. 6.

² Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. XIV, p. 271.

³ From ink-impressions supplied by Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Read गोकर्ण.

⁶ Read °यशः.

⁷ Read °चरखं प°.

⁸ The word अस्ति is superfluous. Cf. Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII, p. 123, note 50; a'ove, Vol. III, p. 132, note 4; Vol. XIII, p. 214, note 2.

- 18 कैमविशवावकायः [1*] सीमालिङ्गान्यप्यस्य क्षेत्रस्य प्रदक्षिणक-
 19 मेष बोधव्यानि [1*] पूर्वेष विद्युद्गङ्गा [1*] दक्षिणेष¹ पुरुषच्छा-
 20 यया पाषाणपङ्क्तिः [1*] पश्चिमेन शक्रेषाटकसीमान्ताः [1*] उत्त-
 21 रेणापि सैव विद्युद्गङ्गा [1*] तुङ्गनतडाकोदकमध्ये[त*] त्वेवं काराख-
 22 र्त्वाः² ब्राह्मणपलान्याच³ निर्मात्य प्रविशति यावत्पश्यति [1*] भविष्य-
 23 तश्च राष्ट्रप्रज्ञापयति [1*] धर्मक्रमविक्रमाणामन्यतम-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 24 योगादवाप्य महीमनुशासद्भिरयन्दानधर्मोनुपालनोयी व्या-
 25 सगीताद्यात्र श्लोका भवन्ति [11*] बहुभिर्व्यसुधा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता [1*]
 26 यस्वयस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फलं [11 १*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा
 27 यद्वाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [1*] महीमहोमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छेयीनु-
 28 पालनम् [11 २*] षष्ठिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*] आ-
 29 चेता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति [11 ३*] आशा महामहत्त-
 30 रहरिशर्मा [1*] प्रवर्धमानविजयराज्यसंवत्सराः [1*] १०० ५४ [1*] लिखित-
 31 मिदं शासनं इत्युक्त्यचधर्मोनुसूनुना सर्वाधिकृतेन श[1*]म्बपुरो-⁵

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 32 पाश्चात्येनोत्कीर्णमादित्यभोगकसूनुना⁶ खण्डिचन्द्रेणेति⁷ [11*]

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-12.) From the residence of **Kaliṅganagara** (l. 1 f.), the worshipper of the god **Gōkarṇa-svāmin** (l. 3 f.) on the **Mahēndra mountain** (l. 2), the **ornament of the spotless family of the Gāṅgas** (l. 5), who has obtained the sovereignty over the whole of **Kaliṅga** (l. 6), the fervent devotee of Mahēśvara, who meditates on the feet of (his) mother and father, the son of the glorious **Dānārṇava**, the glorious **Mahārāja Indravarmān**, commands (as follows) the ryots, accompanied by all (others), at the village of **Tuṅgannā** in the **Rūpyavatī** district (*vishaya*) (ll. 9-12).

(Ll. 12-17.) "Be it known to you that (one) plough (*hala*) of land in this village, measured by the rod (used for) *br.hmadēyas*, exempting (it) from the burden of all taxes, making (it) to last as long as the moon and the sun, has been granted, for the increase of the spiritual merit of (my) mother, the lady **Achchipōṭi**,⁸ at an eclipse of the sun, with previous libations of water, to **Skandaśarman**, who resides at **Garakhonna** (and) belongs to the *gōtra* of the **Sāṇḍilyas**, a student of the **Vājasaneyā** (*charaṇa*), who has mastered the **Vēdas** and **Vēdāṅgas**."

¹ Read दक्षिण.

² Read षष्ठं वर्षं.

³ Read °कौण्डिचन्द्रेणेति.

⁴ Read °कौण्डिचन्द्रेणेति.

⁵ *ambā* (Sanskrit *ambā*) in Telugu means 'a mother', *achchi* in Kanarese the same, and *bōṭi* according to

own's *Telugu-English Dictionary* 'a damsel'.

⁶ Read °खण्डिचन्द्रेणेति.

⁷ See above, Vol. XIV, p. 362, text line 30.

⁸ This line ends with a punctuation.

⁹ Read perhaps °पाश्चात्येन.

[illegible]

8 8
10 10
12 12
14 14

16 16
 18 18
 20 20
 22 22

iii a.

24 24
26 26
28 28
30 30

Handwritten text in a script, likely Pāli, arranged in six horizontal lines. The text is written in a dark ink on a light background. The first line begins with a large, stylized character. The script is consistent throughout the lines.

iii b.

32 32

Handwritten text in a script, likely Pāli, arranged in a single horizontal line. The text is written in a dark ink on a light background. The script is consistent throughout the line.

SEAL (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH).



ENLARGED NEARLY FOUR TIMES THE ORIGINAL SIZE.

(Ll. 18-22.) And the marks of the boundaries of this field are to be known in the order from right to left. To the east, the **Vidyudgaṅgā**. To the south, a row of boulders for (a distance which equals) the shadow of a man.¹ To the west, the boundaries of **Śarkaravāṭaka**. And to the north, the same **Vidyudgaṅgā**. And the water of the tank (*taḍāka*) of **Tuṅgana**,² flowing out of the **Kārākhaṇḍī** and **Brāhmaṇapālani** (canals ?), enters this field until (the crop) ripens."

[Ll. 24-28 contain three verses 'sung by **Vyāsa**']

(Ll. 29-31.) "The executor (*ājñā*) (was) the **Mahāmahattara Hariśarman**. **100 (and) 54 years of the kingdom of increasing victory** (had then passed). This edict (*śāsana*) (was) written by the *Sarvādhikṛita* **Ś[ā]mbapurōpādhyāya**, the son of the *Hastyaadhyaksha* **Dharmachandra**, (and) engraved by **Khaṇḍichandra**, son of **Āditya-Bhōg[i]ka**."

NO. 32.—TEKKALI PLATES OF RAJENDRAVARMAN'S SON DEVENDRAVARMAN.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

These plates belong to Sri Gopinath Deb, Esq., Second Prince of **Tekkali** in the **Ganjām** District of the Madras Presidency. Ink-impressions of them were kindly forwarded to me by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri. These are "three copper-plates, each measuring about 6¼" high and 2¾" broad, and strung on a ring of the same metal. The first plate bears writing only on the inner face. All the inscribed faces appear to have had raised rims, which are now worn out. The ring is about 3½" in diameter and is fixed in a circular seal measuring 1¼" in diameter. The seal is much damaged and broken on one side. It bears the figure of a seated bull, facing the proper left. Below the bull is a lotus, of which only three petals are now visible. The three plates, with ring and seal, weigh 85 tolas."

The writing on the plates is fairly well preserved and distinct, except where it has been wilfully tampered with by some person who erased and changed certain topographical and personal names which the inscription must have contained originally. The alphabet closely resembles that of the **Alamaṇḍa** plates of the year 304.³ The language is very barbarous **Sanskrit** prose, with two equally faulty verses 'sung by **Vyāsa**', which are quoted in lines 24-27.

The inscription⁴ records the grant of a village by the worshipper of the god **Gōkarṇa-svāmin** (l. 5) on the **Mahēndra mountain** (l. 2 f.) and the ornament of the spotless family of the **Gaṅgas**,—the **Mahārāja Dēvēndravarmān**, who was the son of the **Mahārāja Rājēndravarmān** (ll. 12-14). He addressed this edict from his residence of **Kaliṅganagara** (l. 2) to the ryots inhabiting a village whose name has been later on erased and replaced by the word *Ni[y]jino* in **Nāgarī** characters (l. 14). The name of the district in which this village was included has also been tampered with, but may have been originally **[Rū]pavarttani**.⁵ The name of the **Brāhmaṇa** donee seems to have been erased, but he was apparently a 'good poet' (*su-kavi*) and the son of a 'great doorkeeper' (*mahāpratihāra*, l. 17). The description of the boundaries of the village granted (ll. 20-23) has also been tampered with and cannot be restored in full.

¹ Cf. above, Vol. III, p. 134, note 1, and Vol. XIV, p. 363, *passim*.

² This name was spelled *Tuṅganna* in line 11.

³ Above, Vol. III, p. 18.

⁴ See *Ep. Rep.* for 1924, p. 10, App. A, No. 2, and p. 97, para. 2.

⁵ Cf. above, p. 369.

Line 28 f. contains the **date** of the inscription. If the compound [*śata*]-*mayē* is explained as a clerical error for *śata-trayē*, it may be translated by: “**In the year three-hundred and ten of the kingdom of growing victory of the Gaṅga race.**” Dēvēndravarman, whose subjoined grant is dated in the year 310, might then have been a second son and successor of that Rājēndravarman whose first son, Anantavarman, issued the Alamaṇḍa plates of the year 304.¹ The two names of the writer (l. 30) and of the goldsmith (*akṣaśālin*) who engraved the edict (l. 31) remain doubtful and suspicious.

It will be seen that at present this whole document is of very small practical value. But I am publishing it with the hope that, in the light of future discoveries, it may still prove of some use in unravelling the tangled web of the Gāṅga genealogy and chronology.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 3[Ōm] [!]* Svasy=Amara-pur-ānukāriṇa[!]* sarva-rtu-sukha-ra]-⁴
- 2 maṇi(ṇ*)yā l= vijayā(ya)vata[!]* **Kaliṅganagara-vāsakān=Mahē-**
- 3 **ndrāchal-āmala-śikhara-pratishṭhitasya** sa-char-āchara-gurō[!]* sa-
- 4 kala-bhuvana-nirmāṇ-aika-su(sū)tradhārasya śaśāṅka-chu(chū)-
- 5 dāmaṇēr-bhagavatō **Gōkarna(rṇa)-sv[ā]mināś=charaṇa-kamala-**
- 6 yugala-praṇāmād=vigata-Kaliṅkalaṅkō=⁵nō(nō)k-ā-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 7 hava-sa[m*]kshōbha-janita-jaya-śavdā(bdaḥ) pratāp-āvanata-sama-
- 8 sta-sāmanta-chakra-chu(chū)dāmaṇi-prabhā-maṇjari(rī)-puñja-rañja(ñji)ta-
- 9 vara-charaṇa[!]* sita-kumuda-ku[m*]d-ēndēdvāvadāta-⁶ḍi-
- 10 [dgē]śa-7vinirgata-yashō(śō)-dhvast-ārāti-kulāchalō naya-
- 11 vinaya-dayā-dāna-dākshanya⁸-śaury-audārya-satya-tyā-
- 12 g-ādi-guṇa-sa[m*]pad-ādhāra-bhu(bhū)tō **Gāṅg-āmala-kula-ti-**

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 13 **laka(kō)** mahārāja-śrī(śrī)-**Rājēndrava[r]mma-su(sū)nu[r]=mahārāja-**
- 14 śrī(śrī)-**Dēvēndrava[r]m[ā*]** kuśali(lī) . . pavarttany[āṁ]⁹ Ni[y]ino-¹⁰grā-
- 15 ma-nivāsina[!]* kuṭu[mimna][!]*¹¹ samājñāpayati [!]* Vidi-
- 16 tam=astu vō [bhavatām]¹² grāma

¹ Above, Vol. III, p. 18. [See also *Ep. Rep.* for 1924, p. 97, para. 2, and the genealogical table on p. 98.—Ed.]

² From ink-impressions supplied by Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri.

³ Expressed by a symbol. For *svasy*= read *svasty*.

⁴ The tops of the letters of this line are cut away.

⁵ Read *Kali-kalaṅkō*.

⁶ Read *-ēndv-avadāta-*.

⁷ Read *-dig-dēka-* and cf. above, Vol. III, p. 223, text line 7.

⁸ Read *-dākshinya-*.

⁹ One or two letters at the beginning of this word have been erased and corrected. The original reading may have been *Rūpa*.

¹⁰ The name *Ni[y]ino* has been substituted by a second hand. The vowel of the first and second syllables is a *Nāgari* *i*, while this vowel is in every other instance expressed by a curve above the consonant.

¹¹ Read *kuṭuābinah*.

¹² The bracketed word is engraved on an erasure.

i.

2 2

4 4

6 6

2 2

4 4

6 6

iii.

8 8

10 10

12 12

8 8

10 10

12 12

iiib.

14 14

16 16

18 18

14 14

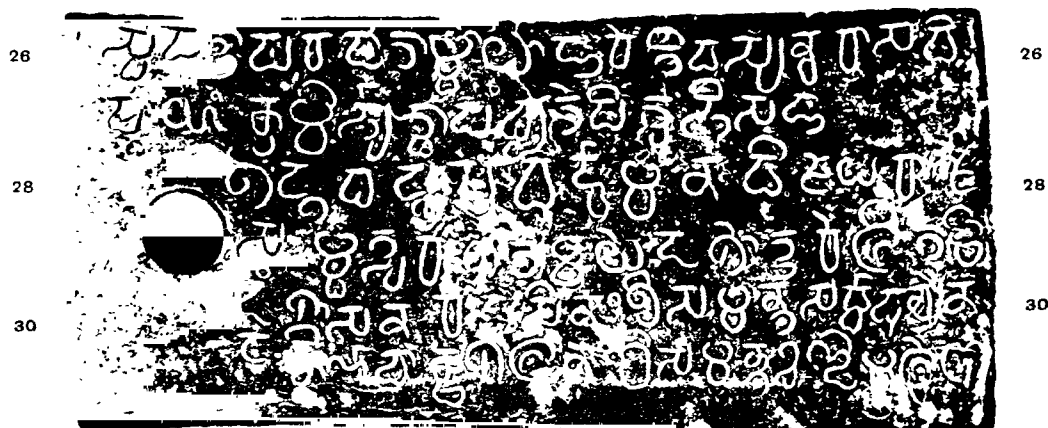
16 16

18 18

iii.



iiib.



SEAL (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH).



(ENLARGED, NEARLY FOUR TIMES THE ORIGINAL SIZE.)

- 17 su(sū)nu-mahāpratihāra¹ . . [śarmaṇa][h*] sutāya su-kavi² mātā-
 18 pitrōr=ātmanas=cha puny(ṇy)-ābhivṛiddhayē t[ā]nv[ra]-śāsana³ sakala-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 19 kara-bharai(ra)-parityāgēna chandr-āditya-paryanta[m*] prada-
 20 tō(ttō) mayā [||*] Atra si(sī)mā-līng[ā*]ni likhyantē [||*] Grāmasya pūrvva-di-
 21 śā(śi) vyāghra[h*]⁴ tatō [gartā⁵ nyag-gatā ?] dakṣiṇēna vāpyā [va]na-rāji[h*]
 ga[rtā]
 22 tatō dakṣiṇa-paśchima-[kō] . . . [ga]rtā tatō(ta) uta(tta)rē-
 23 ṇa tintalikā-⁶vṛi[ksha][h*] [va]na-[rāji]kā [||*] Atra Vyāsa-
 24 gi(gī)tā[h*] [ślō]kā bhavanti [||*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā datā(ttā) r[ā*]jabhi[h*]
 Sagar-ā-
 25 di[bh]i[h*] [||] yasya-yasya yadā bhūmi[s=*]tasya-tasya tath[ā](dā) phala[m || 1*]

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 26 Sva-dattā[m*] para-dātām=vā⁷ yō harēti(ta) vasundharā[m ||*] sa vi-
 27 shṭhāyām kṛimir-bhu(bhū)tvā pachyatē pitribhi[h*] saha [|| 2*]
 28 Gaṅga-va[nśa]-⁸[pra]varddham[ā*]na-vijaya-rāja(jya)-
 29 samvatsarā-⁹[śata]-mayē¹⁰ daś-ōttarē [||*] Li[khi*]tam=i-
 30 ḍam śāsana[m*] ra..[s]in[ām]¹¹ śri(śrī)-s[ā*]manta-Sarvva[chandrē]na(ṇa) (?) [||*]
 31 Utki(tkī)rṇa[m*] ch=ākshaś[ā][i]n[ā] śri(śrī)-s[ā*]manta-Khaṇḍi[malēpā]¹² [||*]

No. 33.—PENUKAPARU GRANT OF JAYASIMHA II.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D. ; HALLE (SAALE).

Ink-impressions of the plates which bear the subjoined inscription¹³ were kindly sent to me by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri. The plates belong to Mr. K. Nagesvara Rao, editor of the *Andhra-Patrikā*, Madras. These are "three copper-plates, each measuring 2½" by 7½", and strung on a ring of the same metal. The first and third plates are inscribed only on their inner face. The ring is 2½" in diameter and is fixed in a circular seal measuring 1½" in diameter. The seal bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, the legend *Śrī-Sarvasiddhi*¹⁴ in Chalukya characters. Above this legend are the figures of a crescent and two stars, and below it a full-blown lotus-flower. The three plates, with ring and seal, weigh 45 tolas."

The writing on the plates is on the whole in a state of good preservation. But some lines near the edges of the plates are damaged by corrosion, especially the two bottom lines of plate

¹ The syllable *ti* looks like *dhī*.² Read *tāmra-śāsana*.³ Cf. above, Vol. III, p. 134, and note 2.⁴ Read *-dattām vā*.⁵ Read perhaps *su-kaviyē*.⁶ This might be the name of some tree.⁷ Cf. above, Vol. III, p. 20, note 6.⁸ Read *-vamsa*.⁹ Read *-samvatsara*.¹⁰ Read perhaps *-śata-trayē*, as suggested in my introductory remarks, and cf. *-śata-dvayē*, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 145, text line 27.¹¹ Read *rahasyēna* and cf. above, Vol. III, p. 21, note 1.¹² Read perhaps *mallēna*. *Khaṇḍi-śrī-sāmanta* occurs in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 145, text line 26 f.¹³ See *Ep. Rep.* for 1924, App. A. No. 4 and p. 98, para. 3.¹⁴ Accordingly, *Sarvasiddhi* must have been a surname of the donor, Jayasimha II, just as it is known to have been one of Jayasimha II; see above, Vol. XVIII, p. 55, notes 3 and 4.

ii, a, where some letters near the end have become illegible. The **alphabet** resembles that of the Chendalūr plates of (the grantor's father) Sarvalōkāśraya (Maṅgiyuvarāja).¹ A final form of *m* occurs in lines 19, 21, 23, 28 and 30. In *Chalukya* (l. 4) and *yugaḷa* (l. 7), *l* is replaced by *ḷ*, which letter is also employed in the Telugu genitive *Bōḷa* (ll. 16, 19). The Telugu letter *r* is used in lines 9, 12 and 14. The **language** is Sanskrit prose, with four verses quoted on plate iii, a. The Telugu word *pōvu*, 'going,' occurs in the description of the boundaries of the grant (l. 17).

The inscription on the plates records a gift of land by the *Mahārāja Sakalalōkāśraya Jayasimha-Vallabha* (l. 8 f.), who was the son of the *Mahārāja Sarvalōkāśraya* (l. 5 f.) and the grandson of the *Mahārāja Vishṇuvardhana* 'who adorned the family of the *Chalukyas*' (l. 4 f.).² The Jayasimha of this grant must be identical with the Eastern Chalukya king *Jayasimha II*, who is known to have been the eldest son and the successor of Sarvalōkāśraya (Maṅgiyuvarāja) and the grandson of Vishṇuvardhana (II); and the subjoined grant is the **first** of Jayasimha II which has hitherto come to light.

In line 9 the king "commands all as follows : Be it known to you (that) by us —." This passage was probably copied from old office records and is left incomplete. It is repeated with modifications and completed in lines 12-17, where the king "commands as follows all ryots inhabiting the district (*vishaya*) of *Karma-rāshṭra* : (Be it known to you that)³ **on the full-moon (tithi) of Jyāishṭha, at the time of Samkrānti**, at the occasion of gifts of land (*bhūmi-dāna*), at the request of *Gobbaḍi*, in the village named *Pepukapaṇu* in *Karma-rāshṭra*,⁴—a field (*kshētra*) in the north-eastern direction of this village has been given (by us).⁵ The limit of this field to the east (is) the *Niḍugatta-taṭāka* (tank); the limit to the south (is) the end of the *Pūsa-Bōḷa-kshētra*;⁶ the limit to the west (is) the road going to; the limit to the north (is) the limit of *Mashakha*."⁷ After a short *lacuna* at the end of line 17 the description of the boundaries is continued; but it is difficult to say whether it refers to the same field as before, or to another. This description ends with the words (l. 20 f.) : 'To the east of the *Tāla-taṭāka*, in the southern half, a rice-field measuring four (*nivartanas* ?) and ending in the east ;' on the north-eastern side of the village (the field lies) between hills (?). The fact that the king granted the field is then stated once more in the first person singular, 'I gave away' (*prādām*, l. 23). The inscription ends with the usual threats and imprecations in prose (ll. 23-26) and in four verses (ll. 26-31). Between the third and fourth verses (l. 30) we are informed that the 'executor (*ājñapti*) of this grant was *Niravadya-Sakalalōkāśraya-śrī-Prithivigāmuṇḍin*. This officer was evidently named after his sovereign's surname, Sakalalōkāśraya (l. 8). The last portion of his title, *gāmuṇḍin*, is probably connected with *gāmuṇḍa*, a *tadbhava* of *grāmakūṭa*; cf. above, Vol. VII, p. 183. His actual name may have been *Gobbaḍi* (l. 14).

The description of the donee, *Era-Drōṇasārman* (l. 12), is sandwiched between the two versions of the passage which records the king's order (l. 9 and l. 12 ff.). He was a Brāhmaṇa of *Vaṅgipaṇu* (l. 9) and belonged to the *Kauṇḍinya-gōtra*, *Taittiriya* (*chārāṇa*) and *Āpastamba-sūtra* (l. 10). His father and grandfather were *Dēvaśārman* (l. 11) and *Guṇjadēvaśārman* (l. 10 respectively).

¹ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 236 ff.

² These words are supplied from line 9.

³ In line 12 this name is represented by the words 'in your district' (*bhavad-vishayē*), which, where they actually stand, are out of their proper place.

⁴ The words 'by us' are supplied from line 1

⁵ i. e., probably, 'the field (belonging to) *Pūsa-Bōḷu*.' For *Bōḷu* see above, Vol. XVIII, p. 2, and cf. *J[e]ḍḍa-Bōḷa-kshētra* in line 19 of this inscription.

⁶ This seems to be the name of a village.

⁷ The expression *prāg-apavargam* occurs also in the *Āpastamba-Dharmasūtra*, II, 2, 3, 22.

It will have been observed that the grant is a clumsy production which would remain unintelligible without comparing it with other more properly arranged documents of the same kind. A few remarks have to be made concerning the geographical names occurring in it. One of the imprecations mentions **Vāraṇāśī** (l. 24), i.e. Benares. The field granted adjoined the village of **Peṇukaparu** in the district of **Karma-rāshṭra** (l. 14). This village must be distinct from another **Peṇukaparu** in the district of **Gudrahāra**,¹ which had been the object of a grant of **Jayasimha I**. For the district of **Karma-rāshṭra** see above, p. 228. The village of **Vaṅgiparu** (l. 9), where the donee lived, is mentioned also in two grants of **Narēndramṛigarāja**² and **Amma II**.³

TEXT.⁴

First Plate.

- 1 Svasti [||*] Śrīmatām sakala-bhuvana-saṁstūyamāna-Mānavya-sagōtrāṇām Hārīti-putrāṇām
- 2 sapta-Lōkamātribhiḥ paripālītānām svāmi-Mahāsēna-pāda-bhaktānām bhagavan-Nārā-
- 3 yaṇa-prasāda-samāsādita-vara-varāha-lāṁchhan-ēkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśīkṛit-āśēsha-śa-
- 4 tru-maṇḍalānāmśvamēdh⁵-āvabhṛitha-snāna-pavitrikṛita-vapushām **Chalīkyānām** kula-
- 5 m=alāṁkarishṇōḥ śrī-Vishṇuvarddhana-mā(ma)hārājasya putraḥ śrī-Sarvvalōkāśra-
- 6 ya-mahārājasya putraḥ sv-āsi-dhārā-namita-rājanya-makūṭa-taṭa-ghaṭṭ[i]ta-
- 7 maṇi-mayūka(kha)-puñja-[mañja*]rī-rañjita-charaṇa-yugalaḥ pratāpavān=prasanna⁶
- 8 vinivēśita-śakti-trayaḥ
- 9 parama-[brahmaṇyō] mātāpitri-pād-ānudhyātaḥ **Sakalalōkāśraya-śrī-Ja[ya]-**

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 9 **siṁgha(ha)-Vallabha-mahārājaḥ** sarvv[ā]n=ittham=ājñāpayati [||*] Vīditam=astu
- vō=amābhiḥ [||*] **Vaṅgiparu-v[ā*]stavy[ā]ya**
- 10 Kaundinya-gōtrāya Taittirīyāy=Āpastamba-sūtrāya Guṁjadēva-śarmmaṇa[h*] putrāya
- sarvva-
- 11 kratu-yājino Dēvaśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya chatur-Vvēda-pāragāya sarvva-śāstra-viśāradāya
- 12 śrī-Era-Drōpaśarmmaṇē [*] **Karmma-rāshṭra-vishaya-nivāsi-kuṭumbinaḥ(naḥ)***
- bhavad-vishayē⁷ sarvvān=i-
- 13 ttham=ājñāpayati [||*] **Jyaishṭhyām paurnnamāsyām saṁkrānti-kālē bhūmi-**
- dāna-nimittē
- 14 **Gobbaḍi-vijñāpanāt=Karmma-rāshṭrē Peṇukaparu-nāma-grāmē** tasya grā-
- 15 masy-ōttara-pūrvvasyān=disi kshētran=dattam=asya kshētrasya pūrvvatō=vadhiḥ
- Niḍugāṭṭa-taṭa-
- 16 kaḥ [*] dakṣhiṇatō=vadhiḥ Pūsa-Bōḷa-kshētr-āntaḥ [*] paśchimatō=vadhiḥ dego.,....
- 17 [na]ku pōvu panthāḥ [*] uttaratō=vadhiḥ **Maṣakḥ-āvadhiḥ** [*] [to]mḍha-kshētram
- grāma[sy=ō]..[ta]s=ta-

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 138, text line 17 f.² Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 418.³ Above, p. 228.⁴ From ink-impressions supplied by Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri.⁵ Read *maṇḍalānām=śvamēdh*.⁶ Read perhaps = *prasanna*.⁷ The *ṣu* of *kuṭumbinaḥ* was originally omitted and then entered below the line. A cross behind *ku* marks the place where it is to be inserted. The singular *kuṭumbinaḥ* is used instead of the plural *kuṭum. binaḥ* also in Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 49 and p. 275 ; cf. also above, Vol. III, p. 19.⁸ This locative is quite out of place here.⁹ The syllable *āśi* of *paśchimatō* had been written twice, but the first *āśi* seems to have been struck out by the writer.

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 18 śākaḥ tasya-ottar-āparasyān-diśi [*] tasya pūrvvatō-vadhiḥ kūpaḥ [*] dakṣhiṇatō-vadhiḥ [taṭāka]ḥ [*] paśchimata
- 19 uttarataś-cha J[e]ḍḍa-Bōḷa-kshētr-āntō=vadhiḥ [*] Asya kshētrasya kūpa-dvayam [*] Taṭāka ē-
- 20 kaḥ kūpaḥ [*] Tāla-taṭākasya pūrvvataḥ dakṣhiṇ-ārdhē vrīhi-kshētram chatusṭaya parimā-
- 21 nam prāg-apavarggam cha [*] Grāmasy-ōttara-pūrvva-dēsē girāvakāśam¹ [*] Ētaśchatur²-avadhi-
- 22 paryyantam kshētrān=³dharma-yaśō-bhivṛddhayē sarvva-kara-parihār-ōpētam-udaka-⁴pū-
- 23 rvvakam brahmadēyikṛitya prādām [||*] Asya sarvva-kara-parihār-ōpētasya kshētrasya yō
- 24 bādhām karōti saḥ⁵ **Vāraṇāśyām** sahasra-brahmahaty[ā*]-pātaka-saṁyuktō bhavati [||*]
- 25 Yō-smach-chhāsanam-atikr[ā]mēt=sa pāpaḥ śāri(rī)ran-daṇḍam-arhati sō-pi pa[m]cha-mahā-

Third Plate.

- 26 pātaka-saṁyuktō bhavati [||*] Bhavanti ch=ātra ślōkāḥ [||*] Bh[ū]m[i]-dānāt=param-dānan=na bh[ū]tan=na bha-
- 27 viśhyati [*] tasya-aiva haraṇāt=pāpē(pa)n=na bhūtan=na bhaviśhyati [|| 1*] Sva-dattām=para-dattām vā
- 28 yō rē⁶ harēta vasundharām [*] shasṭim varsha-sahasrāṇi viśthāyām jāyatē krimiḥ [|| 2*]
- 29 Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā bahubhiś=ch=ānupālītā [*].yasya-yasya yadā
- 30 bhūmis-tasya-tasya tadā phalam [|| 3*] Ājñaptir=**Nniravadya-Sakalalōkāśraya-śrī-Prithivī-gāmuṇḍī** [||*]
- 31 Vindhy-āṭavi(vi)shv=atōyāsu śushka-kōṭara-vāsina[ḥ] [*] kṛishṇ-āhayō hi jāyantē brahmadēy-āpahārakāḥ [|| 4*]

No. 34.—THE KODAVALI ROCK-INSRIPTION OF CHANDASATI ; THE SECOND YEAR OF REIGN.

By H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A., OOTACAMUND.

Going in a north-westerly direction from **Pithāpuram**, a station on the East Coast Railway, for a distance of about 9 miles along the **Sāmalkōṭa-Kattipūḍi** road, the village of **Kodavali** is sighted. It is situated not very far from the right side of the road. Proceeding thence for nearly two miles again in a north-westerly direction one reaches the foot of a range of hills

¹ Read perhaps *gvy-avakāśam*.

² Read *Ētach-chatur*.

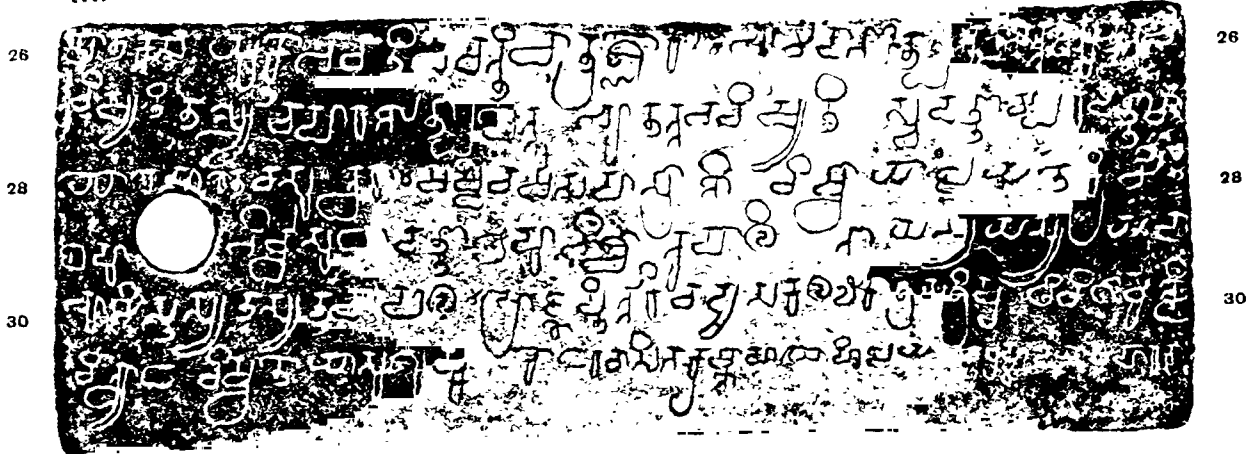
³ Read *kshētran*.

⁴ The writer had originally written *-akadaka*; but he has himself cancelled the first *ka* by adding a horizontal line at the top of it.

⁵ Read *sa*.

⁶ Cancel this syllable.

iii.



SEAL (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH).



ACTUAL SIZE.

covered with thin forest vegetation. From here the place called "Dhanam-ḍibbā"¹ — 'the treasure-mound' — is reached by a gravelly foot-path running along the slope of the hill, which appears to have been once provided with steps of rubble stone. Struggling two or three furlongs along this unwelcome path we come to the crown of the hillock and to the mound 'Dhanam-ḍibbā' on it. Here are found the remains of what looks like a **Buddhist stūpa** consisting mostly of large-sized bricks and sometimes unhewn stone.² On the southern side of the mound are seen also portions of a structure built of cut and dressed stone. The four **rock cut wells** on the south and west sides of the mound, 4 to 5 feet square and 6 to 7 feet deep, are of peculiar interest and seem to have been used once for storing water for the use of the occupants of the Buddhist monastery, as the mound may prove to be when excavations are properly carried out.

On the north wall of one of the wells on the western side of the mound measuring 5' 8½ long by 5' 5½ broad and 7' 2" deep, is engraved in 6 lines the **Āndhra** inscription, edited below, in **Brāhmī** characters of about the 3rd century A.D. This inscription which was published in 1908 by Dr. Konow in *Z. D. M. G.*, Vol. LXII, p. 591 f. has been noticed as No. 1341 by Dr. Lüders in his *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* in Vol. X, above. As remarked by Dr. Sten Konow in the Director-General of Archaeology's *Annual Survey Report* for 1907-08, p. 225, this is the only lithic record hitherto discovered of the **Āndhra** king **Chadāsāta**, who is already known to us from a number of coins found in the Kistna and the Godavari districts. My friend Mr. C. R. Krishnama Acharlu, B.A., of the Madras Epigraphical Department has also spent some hours with me in reading the inscription directly from the stone; and the text given below is the joint production of both of us. The accompanying facsimile plate is reproduced from an inked estampage prepared under my direct supervision. The inscription thus deciphered will be seen to differ much from the published text of Dr. Sten Konow. The object of the record, for instance, was not the establishment of the earth-dwelling (*bhumi vasa*) of an unnamed minister (*amacha*), but was the establishment of the gift (*dhama*) of a *khaingu* (rock-cut well ?) by the minister **Sasa** of **Khadḍavali** — the ancient form of the present village name Kodavali.³

The name of the king occurs in l. 3 as **Chamḍasāti**, the lingual *ḍ* being possibly also read as a dental *d*. But it is to be noted that the long vertical stem which is required to distinguish a dental *d* (cf. *di* in l. 4) is missing here; again *ḍa* may be compared with *Khadḍa* in l. 4. The form *Chadasātisa*⁴ occurs clearly on one of the coins published by Rapson. So also on the Kodavali rock the *i* of *ti* is faintly seen and is practically certain. Possibly *sāti* is a Prākṛit form of *Svāti* and *Chamḍasāti* has accordingly to be interpreted as *Chandāsavāti*. In the table of later Āndhra kings given opposite p. 218 of his *Early History of India* (third edition) by V. A. Smith, the name-ending *sāti* occurs only in the case of No. 22 Śiva-svāti. But the *Matsya-Purāṇa* gives many other names ending in *svāti* or *svātikarna*, such as Mēghasvāti, Kuntalasvāti, Sundar-asvātikarna, etc.⁵ It may be incidentally noted also that the name-ending *svātikarna* is more

¹ Compare Dhana Bādu near Jaggayyapēta; Burgess's "*Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati*," p. 107.

² Mr. Rea who discovered it for the first time has referred to it in his report for 1907-08, p. 8. He says that at the foot of the hills are the remains of a fort which, however, I was not able to identify.

³ If, however, the reading सुनिवेस (भूमिवेस) of the learned Doctor is accepted, I would observe a striking coincidence in the term सुनिरुद्ध which occurs twice in the Sundarakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (T. R. K.'s Edition, Chapters XII. 14 and XV, 4) where, in both instances, the commentator Gōvindarāja explains the term as भूमौ निरुद्धः. The context also shows that these underground cellars of Rāvaṇa's Palace and Pleasure-garden were primarily meant for hiding objects from the view of the enemy. The same may have been the case with these so-called Rock-cut Wells of the Pithāpuram forest which surely must have formed part of the Dandaka-forest and as such must have been once haunted by wicked Rākshasas.

⁴ On a second coin figured as G. P. I. in Pl. VI of the Coins of the Āndhra dynasty by Rapson, the reading is *Chamḍasāt[a]sa* with an *anusvāra* marked to the left of *cha* as in the Kodavali rock inscription.

⁵ Dr. B. G. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 164.

likely to have been the origin of the later Śātakarṇi than the fanciful śata-karṇa 'the hundred-eared'.¹ But Dr. Konow neither accepts *sāta* as an abbreviation of *Śātakarṇi* nor does he read *sāti* (=svāti). He prefers to have the name Chaḍasāta (=Chamḍasāta) without explaining the name-ending *sāta*.

The date of the record in ll. 3 and 4 has been read by Dr. Sten Konow as "savachare 10 3(?) he pa 3 diva dasame" whereas my reading is "raji vachhare 2³ ma 1 he pa 2 di 1." The reading *ma 1* after the regnal year is difficult to explain. If this were preceded by *he*, instead of being followed by it, it would have yielded the meaning *hēmantamāsa* 1, as we find in a very large number of similar dates coming from Northern India; but, *he* is required before *pa*; for otherwise the latter could not be explained. Besides, the dated Southern Brāhmī inscriptions as catalogued by Dr. Lüders in his *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* give only the *paksha* of the season and in no case the month (*māsa*) as the northern dates do. I can only suggest that in this record both the *month* and the *paksha* are given and the word *he* which is an abbreviation for the season *hēmantā* is placed after *ma 1* while it should have preceded it, and thus arrive at the probable interpretation of the date as "the first day of the second fortnight of the first month of the winter-season." If this interpretation is right, the details of the date would correspond to *Mārgaśīrṣa bahula prathamā*, somewhere in December 210 A.D., the second year of Chamḍa-svāti.

TEXT.*

- 1 Sidham⁴ [|*] Rañ[ō] Vāsithi-
- 2 putasa 'sami-siri-
- 3 Chamḍasāt[i][sa] [ra]ji-vachhare 2
- 4 ma 1 he pa 2 d[i] 1 Khaḍḍa[va]li-
- 5 amacha-Sa[sa]mi khagu-dhama
- 6 thāpita [||*]

Notes on letters.

L. 1. *si* — The letter *sa* throughout is written with a loop at the left bottom corner whence it is started. This loop, in certain cases, is almost closed, whereas in certain others it is half open. The *si* which begins the inscription is one of the former type, though it is a little deformed looking as though the loop were written twice.

dham — The position of the *anusvāra* attached to *dha* is worthy of notice. It is on the left side of the letter and not on its right top corner.

ñō — The *ō* mark is very faint.

thi — The long *i* is indicated by two horns as in Kshatrapa inscriptions (Bühler's *Tables* III, 9).

L. 2. *ta* — The development of a loop in this letter is to be noted as in the Nasik inscription No. 20. (See Bühler's *Tables* III, 13). Possibly, there was a secondary *ta* below the letter thus making the word *puttasa*.

¹ The word *Nēruvar-Kaṣṣar* which occurs in the Tamil poem *Śilappadikāram*, has been translated by some, as, 'the hundred-eared' and taken to be the equivalent of Śātakarṇi (or Śātakarṇi).

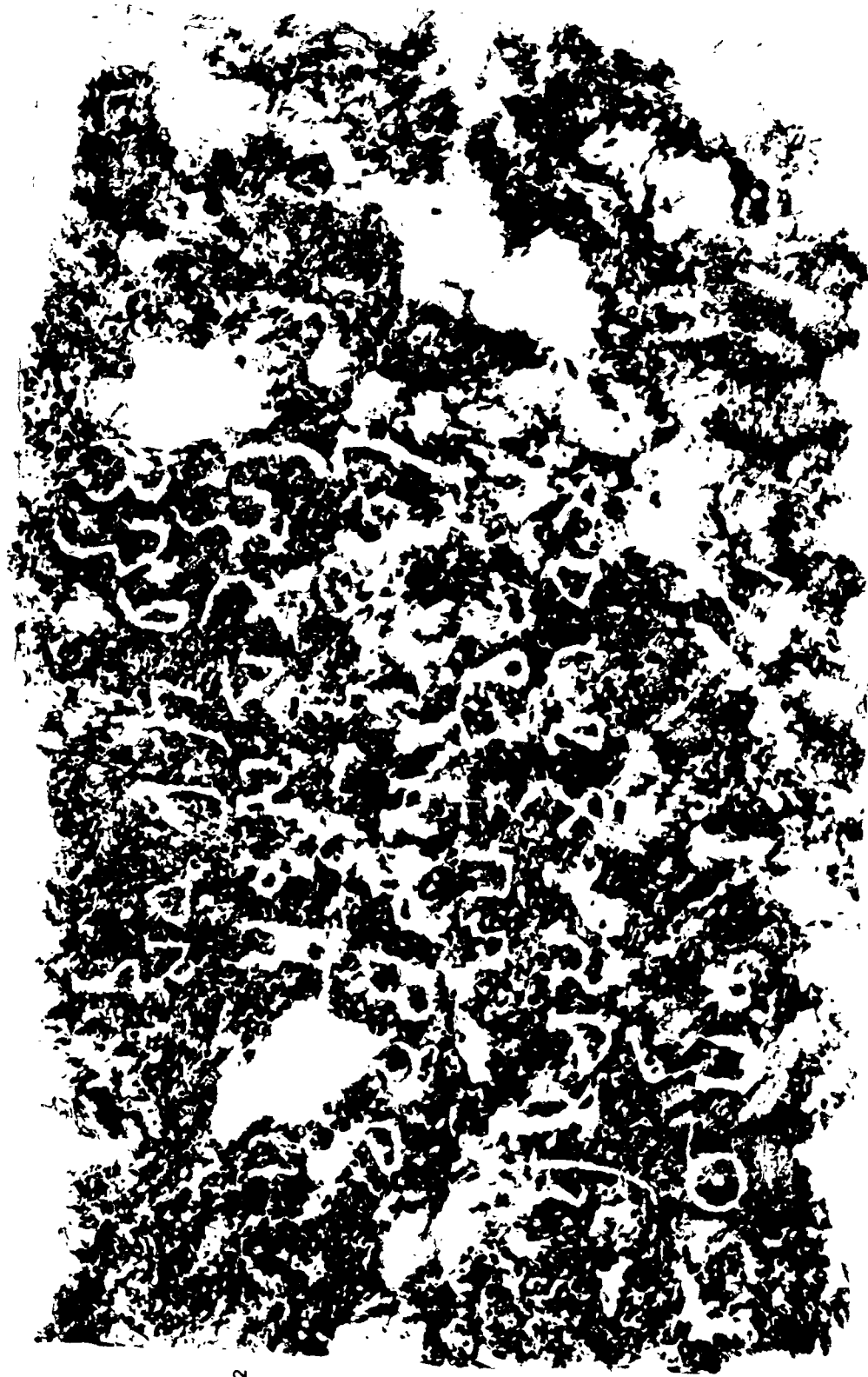
² The three thick horizontal marks one above the other each denoting the numeral 'one' are visible. But as the third topmost mark is above the level of the line and not vertically above the other two, I am inclined to read the symbol as '2' and not '3'.

³ Direct from the stone.

⁴ Spaces are left in the original after the complete words:—*Sidham*, *rañō*, etc., as shown in the text. After *Sami-siri-Chamḍasātisa* in l. 3 and after *Sasami* in l. 5, where we should have expected a space, it is wanting. The same system of separating words by spaces is found in the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela, the Myskhadoni inscription of Puṣyamāvi (above Vol. XIV, plate facing p. 155) and the Hirahadagalli inscription of Śiva-Standa-varmaśi, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, plate facing p. 6.

* [The plate gives *sā*.—Ed.]

KODAVALI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF CHANDASATI ; THE SECOND YEAR OF REIGN.



2

6

L. 3. *Cham*—The *anuvāra* is clearly marked on the left top of the letter as in *dham* in l. 1.

After *Chamḍasātisa*, Dr. Sten Konow read *savachhare*. But to me it appears as if there is space enough for two letters between the *sa* of *Chamḍasātisa* and *vachhare*. Perhaps some word like *raja* has to be read. There are no doubt traces of a *sa* to justify the reading *savachhare*.

L. 4. The first letter is *ma* and not the symbol (∞) for 10 as interpreted by Dr. Sten Konow; nor is the following symbol, 3.

The *i* mark of *di* runs into the bottom of *ra* of *raji* in line 3 above, thus making the latter look somewhat deformed and crooked unlike the other *ra*-letters in the inscription.

The letter between *dḍa* and *li* is completely damaged and no traces are seen. It could have been a *ma* or a *va*. As, however, the present village name *Koḍavali* to which there is a sure reference here is spelt with a *v*, I would prefer taking the damaged letter as *va* and not a *ma*.

L. 5. The letter after *kha* (which Dr. Sten Konow read as *ve*) is like a *śu*; but, since what looks like the stroke within does not go right across to meet the opposite side, I read it as *gu*. The meaning in either case is not clear.

TRANSLATION.

Success; In the reign of king *Vasiṭhiputa* ¹*Sami-siri-Chamḍa-sāti*, in the year 2, month 1, the winter fortnight 2 (and) day 1, was established the charity (*i.e.*, the gift) of a *kham*, *gu*(?) by the minister *Sasa* (*Śasa*) of *Khaḍḍavali*.

POSTSCRIPT.

Dr. Sten Konow to whom I had submitted the galley proof of this paper for remarks has thus kindly written to Mr. Hirananda Sastri:—

* * * *

L. 3. I agree with him that *-sātisa* is possible, but I can not read any such thing as *raji*. The apparent dots to the right of *-re* are found in a part of the stone which is left open in the other lines, and I cannot read them as = or \equiv . They seem to me to be of the same kind as the other smaller or greater marks found in this part of the stone.

L. 4. I am quite unable to see a *ma* in the first *akshara*, and I still think that it must be 10. But I accept his reading of the following sign as —. At all events, it is very probable. Mr. Krishna Sastri has himself pointed to the great difficulty resulting from his reading. So far as I know, there is no instance of the mentioning of the month, when the date is given in seasonal *pakshas*, and it would be absolutely unwarranted. It may also be doubted that the year began in the south with *hēmanta*. The reading of the figure after *pa* as = seems probable, to judge from the plate. After *di* there is hardly room for —, but I admit the possibility of the reading. I have grave doubts about *Khaḍḍavali*, but the coincidence of the modern name is in its favour. The double *dḍ* is suspicious.

L. 5. I cannot understand how *amachasasami* can mean by the minister *Sasa*. And it seems to me that the first word ends with *amachasa*. It is possible that the preceding *aksharas* contain the minister's name. The ensuing *akshara* looks to me more like *bhū* than *sa*. With regard to *Khagu* I have little to say. *Kha* is not certain. In favour of *ga* or *gu* speaks the use of *s* for *ś* in *siri*. But the letter looks more like *śa* or *śu*.

The remarks which I have been able to offer are, you will see, rather negative. But I cannot just now give more time to the question, being too much occupied with other work.

* * * *

¹ [See f. n. 5 on the opposite page—Ed.]

No. 35.—BETMA PLATES OF BHOJADEVA; [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1076.

By D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A.; RAJKOT.

Though the name of the Paramāra king Bhōja of Dhārā is well known to scholars, epigraphical records of his reign are rather rare. So far only two grants of this king have been discovered: one of V. S. 1078 in Ujjain¹ and the other of V. S. 1076 (Māgha, śu. di. 5) in Bānswārā². The copper-plate grant dealt with here is thus the third known record³ of his reign.

The plates were discovered, about two years ago, by a peasant while ploughing his field near a village called **Beṭmā**, sixteen miles to the west of Indore, in Central India. They subsequently came into the possession of Mr. Manekchand Jati of Indore, who takes interest in antiquities. When I had been to Indore sometime ago I found them with him. Through the kindness of the late Rao Bahadur Dr. Prabhakar R. Bhandarkar, Home Member, Holkar State, and of Mr. K. K. Lele, Superintendent, Historical Department, Dhār, I have been able to edit the inscription here for the first time.

The plates, which are two in number, are held together by two thick copper rings in the usual way. They measure 13 inches in length and 8½ inches in breadth and are in an excellent state of preservation. The inscribed side of the second plate bears at its bottom in a rectangular border a flying figure of **Garuḍa** as is usually seen in the Paramāra grants. The **sign manual** of the king is affixed at the end of either plate. It is to be noted that in none of the known grants of Bhōjadēva the name of the writer of the grant is given.

The alphabet is Nāgarī of the 11th century A.D. prevalent in Mālwa, as known to us from the other records of the period, *e.g.* the Bānswārā plates of the same king. The consonant **व** is expressed by **व** throughout. In fact, there is nothing to distinguish between the letters **व**, **ब** and **ध**. **श** is wrongly replaced by **स** in **सिरसा** (l. 1), **कौसिक** (l. 14), **यसस्कराणि** (l. 21) and in **परयसः** (l. 23). Similarly **स** is wrongly replaced by **श** in **शाशनेनो** (l. 16) and in **शकला** (l. 25). A consonant following *r* is generally doubled, *e.g.* in **सर्गाय** (l. 1), **समम्यर्थ्य** (l. 7), **धर्मः** (l. 9), **विनिर्गत** (l. 12), **बहुभिर्व्वेषुधा** (l. 19), etc. **र** at the end of a conjunct consonant is generally expressed in this inscription by the full letter added below the first consonant (*e.g.* **tra** ll. 8, 14 and 15, **dra** l. 5, **bhra** ll. 8, 9, **gra** l. 9, etc.), and not by a stroke turned to the left as we generally find. The letter *kṛi* in the two cases where it occurs (ll. 1 and 16) is written imperfectly, the left portion of the letter *ka* being omitted. The document is drawn up in Sanskrit prose mixed with verses.

Except for the following four points, our grant is practically identical with the Bānswārā grant of the same king issued in the same year :—

(1) Though the year in both the grants is the same, the months are different. The **Beṭmā** grant is dated on the 15th day of the bright fortnight of the month Bhādrapada, while the Bānswārā grant is dated on the 5th day of the bright fortnight of the month Māgha. It is to be seen, however, which is the earlier of the two grants. If we consider the year as beginning with the month Chaitra, the **Beṭmā** grant may be the earlier one. If, however, the year

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 53.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 201, and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, No. 18, p. 181.

³ Mr. K. N. Dikshit informs me that another record of the reign of Bhōja dated Samvat 1091 (1034-5 A.D.) has been traced on an image of Sarasvatī which has found its way to the British Museum. I also find that the Tilakwādā plates of V. S. 1103 published by the late Mr. Kṛṣṇa in the *Proceedings of the First Oriental Conference*, Poona, most probably belong to the reign of this Bhōja. One more copper-plate grant of Bhōjadēva has recently been discovered at Kalyan in the Nāsik District. See *A. S. R.*, 1921-22, p. 118.

began with the month Kārttika, as is the present usage in Mālwa and Gujarāt, then it must be looked upon as the later of the two. We have reasons to hold that the latter supposition is correct for, as has been already pointed out by Prof. Kielhorn,¹ in the grant of Bhojadēva of V. S. 1078, the expression **अष्टमसत्यधिकसाहसिकसम्बन्धरे माघासिततृतीयायाम्** i.e. on the third day of the dark half of Māgha in the year 1078, occurs in the middle of the grant and probably gives the date when the donation was made. At the end of the grant the date of its issue is given as the 14th day of the bright half of the month Chaitra of Sainvat 1078. If Māgha of 1078 preceded Chaitra of 1078, the year must have commenced from some month previous to Māgha and ended subsequent to Chaitra. We can, therefore, assume that the Sainvat year began then as now in the month of Kārttika. The Bānswārā grant which is dated in the month Māgha of V. S. 1076 (Jan. 1020 A.D.) is, therefore, earlier than the Betmā grant which is dated in the month Bhādrapada of the same year, i.e. 1076 (Sept. 1020 A.D.).

(2) The occasions when the two grants of Bānswārā and Betmā were made are different. In the former grant it is given as **कीकणविजयपर्वणि** while in the latter it is given as **कीकणग्रहणविजयपर्वणि**. Dr. Hultzsch, who edited the Bānswārā grant², translated this historically important expression as 'the anniversary of the conquest of Koṅkaṇa.' But it is to be noted that the period intervening between these two grants, which record almost an identical expression, is only seven months and ten days. Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar who edited the same grant³ I think gives a better translation of the expression as "on the festival day (*parvāṇi*) in consequence of the conquest of Koṅkaṇa." The expression in the Bānswārā grant means that 'Bhoja conquered Koṅkaṇa' and that in the Betmā grant means perhaps 'that he occupied it.' In the Balagāmve inscription⁴ of the time of the Chālukya Jayasimha, dated Śaka 941 (December 1019 A.D.), it is stated that Jayasimha had 'put to flight the confederacy of Mālava'. From this we can conclude that in the contest for power between the Mālwa Paramāras and the Deccan Chālukyas that was going on for years together, in the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D., both the parties were successful by turns. Soon after his accession, Bhoja must have invaded the Deccan to avenge the execution of his uncle Vākpati-Muñja by the Chālukya king Tailapa, and he probably succeeded in defeating and killing Tailapa's successor, Vikramāditya V.⁵ When Jayasimha came to the throne in 1015 A.D. he must have retaliated by inflicting a crushing defeat on Bhoja and his confederacy sometime before December 1019 A.D. Bhoja apparently did not take long to recover. He invaded the territory of Jayasimha and conquered Koṅkaṇa, in January 1020 A.D., which was finally annexed to his empire sometime before September 1020 A.D. From the Miraj plates⁶ it seems that Bhoja could not retain his possession for long as Jayasimha reconquered Koṅkaṇa before the year 1024 A.D. (Śaka 946) and took into his possession 'the wealth of the Lords of the Seven Koṅkaṇas'.

(3) The grantee in the present inscription is a Brāhmaṇa named Paṇḍita Dēlha, son of Bhaṭṭa Thaṭṭhasika of the Kauśika-gōtra with the three pravaras Aghamarshaṇa, Viśvāmitra and Kauśika and of the Mādhyandina-śākhā. He hailed from Sthānviśvara, but his ancestors had come from the village Viśālagrāma.

(4) The property granted to the Brāhmaṇa consisted of a village named Nālataḍaga, one of the seventeen villages in the Nyāyapadra subdivision.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 361.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 181. [In the words *Kōṃkaṇ-āḥisvarāṇīm sarvasvaṃ grāhiteā* occurring in the Miraj plates (see *supra*, Vol. XII, p. 313, l. 66) the root *grāh* is used in the sense of taking possession.—Ed.]

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, p. 201.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 17.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 117.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 314.

As regards the identification of the localities mentioned in the grant it is to be said that Sthāpviśvara is no doubt the Thānesar of modern times situated in the Karnāl District of the Punjab. The Nyāyapadra (subdivision) of the grant may be the town Nāpad in the Kaira District, a little to the south-west of Indore; and the gift village Nālatadāga is probably represented by the modern Nār (Nāl) in the same district. Satrāṭi approaches very easily to our Saptadaśaka meaning a group of seventeen villages which expression may have been afterwards wrongly construed to denote a village. The only difficulty in this identification is that this place is at a long distance from Betmā where the grant was discovered.

The remaining places I am unable to identify at present.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 श्री² [॥*] ज[य]ति व्योमकेशोसौ³ यः सर्गाय विभर्ति तां । ऐंदवी
सिरसा⁵ लेखां जगद्बीजांकुराकृतिम् ॥[१*] तन्वन्तु वः
- 2 स्मरारतिः कल्याणमनिशं जटाः [॥*] कल्पान्तसमयोद्दामतडिहलयपिंगलाः ॥[२*]
परमभट्टारकमहाराज-
- 3 राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसीयकदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजधिराजपरमेश्वर-
- 4 श्रीवा[क्प]⁷तिराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसिंधुराजदेवपा-
- 5 दानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभीजदेवः कुशली ॥ न्याय-
पदसप्त-
- 6 दशकान्तःपातिनालतडागे समुपगतान्समस्तराजपुष्पाङ्गा⁸द्वयोत्तरान्प्रतिनिवासि-
पट्टकिलजनपदादौ-
- 7 च समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितम् ॥ यथास्माभिः ज्ञात्वा चराचरगुणं
भगवन्तं भवानोपतिं समभ्यर्च्य
- 8 संसारस्यासारतां दृष्ट्वा वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमात्रमधुरो
विषयोपभोगः ॥
- 9 प्राणास्त्रि⁹णाग्रजलविंदुसमा नराणां (१) धर्मः सखा परमहो परलोक्याने ॥[३*]
भ्रमत्संसारचक्राग्र-
- 10 धाराधारामिमां श्रियं । प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पश्चात्तापः परं फलम् ॥[४*]
इति जगती विनश्चरं

¹ From the original plates.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ If we compare this grant with the other of the same year and with the third of V. S. 1078 we shall find that the *prishthamātrās* are used anywhere the writer liked.

⁴ Read विभर्ति.

⁵ Read सिरसा.

⁶ Read जगद्बीजांकुरा⁰.

⁷ The left hand portion of the letter *ka* is expressed here only by a point separated from the body of the letter. Cf. similar forms in ll. 2 and 7 of the Bānswārā grant.

⁸ Read श्रावणी⁰.

⁹ Read °क्षणाग्र... विंदु⁰.

कुयतिष्ठोमकिसा योयः अर्थापरिभूतं पौपेदतीप्तिरथानेयाजगद्दीक्षाधारात्रिम्या
अमुरसाविः कल्याणमनिभुक्त्यः कल्याणमद्योह मनदिइलयागरता ॥ परमुद्रकावरा
सजासिकृपासुखश्रीआयवाह दराहाननापर मन् अपरकमद्वारकुम्भिरु जयममपर
श्रीवासितसजास्वहा वधानभूमन् ह्यस्कृ भूतस्र जाप्रियपरमेश्वरशीचिउमहादेवय
ननुभानपरमहंसारकमदात्मजा निरीक्ष्य समष्ट ॥ १७ ॥ ज्ञापेदः कु शिल्पोयायवय
दशकानः पातेनालगदस्य सुपरनभुवं च राऊ पु सषाबुद्धा निरवाग्निराजिपक्षिलकिनेतर
धर्मगाहरोच्युवः संतिटितम ॥ यादो आदिः ॥ आचार रात्रपुरुषन्दनं प्रत्नोयान् चमञ्ज
असारथाधारता इन्द्राना न दुर्विदुर्मा मिदं शुक्ल विष्णु मायानमार मउरो रसदाया एकोमः ॥
प्राणीनि ससिद्धमसेदु ममानराणि ॥ धर्माः शाखा यरमदोपरलो कयाने ॥ इमस्याशा रकार
कारावशो ममाहिता सा आयेन रदा त्रया पश्चात्तायः परं फलस्तथा ॥ ऊर्ध्वजगत्पानिनु धीर
अप्रये नांकलाया परिनिमित्तभावं अनुमीमाहे गणांतर दाति पादनं ॥ यद्वर टा न भावरं
त्यायति करं ॥ तादात्म्यमने श्री ॥ तिजाल गोत्रातिनिर्जनं प्र वेत्त्य वा ॥ असरा राजानया

- 23 लायाः दानं फलं परयसः¹ परिपालनं च ।[७*] सर्वानिताभाविनः
पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भू-
- 24 यो याचते रामभद्रः ।[१] सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पाल-
नीयो भवद्भिः ॥[८*]
- 25 इति कमलदलां²विंदुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च ।³शकलमिद-
मुदाहृ-
- 26 तं च बुध्वा⁴ न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्या[:*] ॥ ८* ॥ इति ॥
सम्बत् १०७६ भाद्रपद शु दि १५ स्वय-
- 27 मात्रा ॥ मङ्गलं महाश्रीः ॥ स्वहस्तोयं श्रीभोजदेवस्य ॥*

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Om Victorious is this Vyōmakēśa (Śiva) who for the purpose of creation bears on his head the digit of the moon, which appears like the shoot from which the world sprang.

(L. 2) May the matted hair, of the Enemy of Cupid, brown like the circle of the dreadful lightning of the time of final dissolution, always extend your welfare!

(Ll. 3-6) The illustrious Bhōjadēva, the great monarch, the overlord of great kings, the lord paramount, who meditates on the feet of the illustrious Sindhurājadēva, the great monarch, the overlord of great kings, the lord paramount, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Vākpatirājadēva, the great monarch, the overlord of great kings, the lord paramount, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Siyakadēva, the great monarch, the overlord of great kings, the lord paramount,—issues, in good health, commands to all the officials of the Government, the inhabitants headed by the Brāhmaṇas, the Paṭels, and (other) townsmen, and others, assembled at Nālataḍaga, included in the group of Nyāyapadra Seventeen, (thus) :—

(L. 7) Be it known to you that we, seeing the worthlessness of the wordly life,⁵

(L. 8) (that) the sovereignty over the earth is as shifting as the clouds wafted on the wind, the enjoyment of objects is pleasing only for a moment, the life of a man is like a drop of water (hanging) on the point of a blade of grass, and Dharma alone is the real companion in the journey to the next world,

(L. 9) (and that) those who do not give away their acquired wealth which is (as it were) standing on the edge of the circumference of the revolving wheel of the wordly life have repentance as their only reward,

(Ll. 10—16) thus ascertaining the momentary nature of the wordly life and choosing to abide by the unknown rewards for meritorious deeds, we have, on the joyful occasion (of celebrating) the subjugation of Koṅkana, with a view to increasing the religious merit and fame of our parents and of ourselves, the above-said village has been bestowed upon Paṇḍita Delha, son of Bhatta Thaṭṭhasika of the Kauśika-gotra with the three pravaras—(viz) Aghamarshana, Viśvāmitra and Kauśika and of the Mādhyan dina-sākhā, who had come from Sthānviśvara, (but) whose ancestors had migrated from Viśālāgrāma with its regular boundaries including the pasture lands for grazing cattle, with the land revenue and (other) cash income,

¹ Read परयसः°.

² Read सङ्घ°.

³ Read °दलां^३.

⁴ Read बुध्वा°.

with the sundry taxes and with all (such) rights, by this charter, with the utmost devotion and by pouring libations of water—to last as long as the sun and the moon and the earth endure.

(L. 17) Knowing this and in obedience to (our) orders you should give to this (Brāhmaṇa) the land revenue and other income and everything due to him.

(L. 18) Similarly, considering that the merit of such a charitable deed is common (to all) the succeeding kings, whether of our family or of any other, should acquiesce in the charitable grant given by us and uphold it. For it is said—

[Ll. 19-25 contain four of the customary benedictory verses.]

(L. 26) In the year 1076 on the 15th day of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada. (This is) our own order.

(L. 27) Good luck (and) great prosperity ! The sign manual of Śrī—Bhōjadēva.

NO. 36.—UNPUBLISHED VOTIVE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CHAITYA CAVE AT KARLE.

By MADHO SARUP VATS, M.A.

In the beginning of November 1923, the Chowkidar of the caves at Karle while washing pillars and figures in the Chaitya hall, came across some new inscriptions and brought them to the notice of the Assistant Engineer, Bombay Road Subdivision. That officer communicated the news of the discovery through the Executive Engineer, Poona District, to the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, who secured good impressions of all of them. These inscriptions are twelve in number and generally in a very good state of preservation, though all of them are not equally well inscribed, as is the case with some of the Karle inscriptions so ably handled by M. Senart.¹ About the letters it might be remarked that they are of the slightly cursive variety adopted in the Nāsik inscription, No. 20 (Bühler's *Tafel*, III, col. XIII), with the tailed *ka*, the hooked *da* and the crude *ma*. Though some of the technical terms used in these records are rather obscure and the places mentioned in them, *viz.* Gōṇēkaka, Umēhanakata and Dhēnukakata, have not been located with certainty, yet they are of special interest, for they help us in showing the extent of the outlying parts from which the caves attracted donating pilgrims.

My reading of these inscriptions is based on the impressions reproduced below. My inscription No. VII is identical with No. VII of Senart, but the other eleven are entirely different; and to these latter a fragment of another inscription found near the caves has also been added. Pillars in the right and left rows have been numbered with reference to their position toward the visitor.

No. I. Fifth pillar; right row.

TEXT.

1. Umēhanakata Yavanasa
2. Viṭasa[m*]gatānam(1) dānam thabhō.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 47 ff.

Remarks.

(1) 'Viṭasaṅgata' means an 'assembly of actors' but appears to be a proper name here. The use of the plural "Viṭasaṅgatānaṃ" with the singular "Yavanaṣa" is explained by M. Senart¹ in translating his No. 7.

TRANSLATION.

(This) pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Viṭasaṅgata from Umēhanākata.

No. II. Eighth pillar; right row.

TEXT.

1. Gōṇēkākasa Dhamula-upāsēkasaṃ(1)
2. dēyadha[m]ma(2) thāmvō(3)

Remarks.

- (1) The *anusvāra* is redundant.
- (2) Mark the crude outline of 'da' and 'ma' in this.
- (3) 'Vō' seems to have been carved out for 'bhō'.

This record does not appear to have been engraved by a practised hand, and compares very unfavourably with the other records in point of neatness and fixity of outline.

TRANSLATION.

(This) pillar (is) the pious gift of the lay worshipper Dhamula of Gōṇēkāka.

No. III. Eleventh pillar; right row.

TEXT.

1. Dhēnukākata
2. Vāniya-gama-
3. sa thabbhō dānaṃ

TRANSLATION.

(This) pillar (is) the gift of the "Community of Traders" from Dhēnukākata.

No. IV. Thirteenth pillar; right row.

TEXT.

1. Dhēnukākata Ya[va]nasa(1) Dhamadha-
2. yānaṃ thabbhō dānaṃ

Remark.

(1) The right side of the loop of 'va' in 'Yavanaṣa' is broken, but its outline is clearly perceptible from the reverse side of the impression.

TRANSLATION.

(This) pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Dhamadhaya from Dhēnukākata.

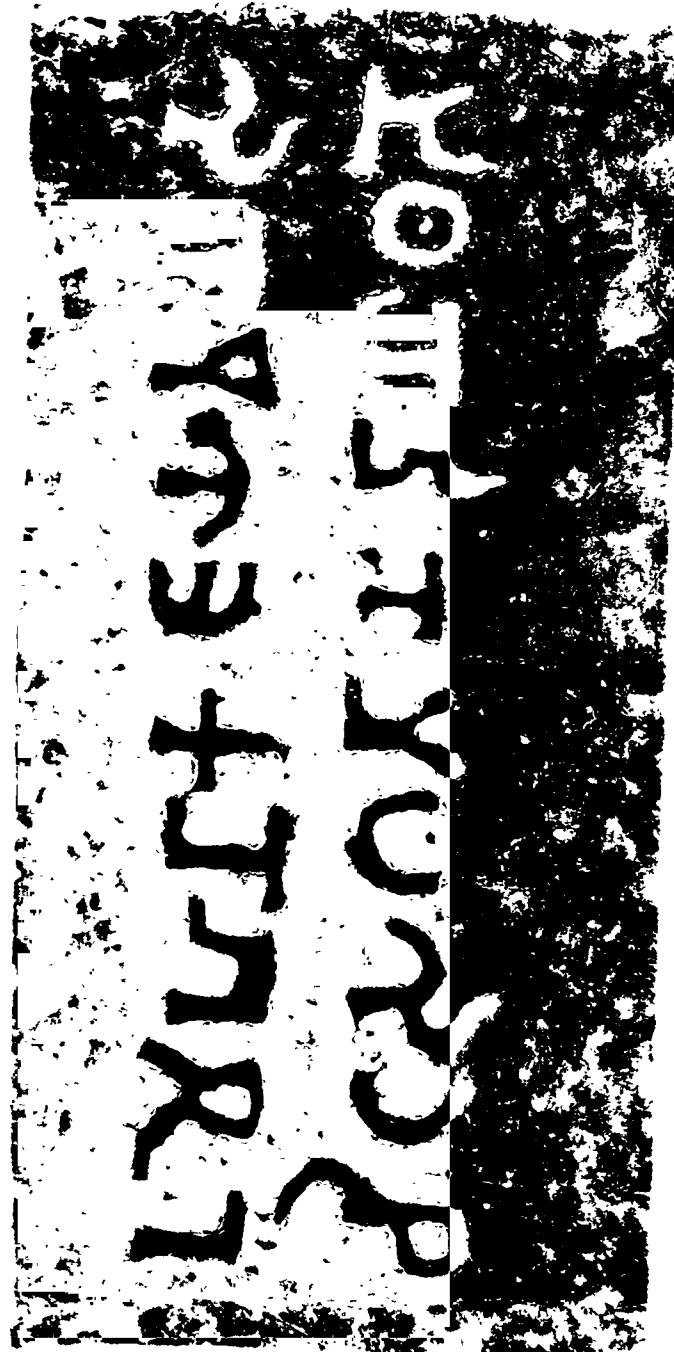
No. V. Fourteenth pillar; right row.

TEXT.

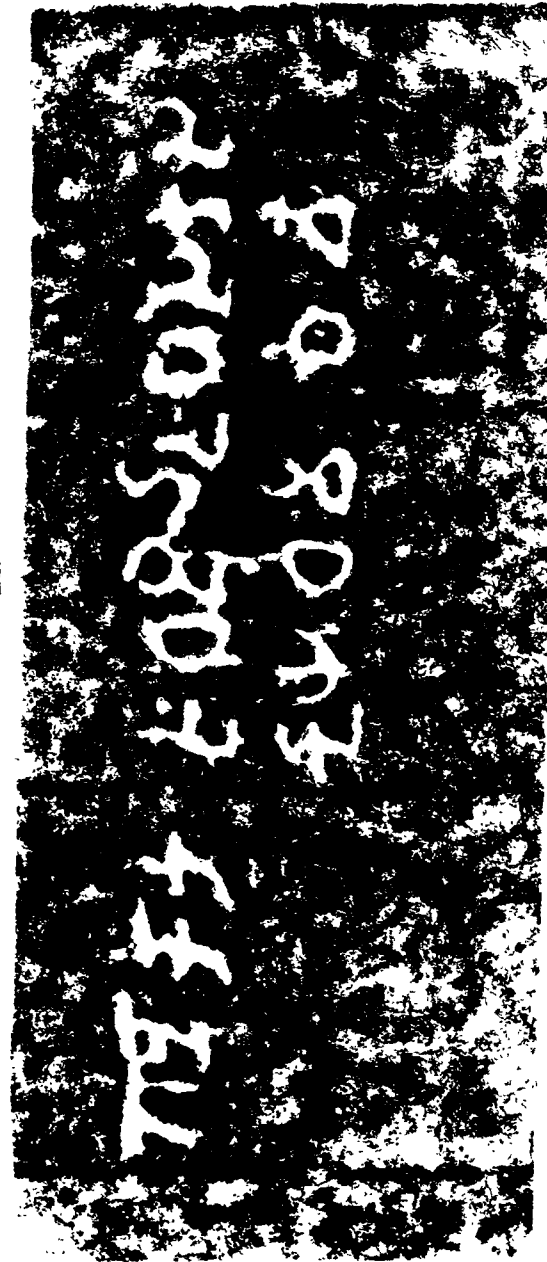
1. Dhēnukākata Rōhamitēna Chu[la]-
2. pētukaṣa(1) Agilasa athā-(2)
3. ya thabbhō dānaṃ

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 53-54.

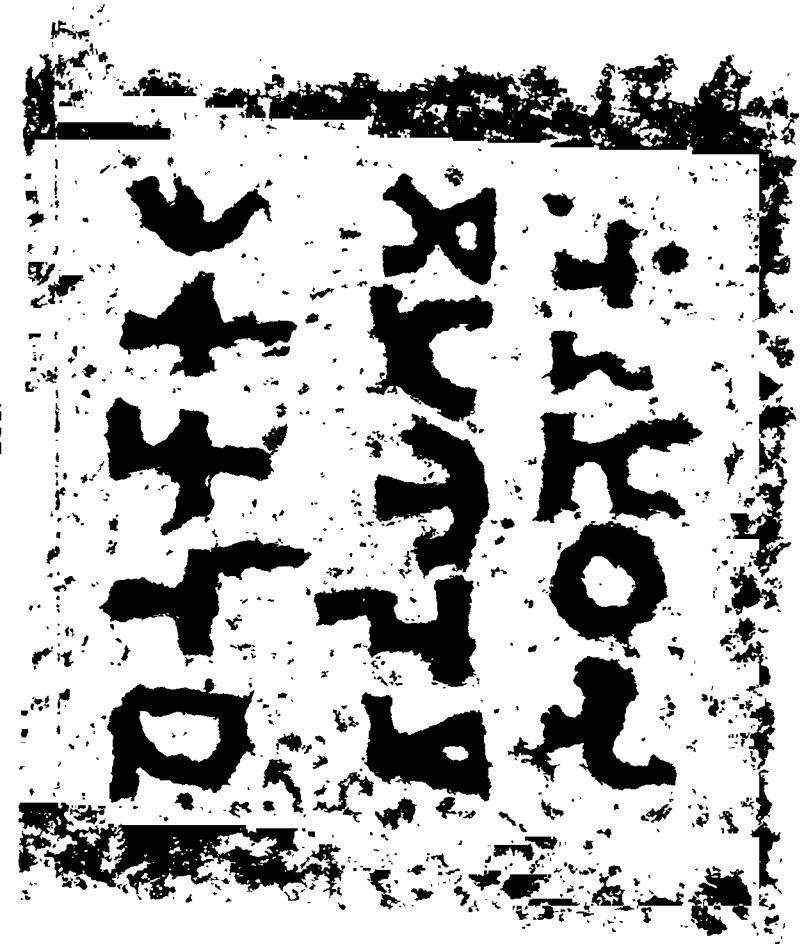
I.



II.



III.



IV.

020271694410

КООДИНАТЫ

[illegible]

VI.

五言古詩

VII.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Remarks.

(1) ' *Chulapētukasa* ' agrees with ' *Agilasa* ', and seems to be an epithet describing *Agila* though its meaning is not clear.

Upper part of the perpendicular stroke of ' *la* ' is broken, but its outline is visible from relief on reverse of the impression.

(2) It appears that the lower horizontal stroke of ' *tha* ' to the right was in process of engraving when the engraver discovered that he was placing it much lower than its proper position, and consequently left it unfinished and crude.


TRANSLATION.

(*This*) pillar was caused to be made by Rōhamita from Dhēnukākāṭa, for the sake of *Agila*, a resident of *Chulapētu*(?).

No. VI. Fifteenth pillar ; right row.

TEXT.

1. Dhēnukākāṭā Chulayakhan[ām]

2. [Ya]vaṇasa thabbhō dāna 

TRANSLATION.

(*This*) pillar (*is*) the gift of the Yavana Chulayakha from Dhēnukākāṭa.

No. VII. Fourth pillar ; left row.

TEXT.

1. Dhēnukākāṭā Yavaṇasa

2. Sihadhayāna[m*] thambhō dānam

N.B.—This inscription is identical with No. 7 of M. Senart, carved on the top of the third pillar in the left row, and he renders it thus:—

TRANSLATION.

' (*This*) pillar (*is*) the gift of the Yavana Sihadhaya from Dhēnukākāṭa '.

No. VIII. Sixth pillar ; left row.

TEXT.

1. Dhēnukākāṭā Sōmilana-

2. kasa dāna thabbhō

TRANSLATION.

(*This*) pillar (*is*) the gift of Sōmilanaka from Dhēnukākāṭa.

No. IX. Eighth pillar ; left row.

TEXT.

1. Dhēnukākāṭā Gōla-vāṇiya-(1)

2. saputasa Isalakasa[m](2) thabbhō(3)

3. [dā]nam(4)

Remarks.

- (1) 'Gōla-vāṇiya' might mean a 'trader in myrrh', but appears to mean the 'trader Gōla' here.
- (2) Read **Isalakasa**, the *anusvāra* is superfluous.
- (3) The *anusvāra* in *thambhō* is perhaps to be seen from relief on reverse of the impression, but is not certain.
- (4) In line 3 it appears as if 'da' was being inscribed and then left and carved out again immediately after.

TRANSLATION.

(This) pillar (is) the gift of Isalaka, son of the trader Gōla, from Dhēnukākāṭa.

No. X. Ninth pillar; left row.

TEXT.

1. Dhēnukākāṭa Yavanasa
2. Yasavadhanāna[m]
3. thabhō dāna[m*]

TRANSLATION.

(This) pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Yasavadhana from Dhēnukākāṭa.

No. XI. Tenth pillar; left row.

TEXT.

[Dh]ēnukākāṭa [Ma]ha[ma]tā(1) ghariniya

Remark.

- (1) The outline of the 3rd letter in this word is not clear, it may be 'ma' or 'va.'

TRANSLATION.

(Of) Mahamatā, wife of . . . from Dhēnukākāṭa.

No. XII. Thirteenth pillar; left row.

TEXT.

1. Dhēnukāṭa(1) gahapati[nō] Āsēkasa natiyō
2. Dhamada(ē)vayā dānam.
- 3 thabhō

Remark.

- (1) Read Dhēnukākāṭa; 'ka' is left out through oversight on the part of the engraver.

TRANSLATION.

(This) pillar (is) the gift of Dharmadēvī, a relation of the householder Āsēka from Dhēnukākāṭa.

VIII.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

IX.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

X.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

XI.

THE WILKES

XII.

THE WILKES

XIII.

THE WILKES

No. XIII. An inscribed piece of stone found near the caves.

TEXT.

. . . . [kha]sa Śēga(1) putrasa

Remark.

(1) These two letters forming a proper name are not quite clear. The outline of the first is misleading, but careful scrutiny of relief on reverse of the impression leads me to think that it is either 'śē' or 'gē' while the second appears to be 'ga'; the accretion of an altogether new outline proceeding from its top along the left being merely a development of the crack in stone.

TRANSLATION.

Of . . . Kha the son of Śēga?

No. 37.—INSCRIPTION ON A VISHNU IMAGE FROM DEOPANI.

By K. N. DIKSHIT, M.A.

This inscription of four lines occurs on the side of a stone image of **Vishṇu**, which was found, along with another partially broken and obliterated image of **Durgā**, in the jungle close to the **Deopani** river (Sibsāgar District, Assam) between the 26th and 27th miles on the Golaghat-Dimapur road. As the locality is frequented by wild elephants, to whom the present damaged condition of the images is due, the Vishṇu image has been removed by me to Gauhāti and deposited for safe custody in the rooms of the Kāmṛūp Anusandhān Samiti. The place was visited by Dr. Bloch in 1904-05, who describes the image as follows in the *Annual Report of the Eastern Circle* :—'The second or smaller image 2 feet 6 inches high is a standing Vishṇu or Nārāyaṇa with two hands only (the other two hands on the proper right have been lost) wearing the usual crown and having the *Śrīvatsa* mark on his breast. On the left outer face is an inscription in four lines, the end of which is broken. The broken piece could not be found.' About the inscription, he further writes : 'The inscription consists of three verses of **Sanskrit** poetry, evidently full of orthographical and grammatical blunders and for this reason difficult to read. The first two verses seem to be in honour of Śiva and the third refers to the putting up of a statue of Nārāyaṇa by some person whose name was on the missing piece of stone. It is of no historical interest. Judging from the characters, it belongs to about the 12th century A.D.' As Dr. Bloch's estimate of the age of the inscription is rather wide of the mark, sufficient attention was not drawn to the importance of this image. The **characters** are similar to the inscription of Harjjara on a rock on the bank of the **Brahmaputra** near Tezpur, which is dated in the year 510 of the Gupta Era. The present inscription can be safely attributed to the 9th century A.D. on palæographical grounds, and as the statue is the only early example of an inscribed image yet known in Upper Assam, it is a landmark in the history of Art in Assam. On grounds of style and execution, the image could easily have been ascribed to the late Gupta or early Pāla period in Bengal. Attention may be drawn to the thick lower lip, the expression of the face, the ear-ornament, the band around the crown, the Brahmanical thread and the close-fitting garment, the style of the Gadā and the Vanamālā, and the Kaustubha and Śrīvatsa symbols, which are all indications of an earlier age not far removed from the late Gupta period. It is worthy of note that the position of Deopani is intermediate between Dimapur and Kasonari Pathar where still exist the remains of the peculiar culture associated with the Kicharis in the shape of monoliths described as 'sword-blade,' 'chess-man,' 'V-shaped' and 'buffalo-horned' columns.

The characters are acute-angled and belong to the Eastern variety prevalent in the ninth century A. D. over the larger portion of Northern India.

The inscription, as was pointed out by the late Dr. Bloch long ago, is full of orthographical blunders and was apparently written very carelessly. A number of letters have been lost at the end of each line, except the fourth. Calculating on the basis of completing the first two *ślokas*, we find that at least 15 letters must have been lost in the first line and 11 in the second. Owing to the incompleteness of the record and inaccuracy of the scribe, it is not possible to give a connected account of the contents of the inscription. The opening benedictory verse must be taken as referring to Śiva, as it mentions the serpent-girdle, bull emblem and the moon. The purport of the second verse, which probably commences in the second line and ends in the third, is very obscure. The end of the last line seems to refer to a stone image of the divine Nārāyaṇa. The text is edited from two impressions prepared at my instance.

TEXT.

- 1 Ōm¹ [*] Hava²mtu tōchh³yaṁ uragēndra-sūtram vṛisha-dhvajaṁ sōma-jaga(t)-
prakāśam | ma
- 2 Bhagav⁴atis=tu Śūrjja || Satv⁵as=tu Dēvi bhuvi *mārtti-lōkē
snānē
- 3 nka-śūdro dvija-varṇṇa⁷-nāri-sēvyas=tu dēvi bhagavatis=tu Śūrjja || pi * * *
- 4 nā[ma]pa dhava⁸dī (?) | Bhagavatō Nārāyaṇa [sya*] śaili pratima⁹ bhaktyantam¹⁰ ||

No. 38.—POLONNARUVA INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYABAHU I.

By S. PARANAVITANA, OOTACAMUND.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a stone slab lying to the west of *Vihāra* No. 1, about 50 feet north-east of the *Latāmaṇḍāpaya* in **Polonnaruva**, the mediæval capital of the kings of Ceylon. It was first discovered and brought to notice by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S., the late Archæological Commissioner of Ceylon, who sent inked estampages of it, for examination, to the Government Epigraphist for India. Mr. H. Krishna Sastri in his *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for the year 1913, has discussed the historical importance of this record. An account of the inscription, with a translation of it, has also been published by Mr. H. C. P. Bell in the *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of Ceylon* for the year 1911-12. The text of the inscription has recently been published in the *South-Indian Inscriptions (Texts)*, Vol. IV (No. 1396). The present article is prepared with the help of an impression preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, and of another kindly supplied by the Archæological Commissioner of Ceylon. I am much indebted to Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri and

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

² Correct *bhavanu* or *Bhavam tri*. The metre seems to be *upajāti* although the first *akṣara* of the second line does not conform to the scanning. [What is meant here is probably *Bhavam Tri*(Tri)-nētram.—Ed.]

³ Possibly this is to be corrected '*lōkyām*' or '*lōkhyām*'.

⁴ This expression is repeated at the end of the third verse, in line 3. The correct reading is possibly '*Bhagavati tu Sūryah*' or '*Bhagavāns=tu Sūryah*.'

⁵ The metre is probably *upajāti*, but the fifth *akṣara* is short instead of long. [The original reads *Satv-āstu*.—Ed.]

⁶ Apparently *marṭyalōkē* is intended.

⁷ [The original has *varṇna*.—Ed.]

⁸ *va* is written below the line.

⁹ Correct *Pratimā*.

¹⁰ Correct *bhaktānām* (?). [The original reads *bhaktiānām*.—Ed.]

DEOPANI VISHNU-IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

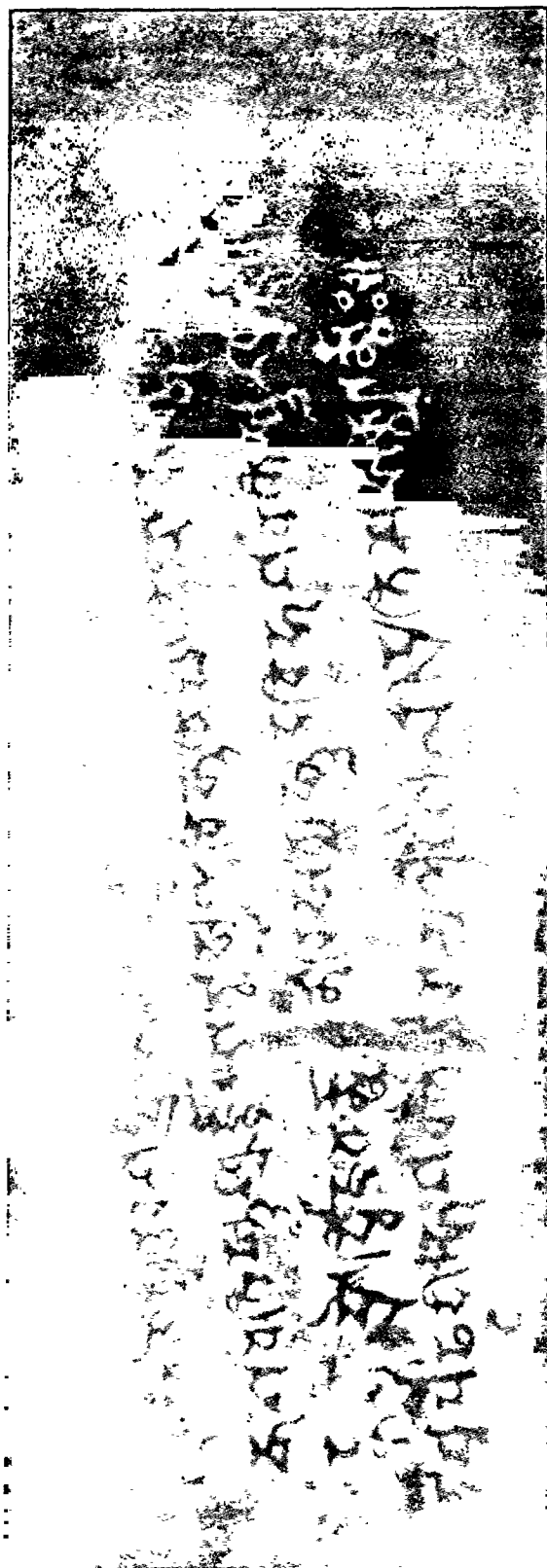


Photo-engraved & printed by Survey of India, Calcutta, 1925

H. KRISHNA SASTRI

SCALE 8



IMAGE OF VISHNU AT DEOPANI, DISTRICT SIBSAGAR, ASSAM.

From a photograph.

Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar for many suggestions, and for the kind encouragement given to me in preparing this paper.

The slab on which the inscription is engraved measures 8' 2" by 2' 6". There are 49 lines of writing on it. The stone had been planed and ruled before the letters were engraved. The writing, which has been well executed, is in a fairly good state of preservation—the average size of the letters being about 1 inch in height. The **characters** used in the record are Grantha and Tamil. They agree, on the whole, with those of the Tamil inscriptions of the contemporary Chōla kings on the mainland of South India. The following facts, however, are noteworthy. The *pulli* or *virāma* sign, which is generally not used in most of the Tamil inscriptions in the South India of the mediæval age, is here invariably indicated by a small vertical stroke, written over the letter, e.g. in *vaḷi vanda* (l. 7). The *anusvāra* is generally written over the letter, at its top. The first five lines consist of a **Sanskrit** verse in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, and the rest of the inscription is in **Tamil** prose, where, however, there is a great admixture of Sanskrit words. In the Sanskrit portion the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed in one place, i.e. °*kārshū*+*śrī* (l. 2). It is interesting to note that, in the Tamil passage, the following **old Sinhalese words** are used with **Tamil inflexions** in some cases :—

L. 16. *Senevirat* (Skt. *Sēnāpati-rāja*), Commander-in-Chief.

L. 17. *Pulanari* (Skt. *Pulasti-nagara*), the name of a city.

L. 20. *daḷadā* (Skt. *daṁṣṭrā-dhātu*), Tooth Relic.

L. 27. *Mugalan* (Skt. *Maudgalyāyana*), the name of a Buddhist monk.

No **date** is given in the inscription ; but it mentions king **Vijayabāhu I**, and states that he reigned for 55 years and celebrated his 73rd birthday festival. According to the *Mahāvamsa*, the duration of his reign was only 55 years. Therefore, it is evident that this record was inscribed after his death. According to the chronology adopted by Wijesinha, the translator of the *Mahāvamsa*, Vijayabāhu reigned from A.D. 1065 to 1120.¹

The inscription opens with an eulogistic account of king *śrī*—**Sanḥabōdhivarman alias Vijayabāhudēva**. It says that he belonged to the Solar race and that he had to conquer many enemies before he entered **Anurādhapura**, where he was crowned king of Ceylon, at the instance of the *Sanḥa* (i.e. the Buddhist monks), for the protection of the religion of the Buddha. It is also stated that he invited monks from **Arumana**,² and purified the *saṅgha* of the three *nikāyas* (fraternities),³ to whom he gave three *tulābhāras* (i.e. weight of gold equal to that of his own person). Having brought the whole of the island of Ceylon under his dominion, he reigned for

¹ According to the latest version of this part of the chronology of Ceylon, the dates, connected with the principal events of Vijayabāhu's career, are as follows :—

His birth, in A.D. 1040.

He freed Rōhaṇa of enemies and assumed the title of Vijayabāhu, when he was seventeen years old, in A.D. 1058.

In the 15th year of his Rōhaṇa rule, i.e. the 33rd year of his age, he entered Anurādhapura and became the ruler of all Ceylon, in A.D. 1075. His death, after the 73rd birthday which was the 56th year of his Rōhaṇa rule or the 41st year of his Polonnaruwa rule, in A.D. 1114.

Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. II, p. 207.

² Arumana (Sinhalese Aramāṇa) is a corruption of the Pāli word Rāmaṇā, which was the name by which Lower Burma was known in ancient times. Rev. Foulkes tries to locate the Aramāṇa country on the Coromandel Coast, somewhere between the Chōla and the Kāliṅga countries, in the dominions of the old *Pallavas* (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, p. 126).

³ The three *nikāyas* or fraternities, into which the Buddhist Church in Ceylon was divided, were the Mahāvihāra, Abhayagiri, and Jētavana sects.

55 years, and passed his 73rd birthday (*tirunakshatram*).¹ It next mentions the building of a shrine for the **Tooth Relic of Buddha** in the monastery of **Uturoḷmuḷa** which was a part of the **Abhayagiri-vihāra** by a General named **Dēva**, at the command of the king. We are next introduced to the royal preceptor **Vyāriṇi Mugalan**, who is described to have been well versed in all the sciences and scriptures, and who was a high dignitary of the Buddhist Church in Ceylon at this period. This hierarch, as our inscription informs us, convened a meeting of the chief ministers of the state, and inviting the **Vēḷaikkāra** forces to their presence, exhorted them to protect the temple of the Tooth. The **Vēḷaikkāras**, who consisted of the three divisions of the **Mahā-tantra**, the **Valaṇṇiyar**, and the **Nagarattār**, agreed to do so, and re-named the temple as *Mūṇṇu-kai-tiru-Vēḷaikkāraṇ-Daladāy-perum-paḷḷi*, and concerted the necessary arrangements for the protection of the shrine. They bound themselves not only to protect the temple, its lands, its serfs, property, etc., but also to keep it in proper repair and to do everything necessary for its proper maintenance. The inscription also gives a list of the various tribes which formed the **Vēḷaikkāras** and ends with an imprecation on those who act against the rules laid down therein.

The account given in this inscription of king *śrī*-Saṅghabōdhi Vijayabāhu agrees in every detail with that given in the *Mahāvamsa* of Vijayabāhu I. So there is no doubt about the identity of the king mentioned in our record. The statement that he had to conquer many enemies before he could establish his authority, is, no doubt, a reference to the long wars that he had to wage against the **Chōḷa** invaders and the petty chieftains of Ceylon who ruled in the southern part of the island. Perhaps it might not be out of place, in this connection, to give a brief account of the state of the country before the accession of Vijayabāhu to the throne, and a short sketch of his career, as stated in the *Mahāvamsa* (Chapters LVIII to LX). At the beginning of the eleventh century, in the reign of **Rājarāja I**, the **Chōḷas** invaded Ceylon and annexed the northern part of the island to their dominions, taking **Mahinda V**, the then king of Ceylon, as a prisoner, to the **Chōḷa** country. From this time, up to the end of the reign of the **Chōḷa** king **Adhirājendra-dēva**, Ceylon acknowledged the supremacy of the **Chōḷas**.² During this period Ceylon was in a state of utter confusion. The Sinhalese princes, driven to the mountainous districts of the South, were always fighting amongst themselves, when the **Chōḷas** were not at their doors. When the country was in this distracted state, a young scion of the ancient Sinhalese royal family, named **Kirti**, raised the standard of war, and after a considerable amount of fighting, made himself the master of the **Rōhapa** country, the southern part of Ceylon, and assumed the title of Vijayabāhu, when he was only seventeen years of age. After making his position secure in the principality of which he was the chief, he started on a campaign to rid the island of foreign domination. The time chosen by him for this enterprise was an opportune one. The campaign of Vijayabāhu against the **Chōḷas** falls into the period immediately before the accession of **Kulōttuṅga I** to the

¹ *Tirunakshatram* means the 'sacred asterism.' It seems as if the Sinhalese kings of old celebrated a special festival annually, on the day of the constellation under which they were born. I am informed by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, Superintendent for Epigraphy, that such a custom still prevails in the royal family of Travancore, and that the princes of Travancore are named after the constellations under which they are born. The *Mahāvamsa* also gives instances in which persons were named after the constellation of their birth, e.g. Tishya and Pushya. [The *janma-nāma* or birth name of a Hindu child is given after the *janma-nakshatra* or the constellation of nativity.—Ed.]

² Inscriptions of **Rājarāja I** are found in Ceylon, and in one of the records of the Tanjore temple it is stated that the income of several villages in Ceylon was dedicated to that shrine. **Rājendra-Chōḷa I** also says in his inscriptions that he conquered the whole island. **Rājādhirāja I** and **Rājendradēva**, the successors of **Rājendra-Chōḷa I**, both conducted campaigns in Ceylon, in which several princes of the island are said to have perished. An inscription of **Adhirājendra** is also found at Polonnaruwa. No inscription, however, of any **Chōḷa** successor of **Adhirājendra** is found on the island of Ceylon.

Chōla throne. This was a period of Civil War in the Chōla country, and, consequently, the Chōlas were not able to send sufficient forces to Ceylon to quell the rising there against their authority. In one of the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga at **Tirukkālukkunram**,¹ he says that he sent several expeditions to Ceylon, but does not mention any definite results gained by them. These were most probably, the armies which, according to the *Mahāvamsa*, were sent by the Chōla king to fight against Vijayabāhu. After a long and protracted campaign, Vijayabāhu succeeded in driving the Chōlas out of Ceylon, and made himself the master of the whole island.

During the Chōla occupation, the Buddhist religion had suffered greatly. In fact, when Vijayabāhu came to the throne, he found that there were no ordained monks in the island, who would help him in the work of reviving the religion of the land. Therefore, he sent an embassy to the king of Aramaṇa, requesting him to send properly ordained monks to Ceylon. The king of Aramaṇa at this time was **Anuruddha**, from whom Vijayabāhu received substantial support in his struggle against the Chōlaś. The Burmese king sent several properly ordained monks to the island, and they revived the Buddhist Church in Ceylon, and helped Vijayabāhu to restore Buddhism to its pristine glory and splendour. Our inscription alludes to this event, and, moreover, states that he purified the *saṅgha* of the three *nikāyas* (fraternities), and gave three *tulābhāras* to them. The Ceylon chronicles do not mention this fact, though they give a long account of the king's benefactions to the religious establishments, and his various works of public utility.

The Commander-in-Chief **Dēva**, who, at the instance of the king, built a shrine for the Tooth Relic, is not known to us from other sources. The monastery of **Uturoḷmuḷa**, within the precincts of which the Temple of the Tooth Relic was built, and which was itself a part of the **Abhāyagiri-vihāra**² at Polonnaruva, must be the same as the monastery of **Uttarōla** which was built by **Māṇa**, one of the predecessors of Vijayabāhu I, for his elder brother who had entered the priesthood.³ It is also stated in the *Mahāvamsa* that the king entrusted the guard of the Tooth Relic to him. The Buddhist monk **Mugalan**, who took an active part in getting the consent of the *Vēlaikkāras* to protect the temple, is not mentioned, so far as I know, in any of the Ceylon chronicles.

The next point to be discussed is, who these *Vēlaikkāras* were, and what their position was in Ceylon, at the time when this inscription was set up. The *Vēlaikkāras* are mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* as having formed a part of the army of the Sinhalese kings of this period. It is stated that towards the latter part of Vijayabāhu's reign, there was a revolt of these troops, when he was making preparations for undertaking an expedition to South India against the Chōla king. This rising of the *Vēlaikkāras* was put down with considerable difficulty, and as a consequence of it, the projected campaign against the Chōlas had to be given up.⁴ Later on, in the reign of Vijayabāhu's grandson, **Gajabāhu II**, they again figure in the history of Ceylon. There⁵, it is said, that Gajabāhu's rival, **Parākramabāhu I**, tried to win them over to his side. A few years later, we find the *Vēlaikkāras* in alliance with the **Kēraḷas** and the people of **Rōhaṇa**, rising in rebellion against the authority of Parākramabāhu I.⁶ These accounts, coupled with the fact that their aid was considered effective for the protection of one of the most cherished national treasures of the Sinhalese people, go to prove that the *Vēlaikkāras* were, at this period, a very powerful community.

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXI, p. 282.

² This *viḥāra* was distinct from the monastery of the same name at the old capital, **Anurādhapura**.

³ *Mahāvamsa*, Chapter LVII.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Chapter LX.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Chapter LXXIII.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Chapter LXXIV.

The inscriptions of the Chōla kings Rājārāja I and Rājēndra-Chōla I, on the walls of the Brihadiśvara temple at Tanjore, make mention of several Vēlaikkāra regiments. The origin of the word *vēlaikkāra* has not yet been conclusively proved. Different scholars have given different interpretations of the word. Dr. Hultsch has rendered *vēlaikkāra-padaigaḷ* as 'the troop of servants'.¹ The late Rai Bahadur Venkayya was of opinion that it was a corruption of the word *vēlaikkāra*, and comments as follows:—"At any rate, the origin of the term is obscure, and must be left to future research. It is possible they were no mercenaries in the Chōla country at the beginning of the 11th century. If a conjecture may be offered, I would say they were perhaps volunteers who enlisted themselves when the occasion (*vēlai*) for their services arose. In later times when their services were not required in the Tamil Country, they probably migrated to Ceylon, during the period of interregnum, when there were frequent Chōla invasions against the island. Eventually they probably developed into mercenaries."² Mr. Krishna Sastri, in his remarks upon this inscription, says of the Vēlaikkāras, "Whatever the Vēlaikkāras may have been in their religious creed, it is clear from what is stated in the inscription that they included all working classes, and were apparently of Indian origin who immigrated into Ceylon with the merchants whom they served."³ The late Mr. Gopinatha Rao's opinion as to who the Vēlaikkāras were was quite different from any of the views set forth above. He says that they were not mercenaries, but "persons who had pledged themselves to do certain duties, failing which, they would voluntarily undergo certain penalties, which, in most cases, was death." He has quoted two passages from Tamil literature, one from the commentary of Periyavāchchapillai on Nammālvār's *Tirumōḷi* which explains the word *pū-vēlaikkāra* as "those who, when they see the king being without flower(-garlands) at the time when he ought to wear them, had vowed to stab themselves and die." The other extract is from the commentary of the *Śivavachanabhūṣaṇam*, where the Vēlaikkāras are said to be "the servants of the king who chastise those who prove traitorous to him."⁴

In this inscription they are termed 'the Vēlaikkāras of the three hands' (*mūṇṇu-kai*). In No. 602 of 1912, another inscription from Ceylon, *mūṇṇu-kai-tiru-vēlaikkāraṇ* appears as the surname of a certain Adhikaraṇa Sāraṇaṇ, and in No. 610 of the same year, also from Ceylon, *mūṇṇu-kai* is referred to as the name by which a particular community was known.⁵ In an inscription of the time of Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva, in the Bhaktavatsalēśvara temple at Shērmādēvī, *mūṇṇu-kai-mahāsēṇai* are represented as protecting certain charitable endowments made to that temple.⁶ A Tamil inscription at Dangūr, in Mysore, too, refers to the Vēlaikkāras of the right hand.⁷ It seems from our inscription as if the three divisions or 'hands' to which the Vēlaikkāras were divided, consisted of the **Mahātantra**, the **Vaḷaṇṇiyar**, and the **Nagarattār**. Out of these terms, **Mahātantra** is not found elsewhere, and its sense is not clear. Probably it was used here with a Buddhist significance. The terms **Vaḷaṇṇiyar** and **Nagarattār** are of frequent use in the South Indian inscriptions of this period. They are there represented to have been a wealthy and influential body of merchants. In Mr. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions* there are three records from Balligami, which refer to the corporation of merchants known as the **Vaḷaṇṇiyar**. In one of them the members are styled "protectors of the *vīra-baṇaṇja* rights."⁸ In the second they are called

¹ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 97.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Introduction, p. 10.

³ *Epigraphical Report of Madras for 1913*, p. 102.

⁴ The above is from an article by the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao, a reprint of which was found among some of his papers which are in the library of the Government Epigraphist for India. I have not been able to find out the journal to which the article was contributed.

⁵ *Ep. Rep.* for 1913, p. 101.

⁶ No. 189 of the *Madras Epigraphical Report for 1895*.

⁷ *Mysore Archaeological Report for 1920*, p. 31.

⁸ *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 73.

baṇajigas,¹ whilst the third inscription calls the members of the guild “the protectors of the *vīra-baṇājī-dharma*.”² Two inscriptions from Shikarpūr Taluq (Nos. 94 and 118), published in the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VII,³ describe these merchants in great detail. An inscription has been found at Ānālundāva, a village near Polonnaruva, which begins with almost the same phrases as are used in describing the *Valaṇṇiyar* merchants in the Kanarese inscriptions from Mysore. This inscription being only a fragment, the word *valaṇṇiyar* does not actually occur in it; but the phraseology used in it shows, beyond doubt, that it must have been a record of the same Corporation of Merchants.⁴ In the inscription No. 555 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1923, mention is made of the *Valaṇṇiyar* of South Ceylon (*Ten-Ilaṅgai-valaṇṇiyar*). They are there represented as making donations to a Viṣṇu temple.⁵ As regards the derivation of this word, the late Mr. Venkayya says:—“In Kanarese *baṇajiga* is still used to denote a class of merchants. In Telugu the word *balija* or *balijiga* has the same meaning. It is therefore probable that the words *valaṇṇiyam*, *valaṇṇiyar*, *baṇaṇṇi*, *baṇaṇṇi*, *baṇajiga* and *balija* are cognate, and derived from the Sanskrit *vaṇij*.”⁶ The *Nagarattārs*, who are mentioned in this inscription along with the *Valaṇṇiyars*, were also an influential community of merchants, who, at the time that we are speaking of, had their mercantile establishments not only all over South India and Ceylon, but also in Burma and other parts of Further India.⁷ The *Nagarattārs* comprised within their ranks another class of merchants called the *Nānādēśī*. An inscription of *Queen Līlāvatī* of Ceylon, who reigned in the first decade of the 13th century, mentions the *Nānādēśī* merchants as having made some donations to an alms-house at Anurādhapura.⁸ As the *Valaṇṇiyars* are said to have been the leaders (*mūdāḍai*) of the *Vēlaikkāra* troops, it might be conjectured that the latter migrated to Ceylon with the *Valaṇṇiyar* whom they served. The *Valaṇṇiyars* and the *Nagarattārs* are at present represented by the *Baṇajiga* and *Nagaratta* communities of the Kanarese country.⁹

The different sub-sects, into which the *Vēlaikkāras* were further divided, were the *Valaṅgai*, *Iḍaṅgai*, *Śiṟudanam*, *Pillaiḷaḷdanam*, *Vaḍugar*, *Malaiyālar*, *Parivārakkondam*, and others. Out of these *Valaṅgai* and *Iḍaṅgai* mean the ‘Right hand’ and the ‘Left hand’ castes respectively. From an early time the inhabitants of South India were thus divided. The Madras *Epigraphical Report* for 1913 contains the following interesting account as regards the origin of the *Iḍaṅgai*:—“While in order to kill demons (that disturbed) the sacrifices of the sage Kāśyapa, we were made to appear from the *agni-kunḍa* (i.e. the sacrificial fire pit), and while we were protecting the said sacrifice, Chakravartin Arindama honoured the officiating sage priests by carrying them in a car, and led them to a Brāhmaṇa Colony (newly founded by himself). On this occasion we were made to take our seats on the backside of the car and to carry the slippers and umbrellas of these sages. Eventually, with these Brāhmaṇa sages, we also were made to settle down in the villages of Tiruveḷḷarai, etc. We received the clan name *Iḍaṅgai*, because the sages (while they got down their cars) were supported by us on their left side.” In the same inscription it is said that there were ninety-eight sub-sects of the *Iḍaṅgai*. Their insignia are given thus:—“It is also understood that only those, who, during their congregational meetings to settle communal disputes, display the *insignia* (?) of horn, bugle and parasol, shall belong to our class. Those who have

¹ *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 120.

² *Ibid.*, p. 123.

³ P. 114 and p. 156.

⁴ This inscription runs as follows:—

(1) *Samasta-bhuvanāgra-pāuca-sata-vīra-sāsanaṁ-āli(ṅgita Lakṣmī)-*

(2) (*yā*) *lakṣaṇa (vakṣa-) sthala bhuvana-parākrama Śrī-Vāsudēva Kuṇḍalā mūla-(pūrtti-bha).*

Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. II, p. 230

⁵ *A. R. on Epigraphy for 1923*, p. 106. ⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 296. ⁷ *A. R. on Epigraphy for 1913*, p. 102

⁸ *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. I, p. 179.

⁹ *A. R. on Epigraphy for 1913*, p. 102.

to recognise us now and hereafter, in public, must do so from our distinguishing symbols, the feather of the crane and the loose hanging hair."¹

The term *Śirudanam* appears in the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājārāja I and Rājendra-Chōla I, as a title given to military officers. Among the regiments mentioned in the inscriptions of the same place we find two named "*Śirudanattu-vaḍuga-kkāvalar* and *Śirudanattu-Valaṅgai-Vēlaikkāra-ppadaigal*." The true significance of this term has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Dr. Hultsch explains the terms *śirudanam* and *perudanam* as the 'small treasury' and the 'big treasury', and persons so entitled as officers of the treasury, small or big. The titles are sometimes explained as referring to the followers of the king during his minority and majority. In all probability *śirudanam* and *perudanam* were purely honorary titles conferred on officers, as well as private individuals, according to the status held by them in official position or in society.²

The Vaḍugar (Northerners) might have been immigrants from the Telugu Country. The Malaiyālar, most probably, were settlers from the Malabar Coast. On the occasion of the rebellion of the people of Rōhaṇa against Parākramabāhu I, as already mentioned, the Kēraḷas took the side of the insurgents. There are also other references to the Kēraḷa soldiers in the *Mahāvamśa*. The term Malaiyālar, therefore, must have been applied to the people from the Kēraḷa country.

The inscription is silent as to the reason why the protection of the Vēlaikkāras was sought for the Tooth Relic. If this inscription was engraved only after the death of Vijayabāhu I, it must have been owing to the state of anarchy which prevailed after that event.

Out of the places mentioned in this record, *Anurādhapura* is the well-known capital of the ancient Sinhalese kings. *Arumana* has already been identified with Rāmaññadēsa, i.e. Lower Burma. *Pulanari*, also called Vijayarājapura in the inscription, evidently after King Vijayabāhu I, is the same as Poionnarūwa (Pulastipura³), and was the mediæval Sinhalese Capital. In Chōla inscriptions found in Ceylon this city is also called Jananāthamaṅgalam. There are extensive ruins of the many monasteries, palaces and other public buildings with which it was adorned in the days of its splendour.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti Śrīh [||*] **Lamkāyām Jina**-danta-dhātu-bhavanam yad=**Dēva**-
- 2 **sēnādhipō**=kāṛshīt śrī-Vijayādibāhunrivar-ādēs[ā]-
- 3 t **Pulastēh purē** [||*] **Vēlaikkāra**-samā[hritā]n tad=api ta.
- 4 t-paryyanta-dēvalāyān Vēlaikkāra-balāni pā-
- 5 ntu⁴ nitarām=ā-kalpa-sandhēr=bhuvi [||*] Namō **Buddhāya** [||*]
- 6 Śrī-Lamkā-dvīpattu **Sūrya**-vaṁśattu **Ikshvāku**[vi]-
- 7 n vaḷi-vanda anēka-śatru-vijayam paṇṇi **Anur**[ā]-
- 8 **dhapuram** pukku Buddha-śāsanam rakshikka vēṇḍi sa-
- 9 mgha-niyōgattāl tiru-muḍi-sūḍi **Arumanattilni**-
- 10 nrum saṅgattārai alaippittu mūṇru nikāya-
- 11 ttu saṅgha-suddhi paṇṇuvittu mūṇru tulābhāram
- 12 mūṇru nikāyattukku kuḍuttu daśa-rāja-dharmattāl
- 13 aiṇbatt-ayy-āṇḍu **Ilaṅgai**-muludum oru-kuḍai-ni[la]-
- 14 rri-ttiruv-irājyañ-cheyd-aruḷi elupattu mūv-āṇḍu tiru-na-
- 15 kshatrañ=cheluttina Kō-śrī-Saṅghabōdhi-vatmar=āṇa chakravartti-
- 16 gaḷ śrī-Vijayabāhudēvar=anuvāgal **Dē**[va]-**sēnevīrattar**-

¹ A. R. on *Epigraphy* for 1913 p. 109.

² *Ibid* for 1913, p. 97.

³ This is a name in which at least we see the Puranic allusion to Pulastī Brahman, an ancestor of Rāvana, the giant king of Ceylon.

⁴ S. I. I. Texts Vol. IV, No. 1396 reads *yāntu*.

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17 kku niyōgittu=**Ppulanariy**-āṇa Vijayarājapurattu eḍup-
 18 pitta Mūlasthānam-āgiya **Abhayagiri-mahā-vihārattu** agr-ā-
 19 yatanam-āna¹ Uttorūlmūlaiyil mūv-ulagukkuñ=chikāmaṇi-
 20 y-āgiya **Daḷadā-Pātra-dhātu-svāmidēvargaḷukku** nitya=vāsa-bhavana-
 21 m-āṇa pratham-ābhishēgattukku maṅgala-griham-āṇa āttāṇḍu-
 22 dōrun=tiru-nayana-mōksham paṇṇi aṇjaṇa nīrukkum
 23 kaṇṇālaṇ=cheyyum maṅgala-mahā-śilāmaya-Buddha-
 24 dēvarkku gandhakuṭiy-āṇa **Daḷadāy-pperum-baḷli** uṅga-
 25 | rakshay-āga vēṇḍum=enṇu sakala-śāstr-āgama-śil-ā-
 26 chāra-sampannar-āṇa Rāja-guru Uturūlmūlaiyil **Vyāriṇi Mu-**
 27 **galan Mahāsthavirar** rāj-āmatyarōḍuñ-kūḍa elundarūḷiy-i-
 28 rundu eṅgaḷai alaittu aruḷi-chcheydamaiyil Mā-tantirat-
 29 tōñ=kūḍi eṅgaḷukku mūtadaigaḷ-āy-uḷḷa **Valaṇjeyaraiyum e-**
 30 **ṅgaḷōḍu** kūḍivarum=**Nagarattār-uḷḷi**tṭōraiym=kūṭṭi Mūṇru-
 31 kai-ttiru-Vēḷaikkāraṇ Daḷadāy-pperum-baḷliy-enṇu
 32 tiru-nāmañ=chātti eṅgaḷ-aṇam-āy eṅgaḷ kāval-āy nīrka-
 33 vēṇḍum=enṇu aṇaṅ-gāvalukku paḍai-ppaḍaiyāl² ōr[ō]-
 34 sévagaraiyum ōrō-vēli nilamum=iṭṭu-kkuḍuttu i-p-
 35 paḷli nōkkiṇa ūrgaḷum parivāramum paṇḍāramum abha-
 36 yam-pukkāraiym paṭṭuñ-keṭṭuñ=kākkak=kaḍavōm=āga-
 37 vum aḷivupaṭṭ-iḍaṅgaḷ³ aḷivu sōrṇḍum eṅgaḷ anva-
 38 yam=uḷḷadanaiyum=eññāṇṇum=idukku vēṇḍuvaṇav-e-
 39 llāñ=cheyvōm=āgavum paṇṇiṇa inda vyavasthai chandr-ā-
 40 dityavarai nīrpad-āga-kkaiy-viṇāv-ēṇri-chchembiluñ=kalli-
 41 lum vēṭṭuvittu=kkuḍuttōm Valaṅgai Iḍaṅgai Śi-
 42 rudanam Piḷḷaigaḷdanam Vaḍugar Malaiyāḷar Parivārak=
 43 kondam pala-kalaṇaiyum-uḷḷiṭṭa tiru-Vēḷaikkāra-
 44 rōm [||*] Ippaḍi tirambuvāṇum tiramba=chcholluvāṇu-
 45 m tiramba chchammadippāṇum Mā-tantirattukku=ppiḷaitta
 46 paḍai-ppagaiyan pañcha-mahā-pātaṇ-ā-cheydāṇum tēvar-
 47 pūdar-mā-tavattōrkku=kkuḍuttāṇa koḷḷum koḍum-
 48 pāviyum Buddha-Dharmma-Saṅgha-ratnaṅgaḷukku=ppiḷaittā-
 49 ṇum pugun=naragam puguvaṇ [||*] Ara=maṇavaṇka [||*] Svasti Śrīḥ [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-5.) May the **Vēḷaikkāra** forces well protect, till the juncture of another *kalpa*, on this earth, that shrine of the Tooth Relic of **Jina** (Buddha), which **Dēva**, the Commander-in-Chief, had built in the city of **Pulasti** in **Laṅkā** (Ceylon), at the command of the glorious king **Vijaya-bāhu**, and the other shrines of the gods (*situated*) near that (*shrine*), which the **Vēḷaikkāras** have brought together under their protection. Obeisance to the Buddha.

(Ll. 6-24.) The glorious king **Saṅghabōdhivarman** *alias* **Chakravartin Śrī-Vijayabāhu-dēva**, who appeared in the lineage of Ikshvāku of the **Solar** race in the prosperous island of **Laṅkā**; who, having conquered many enemies, entered the city of **Anurādhapura**, and wore the beautiful crown at the request of the *saṅgha* for protecting the Order (*i.e.* the religion) of the **Buddha**; who, inviting monks from **Arumana**, caused the purification of the *saṅgha* of the three

¹ *S. I. I. (Texts) Vol. IV. p. 492 reads agravadanam-āṇa.*² *Ibid. reads [u]ḍaiṇṇaiyāl.*³ *Ibid. reads aḷivupaṭṭaḍaṅgaḷ.*

fraternities (*nikāyas*) and gave three *tulābhāras*¹ to the three fraternities ; who, bringing the whole of Laṅkā under the shade of one umbrella, had been pleased to reign for fifty-five years with the ten principles of regal duty² and celebrated seventy-three birthday festivities (*tiru-nakshatram*), gave orders to Nuvaragal³ Dēvasenevirattar, and caused to be built within (*the precincts of*) Uṭṭaruḷmūḷa, which was the principal shrine of the great monastery of **Abhayagiri** the **Mūlas-thāna** (*i.e.* important seat of monks) in the city of **Pulanari** *alias* **Vijayarājapura**, the great temple of the Tooth Relic (*daḷa-dāy-pperumpalli*), the permanent abode of the venerated Tooth Relic and the Bowl Relic (*daḷadā-pātra-dhātu-svāmi-dēvargal*), the crest jewel of the three worlds, an auspicious house for the first inauguration ceremony, a *gandhakūṭi*⁴ for the great stone image of **Buddhadēva** to whom annually is held the festival of opening the eyes and fixing collyrium thereon.

(Ll. 25-39.) As the **Mahāsthavira Vyāriṇi**⁵ **Mugalan**, the royal preceptor, well versed in all the sciences and scriptures, of good conduct and behaviour, who, being gloriously seated in the **Uṭṭaruḷmūḷa** (monastery) along with the ministers of the king was pleased to call us to his presence and said "The great temple of the Tooth Relic should be under your protection." we, of the **Mahātantra**, having called together the **Valaṅgiyar**, who are our leaders, and the **Nagarattār** and others, who always accompany us, gave it the sacred name of "*Mūru-kai-tiru-vēḷaikkāraṇ Daḷadāy-pperumpalli*" (*i.e.* the great temple of the Tooth Relic of the Vēḷaikkāras of the three hands), and to make it remain as our charity and under our protection, assigned for the protection of this charity one servant and one *vēli* of land (*for his maintenance*), from each regiment ; and bound ourselves to protect the villages under the supervision of this temple (*palli*), its servants and treasures, as well as the men seeking its shelter, even though (*we may*) suffer ruin or loss ; and to always provide for all the requirements of this (*temple*), so long as our community continues to exist, repairing such parts (*of the temple*) as get dilapidated.

(Ll. 39-44.) In order that the agreement thus given may last as long as the Moon and the Sun (endure), we, the exalted Vēḷaikkāras, consisting of the Valaṅgai, Iḍaṅgai, Śīrudanam, Piḷḷai-galḍanam, Vaḍugar, Malaiyālar, Parivārakkondam and various other classes of workmen (*pala-kalanai*) attested it (*i.e.* the agreement) with our own hands, and caused it to be engraved on copper and stone.

(Ll. 44-49.) Whose acts against this, or acquiesces in doing wrong to this, shall enter the hell wherein fall those enemies of the (*Vēḷaikkāra*) regiments, who have wronged the **Mahātantra**, those who have committed the five great sins,⁶ those heinous sinners who have robbed what have been given to gods, *bhūtas*, and the great ascetics, and those who have wronged the (*three*) gems, (*to wit*), the *Buddha*, the *Dharma*, and the *Saṅgha*. Forget not charity ! Hail ! Prosperity !

¹ *Tulābhāra* is weighing one's self against gold or other precious substances and giving away the same in charity.

² The ten principles of regal duty as explained in Pali books are, charity (*dāna*), piety (*sīla*), liberality (*parichāga*), rectitude (*ajjāvaṃ*), gentleness (*majjava*), religious austerity (*tapaṃ*), freedom from wrath (*akkōḍhō*), humanity (*avhiṃsā*), forbearance (*khanti*), and the state of having no enmity (*avirōḍhatā*).

³ The correct reading *Nuvaragal* in place of *anuvāgal* is due to Codrington.

⁴ *Gandhakūṭi* (perfumed chamber) was the name given to the part of the *vihāra* occupied by the Buddha himself, when he was alive.

⁵ It is doubtful whether *Vyāriṇi* formed a part of the name of the monk. No such name is met with anywhere as the name of a Buddhist monk. I am not able to give any other explanation of this word.

⁶ The five great sins according to the Buddhists are :—(1) the murdering of one's father, (2) the murdering of one's mother, (3) killing an arhat or saint, (4) shedding the blood of a Buddha, (5) causing schism in the Order. According to the Hindu Law-books they are :—(1) killing a Brāhmana, (2) drinking intoxicating liquor, (3) theft, (4) committing adultery with the wife of a religious teacher, and (5) associating with any one guilty of these crimes.

No. 39.—THE JUNAGADH INSCRIPTION OF JIVADAMAN (I).

BY R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

The inscription which is edited below for the first time, was discovered by some labourers on the top of the citadel of Junāgadh fort during the rainy season of 1919. Mr. S. Brook-Fox, the then Chief Engineer of the Junāgadh State, removed the stone slab on which it is written to the State Office building and, sending its inked impression, informed the Archæological Survey Department of its discovery. It is now deposited in the Bahādur Khān-ji Museum, Junāgadh. During my visit in the month of October of the same year I read the inscription from the stone and took its estampages for publication.

The record is incised on a heavy slab of stone, the inscribed surface of which measures 31 inches by 10 inches. At present, it consists of two short lines mutilated both at the beginning and at the end. The first line begins with the word *kshatrapasya* and ends with the numerical symbol for 100. The second line begins with a proper name and ends with the word *putra*. The length of each of these two lines is 30" and the average height of the letters is 2½". Judging, however, from their contents it would appear that originally these lines were considerably longer. The slab bearing the inscription must have been used for building purposes. It was found with its face turned downwards in the debris of an old structure. When I saw it in the State Office at Junāgadh, the letters were full of plaster or mortar made of powdered bricks (*soorkhi*) and lime. Possibly, there were several other lines below the second one which were mutilated when the stone was broken up to suit the requirements of the mason.

The characters of the inscription are of the usual type used in Western India in the second century A.D. and akin to the alphabet in which the Āndhau inscriptions of Rudradāman I are written. The lower parts of *ka* and *ra* curve to the left. The three verticals of *ya* are almost equal in height and all instances of the subscript form of this letter are tripartite. *Va* and the lower part of *ma* are rather triangular. Both the verticals of *pa* are of equal height. In the only extant symbol of the palatal *śa* the pendant drops from the right half of the curve instead of from the left, while the angularity is not quite marked. In the letter *sha* the cross bar is joined to the right vertical straight line and not to the left as usual in one case, i.e., in *kshatrapasya*, while in the other, i.e., in *varshē*, it seems to join both the verticals.

The inscription is written in Sanskrit prose. The object of it, however, is not clear on account of its mutilated state. The portion giving the date is unfortunately damaged and nothing is legible at the end of the first line, except the symbol for 100. The record refers itself to the reign of Jivadāman whose exact rank cannot be now ascertained because the portion of the slab, where his titles were in all probability written, is now missing. That he was a Kshatrapa is certain as that title is prefixed to his name. Two Jivadāmans are known to have had any connection with Kāthiāwār. The first prince of that name was the son of Damajadaśrī I and the grandson of Rudradāman I, who is known from his coins to have ruled in Kāthiāwār from the year 100 to 118 or 119 of the Śaka era. The second prince of that name is Svāmi Jivadāman, known to us from the coins of his son, Kshatrapa Rudrasimha II, who was ruling in Śaka 227 and seems to have succeeded to the throne on the extinction of the direct descendants of Chāshtana or of the Mahākshatrapa Rudrasimha I. On palæographic grounds, I am of opinion that the inscription under examination pertains to the reign of the Mahākshatrapa Jivadāman I. The second line of this record contains four proper names :—[Va]stradatta, Vāstunāmdika, Vastuśarmaka and Rāmaka. The last word of

the second line, if read as *putrā* [nām] would show that the first three persons were the sons of Rāmaka. The inscription must have been incised to commemorate some pious act or the erection of some building by these three brothers.

TEXT.

- 1[ksha]trapasya Sv[ā]mi Jivadāmasya ētāya pūrvvāya¹ varsh[ē] 100
2[Va]stradattasya Vāstuna[m]dikasya Vas[tu]śarmmakasya Rāmakasya putr[ā]....

NOTES.

1. 1 (a) The upper part of the ligature in *ksha* is broken.
(b) The cross bar in *sha* in *varshē* is damaged.
(c) The last letter looks like *śa* but the downward prolongation of the right vertical makes it certain that this letter is the symbol for 100.
1. 2 The restoration [Va]stradatta is tentative. The reading may be [Śa]stradatta or [A]stradatta.
The form of *Vā* in *Vāstunāmdika* is peculiar. The base line is very much curved and the upper horizontal line has disappeared giving place to two curved lines which appear like bifurcations of the vertical.

TRANSLATION.

.... of the [Mahā]kshatrapa Svāmi Jivadāman, on the above mentioned, in the year 100[Va]stradatta, Vāstunāmdika (Vāstunandin), Vastuśarmaka, the sons of Rāmaka.....

No. 40.—PERUNEYIL RECORD OF KULASEKHARA-KOYILADHIĀRI.

By A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

This inscription is engraved on a slab set up in the western *prākāra* of the Vishṇu temple at **Peruneyil**, a suburb of **Changanāchēri** which is a taluk-centre in the Kōṭṭayam Division of the Travancore State. It is in clear-cut and well-preserved **Vatteḷuttu** characters, which can, from purely palæographical considerations, be assigned to the 11th century A.D. or thereabouts. The language of the record is **Tamiḷ**, sprinkled with a few dialectical peculiarities of the West Coast *e.g.*, *irunn-aruḷi* (l. 15), *aruḷiyār* (l. 23), *oḷḷa* (l. 41), *vannu* (l. 58), and *aḍikkumad=ōḷiññōm* (ll. 61-63).

The record which is dated in the **8th year opposite the 2nd year of the reign** of a certain king named **Kulaśēkhara-Kōyiladhikāriḷ**, presumably of the **Chēra** dynasty, does not give the exact Kollam year but mentions simply the vague astronomical detail that **Jupiter was in Karkaṭaka**. But this defect, as will be proved below, is mended by two other inscriptions secured from Quilon² and Tiruvālūr³, both of which are also in the Travancore State. The date portions in these two inscriptions run thus :—

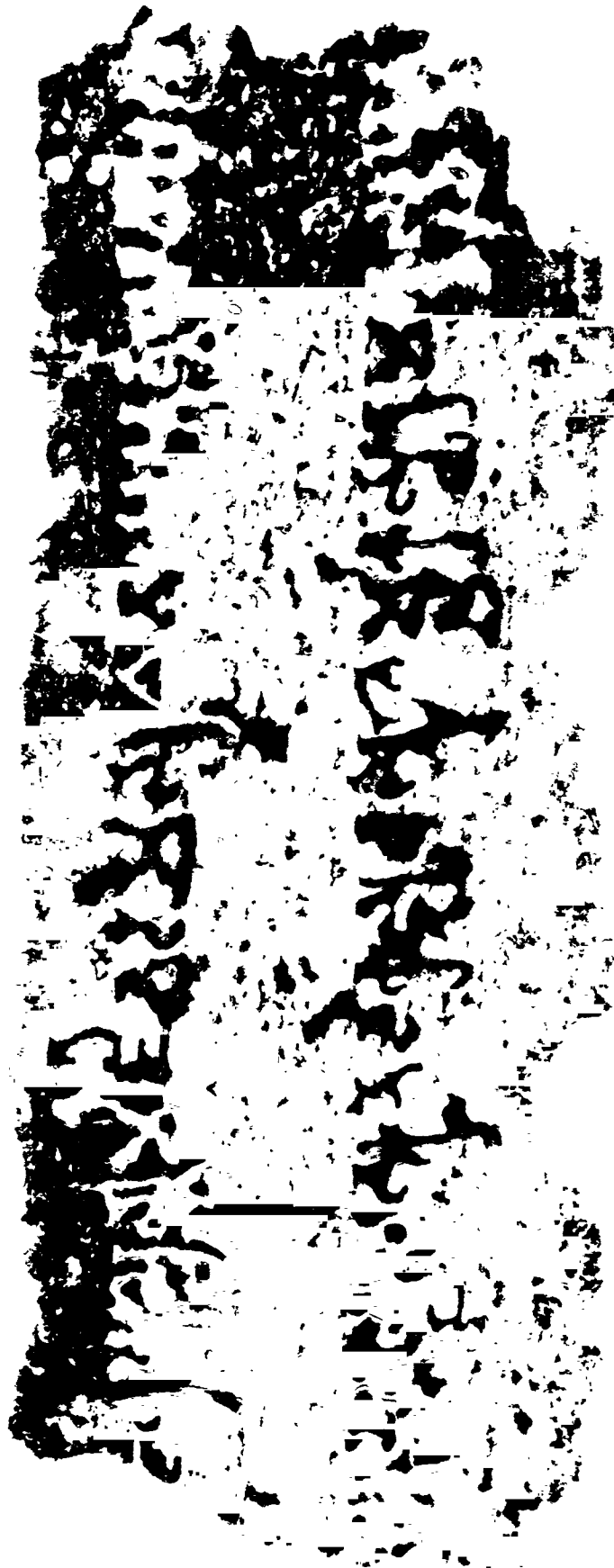
1. Kollan-tōṇṇiy=irunūrr-elupatt-eṭṭām=āṇḍai Kaṇṇiyil Viyāḷam pukka Chinna ūāyiru onpadu šeṇṇa nāl iraṇḍām-āṇḍaikk=ēdir padi[nōrā]m=āṇḍaiy-[I]rā[ma]r⁴ Tiruvaḍi Kōyiladhikāriḷ-āyina śrī-Kulaśēkhara-chChakiravattigaḷ Kurakkēni-kKollattu Paṇainnāvin kōyilagatt-irunnaruḷa.

¹ [This phrase usually follows the date.—Ed.]

² *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. V, p. 44. No. 54 of App. B of *Archæological Survey Report* (Travancore) for 1919-20.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 145. See p. 47 of the *Archæological Survey Report* (Travancore) for 1919-20.

⁴ This portion is somewhat damaged; an alternative reading of Kō-Rāman is also possible.



2. Makarattil Viyālan nīṇṇa Kulaśēkhara-pPerumāḷ=irāchchiyam vāṇṇa raṇḍām=āṇḍaikk=edirām=āṇḍu.

Of these, the latter is dated in the year opposite the 2nd year of the reign of Kulaśēkhara-pPerumāḷ when Jupiter stood in Makara, and the first epigraph, which is dated on the 9th day of Chiṅgam in the Kollam year 278 (=August 1102 A.D.) when Jupiter stood in Kanyā, purports to have been issued in the reign of Irāmar-Tiruvāḍi Kōyiladnikārigaḷ=āyīṇa Kulaśēkhara-Chakravartigaḷ in the second year opposite to the year *padi*...., the second part of which admits of the possible reading *nōrā*. Jupiter, which was in Makara in the 2nd+1st year (expired) of the reign of Kulaśēkhara-pPerumāḷ according to the Tiruvālūr record, would have journeyed on to Karkāṭaka six years later. This was actually the planet's position in the 2nd+8th year of Kulaśēkhara-Kōyiladnikārigaḷ as recorded in the Peruneyil inscription. Consequently, the two kings Kulaśēkhara-pPerumāḷ and Kulaśēkhara-Kōyiladnikārigaḷ mentioned in these two epigraphs appear to be identical. Again, it is clear that two years later, i.e., in the 2nd+11th year, Jupiter would be occupying the Kanyā-rāśi. In the regnal year of king Kulaśēkhara-Chakravartigaḷ which has been read as 2nd+11th in the Quilon record Jupiter was actually in Kaṇṇi (Kanyā). This proves beyond doubt that the three kings referred to in the epigraphs from Tiruvālūr, Quilon and Peruneyil are identical, and it follows also that king Kulaśēkhara may have ascended the Chēra throne between the months Dhanus and Karkāṭaka of the Kollam year 265, i.e., between January and July 1090 A.D.

The title Kōyiladhiḱāri assumed by the king deserves some notice. *Kōyil* either means 'a temple' or 'a palace' and *adhiḱāri* is a 'controller.' It is possible that the management of the palace was left in the hands of an important officer, sometimes the young crown-prince himself, who was consequently called the Kōyiladhiḱāri, and so Dr. Gundert has translated this term as the Palace-Major¹; but as the kings of Kēraḷa were known to have specially interested themselves in temple affairs, it appears more probable that even during the life-time of a reigning sovereign, the supervision of the temple demesne was vested in the crown-prince² so as to give him the proper preliminary training in administrative work, and that he was given the title of Kōyiladhiḱāri.³ Vijayarāgadēva who figures as such in the Kōṭṭayam plates of the Chēra king Sthāṇu-Ravi probably held a similar position and his presence was considered essential for the transaction recorded in that copper-plate charter. He could not have been a mere official unconnected with the royal household, for, we find him given the title 'Chēramāṇār' in a Tiruvorriyūr epigraph⁴ of 936 A.D., and he had himself married a Kēraḷa princess Kīlāṇḍigaḷ daughter of Kulaśēkharadēva.⁵

In the Quilon record under reference, the king is introduced by the expression 'Irāmar-Tiruvāḍi Kōyiladnikārigaḷ=āyīṇa Kulaśēkhara-chChakkaravattigaḷ' which can be understood in one of two ways. The ordinary interpretation will be to consider that Kulaśēkhara-Chakravarti was the Kōyiladhiḱāri of another senior king Rāmar-Tiruvāḍi; but as the title 'Chakravartin' affixed to his name denotes that he was the reigning king, the simultaneous use

¹ *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 83.

² *Malabar Quarterly Review*, Vol. VIII, p. 117.

³ *Ibid.* Vol. VIII, p. 116. 'Nambūdiri Brahmins who held sway over temples possessing immense wealth and landed property invoked the assistance of Sāmanta-kshatriyas and these managed the Dēvasvams under the title of Kōyiladhiḱārigaḷ (Temple-Managers)—*Land Tenure of Travancore*.' Although this Kōyiladhiḱāram was also wielded by private managers (*Trav. Archl. Series*, II, p. 44) in the case of small individual temples the general control together with the specific title must have been in the possession of a member of the royal family, the crown-prince, in all probability.

⁴ *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. III, p. 77 *et seq.* and *S. I. I.* Vol. III, p. 236.

⁵ *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 144—Kulaśēkharadēvar maḡaḷār-Viṣaiyarāgadēvar-ḱṭṭiyūr Kīlāṇḍigaḷ.

of the other title Kōyiladhikāri which would indicate a subordinate position to Rāmar-Tiruvaḍi, appears to be inconsistent. Rāmar-Tiruvaḍi to whom Kulaśekhara was the Kōyiladhikāri (or Agent-in-chief) may be taken to refer to god Rāmēśvara of the Quilon temple, 'Tiruvaḍi' being a respectful term applied alike to gods, kings, queens and saints.¹ Or again; Rāmar-Tiruvaḍi Kōyiladhikārigaḷ may be taken as the proper name of the king and Kulaśekhara as his regal title. If, however, Rāmar-Tiruvaḍi represents a senior king whose Kōyiladhikāri was Kulaśekhara at that time, then we have to understand that though the latter has styled himself as an independent king in the more northern localities in the 4th and 9th years of his reign, he acknowledged a suzerain in Rāmar-Tiruvaḍi in the somewhat later Quilon epigraph. Future researches alone can decide this point one way or the other; but it looks probable that Kulaśekhara of the three records was a Chēra or Cochīn king and that Quilon was his southern outpost where in the palace called Paṇaiṅgāvu² he had encamped on the 9th Chīṅgam of Kollam 278. It may be noted that the Cochīn rājas even now style themselves as Kōyiladhikārigaḷ in documents pertaining to the landed property of temples, their full title being 'Perumbaḍappu Gaṅgādhara Vira-Kēraḷa Tirukkōyiladhikārigaḷ'³

The king of this record being assigned to the end of the 11th century A.D., he must be different from Kulaśekhara, the author of the *Mukundamālā* (a devotional poem considered to be the work of the Vaiṣṇava royal-saint Kulaśekhara-Ālvār), and the patron of the author of the four *yamaka-kāvya*⁴ entitled the *Yudhishthiraviṇaya*, the *Tripurādhana*, the *Saurika-thōdaya* and the *Nalōdaya*, and from another Kulaśekhara, the royal author of the two Sanskrit dramas, the *Tapatisamvaraṇa* and the *Subhadraḍhanaṅṅaya*, and of the undiscovered prose work, the *Āścharyamaṅṅarī*⁵.

The object of the record was to state that the king who was seated in (*the hall called*) Neḍiyatali (*at his capital*?) in company with the presidents of the four assemblies and (*the president of*) Tirukkunṇappōlai, issued, after due consultation with his ministers, an order granting the annual income of 40 *kalam* of paddy and the tax (?) called *arandai* from the village of Peruneydal for the expenses of feeding certain Brāhmaṇas and for expounding the *Mahābhārata* in that temple. The recipients of the gift were the *ūr* (*i.e.* the members of the village assembly) and the *poduvāl* (*i.e.* officers supervising charitable endowments). This order was conveyed by Rāman-Tāyaṇ of Kāmakkaṇappalli and Nārāyaṇa-Nārāyaṇa of Kaḍambanāḍu to the *kuḍipati* (headmen or chieftains) of the two villages of Kāpālimalaṅgalam and Muttūru, who thereupon met in the temple of Peruneydal and, agreeing to refrain from collecting the *arandai* in obedience to the royal mandate, had this stipulation engraved on a slab of stone and got it set up in the temple compound.

The record is important in that it gives us, though perhaps imperfectly, a glimpse into the official routine of the 12th century in Kēraḷa where, more than in any other place, temple administration was entirely in the hands of *yōgams*⁶ (corporations), which were wielding independent power in matters pertaining to temple politics, and which were presided over by the king.

¹ *Tam. Arch. Series*. Vol. III, p. 3

² *Ibid.* Vol. IV, p. 9. This palace of Paṇaiṅgāvu was in existence at the time of the Vēṇāḍu ruler Śrīvalabhaṅkōḍai (Kollam 149).

³ *Cochin State Manual*, p. 39, and *Malabar Quarterly Review*, Vol. VIII, p. 117.

⁴ *J.R.A.S.*, April 1925, pp. 263-75.

⁵ *Summary of Papers of the All-India Oriental Conference*, Third Session, pp. 109-15.

⁶ *Malabar Quarterly Review*, VIII, p. 110.

Neḍiyataḷi according to the *Kēraḷōtpatti* was one of the four assembly halls in the capital town, where the councils (*yōgams*) elected their kings (*rakshā-purushas*) under the leadership of their presidents called the *Taliyādirimār* or *Taliyālvāṇs*¹. It is not apparent why the royal writ relating to the Peruneyil temple emanated from the Neḍiyataḷi Assembly Hall instead of from the *Mēṇṇāli* representing *Mūlikkaḷam*, which might be expected to have exercised its jurisdiction over Peruneydal, as it had done in the case of the *Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr* and *Tirukkākkarai* temples.

Pati or *kuḍipati* is the term which has been applied to chieftains in the *Kōṭṭayam* plates² of *Sthāṇu-Ravi* — *Puṇṇaittalai-ppati* and *Pūlaikkūḍi-ppati*, who were petty chieftains controlling restricted areas. *Dēsavāḷis* or officers in charge of *dēsas* or villages would be their equals in status. *Arāṇḍai*³ which literally means 'misery', here appears to signify some kind of tax in money or in kind leviable by the village officers on behalf of the king.

Of the places named in the record, *Kaḍambanāḍu*⁴ and *Iḷandurutti* are the localities from where the *taliyādiris* or presidents of the Neḍiyataḷi assembly are said to have been selected. *Kāpālimaṅgalam* and *Kāmakkāṇappaḷli* are mentioned in the *Tiruvalla* plates⁵ and *Muttūru*⁶ may be the same as the modern *Muttūru* in the *Tiruvalla* taluk. *Tirukkunṇappuḷa* seems to be identical with the village of the same name near *Kārttigaippaḷli* (*Quilon Dn.*) and belonging to the *Eḍappaḷli* chief.⁷

Neḍiyataḷi and *Mēṇṇāli*⁸ occurring in several other records at *Tirukkākkarai* may, in all probability, refer to these two assemblies in addition to being specific villages answering to these names.

¹ *Taḷi* means 'a temple' but here refers to the meeting halls (within temples?) where certain assemblies met. Compare v. 69 of the *Śukasandēśa* of *Lakshmidāsa* (circa 12th cent. A.D.) where the *Chēra* capital *Mahōdayapura*, has been described as having *taḷis*, presided over by all-powerful presidents:

वाचा येषां भवति नृपतिर्नायकी राज्यलक्ष्म्या
 ग्रामान् षष्टिं चतुर इह ये याज्ञवेद्या नयन्ति ।
 ब्रह्मे ब्राह्मेपि च भृगुनिभैः ब्रह्मद्विजसते या
 विप्रन्द्रेक्षिर्विपुलमठवर्षावलीषु स्थलीषु ॥

² *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 80

³ Comp. 'arandai-keḍuttu varan-tarum = iṭaḷ-eṇa' — *Śilappadigāram* (*Uraiperukatturai*, 3).

⁴ *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 220.

⁵ *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 166.

⁶ *Muttūru-kūṇṇam* was the name of an ancient territorial division and it was situated somewhere in the *Pāṇḍyan* kingdom (*Puṇam v. 24*), but it had nothing to do with the village in this record. Compare r. 125 of the *Uṇṇunḷisandēśam*, where this village has been referred to :—

Muttūṇṇiḥchenniniya puḷayam pinniliṭṭēchchu Gaṅgā-
 m-uttūrya tvam viravoḍu sakhē Nālukōḍikku chelka.

⁷ In the island of *Vaipēen*, there is another *Iḷaṅgunnappuḷa* whose famous *Subrahmanya* temple was, prior to its absorption by the *Cochin Durbar*, under the management of the *Raja* of *Paravūr* and an influential *sankṣām* wielding high sacerdotal power (*Cochin State Manual*, p. 373). *Tirukkunṇappōlayam* being used in the neuter gender can have nothing to do with the chief *Yakkaṇ Kunṇappōḷaṇ* figuring in the *Tirukkākkarai* records of the 10th century A.D.

⁸ *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. III, pp. 165-8, and 172-3.

TEXT.¹*First side.*

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] ²Irā-
- 2 māṇḍai=kkeḍir e-
- 3 tṭām=āṇḍu ³Kulai-
- 4 śēkara-Kōyiladi-
- 5 kārigaḷ tiruv-irā-
- 6 chechiyañ=chellā-
- 7 niṇṇa Karkkaṭakat-
- 8 til Viyālatti-
- 9 ¹Virichchika-
- 10 ṇāyirru nālu-
- 11 taḷiyaiyun=Tiru-
- 12 kkuṇṇappōḷai ⁵-
- 13 yuñ=kūṭṭiko-
- 14 ṇḍu Neḷiyataḷi
- 15 irunn-aruḷi Peru-
- 16 neydaḷ-āṭṭaik-
- 17 kōḷal ⁶nālppa-
- 18 diṇ-kalan-nel-
- 19 lum Peruneyda-
- 20 l-arandaiyum a-
- 21 tṭil⁷-pērāy ti-
- 22 rukkaḷi nāṇaichch=a-
- 23 ruḷiyār [||*] Āṭṭai-
- 24 kōḷ namakkāramum
- 25 Mābāratamun=ti-
- 26 ruvuḷḷam paṇ-
- 27 ṇiy=aruḷiyār a-
- 28 maichchulḷuṇḍu[t*]ti-
- 29 y ³Kulaśēkara-Kō-
- 30 yiladikārigaḷ [||*]

Second side.

- 31 Āṭṭaikkōḷ
- 32 nārpadin-kala-
- 33 mum arandaiyu-
- 34 m Peruneydal-
- 35 ūrum poduv-ā
- 36 ḷum aṭṭil-pē⁷
- 37 rāy koṇḍ[ā]r [||*] Kōyi-
- 38 ladikāriga-
- 39 ḷ Kāpālimāṇṇa-
- 40 lattum Muttū-
- 41 rrum oḷḷa
- 42 kuḍi-patik-
- 43 ku tirumuga-
- 44 n=tiruvuḷḷam-
- 45 paṇṇi⁸=Kkāma-
- 46 kkāṇappalli
- 47 Irāman-Tāya-
- 48 ṇum Kaḍammaṇ-
- 49 ṇāṭṭu Nārāya-
- 50 ṇa[n*]-Nārāyaṇaṇum
- 51 ūr-ppoduv-ā-
- 52 ḷuñ=kūḍi tiru-
- 53 m[u]gam paṭiy-uṇ-
- 54 tti⁹ Iraṇḍūr-
- 55 kkuḍi-patiyu-
- 56 m Peruneydal-
- 57 m[u]kkālva¹⁰-
- 58 tṭattu vanṇu

¹ From ink-impressions prepared by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, B.A., M.R.A.S.² Read *irā*°.³ Read *Kulaśēkhara*°.⁴ The usual form will be *Karkkaṭakattil Viyōḷaṇ niṇṇa*; the double locative is uncommon.⁵ The correct accusative will be *Tirukkuṇṇappōḷaiyaiyum*.⁶ *Nālppadin* is the Malayalam form of *nārpadin* (L. 32).⁷ Read *aṭṭip*°.⁸ *Paṇṇi* would be more appropriate.⁹ *Paṭi-uṇṭa* would be more grammatical or *paṭi-uṇṭiyār*, a finite verb, may have been used, as the sentence following mentions a separate item of fact. *Paṭi-uṇṭi* though a finite verb in modern Malayalam could not have been in vogue at the time of the present record, as declensional endings have been used in *aruḷiyār*, *koṇḍār* and *koṇḍūtār*.¹⁰ Before *va*, a letter has been entered and erased.

PERUNEVIL RECORD OF KULASEKHARA-KOYILADHIKARI.

First Side.

2
4
6
8
10
12
14
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18
20
22
24
26
28
30

Second Side.

32
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36
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52
54
56
58

Third Side.

61
63
65
67
69
71

60
62
64
66
68
70
72

Third side.

59 kūḍi a-	66 ṭṭi-kko-
60 randai 'a-	67 ḍuttār
61 ḍikkuma-	68 tiruvuḷ-
62 d=oliñ-	69 lam-paṇ-
63 ñōm=en-	70 ṇiy=araḷi-
64 ru kal=e-	71 yar(ya) mār-
65 ḷudi nā-	73 ggāmē [li*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity!

In the month of Vṛiśchika, of the eighth year current opposite to the second year of (his) prosperous reign, when Jupiter was in Karkaṭaka, Kulaśekhara-Kōyiladhikāri was pleased to be present at Neḍiyataḷi taking (with him) the four *taḷis*² and Tirukkunṛappōḷai, and was pleased to grant as an *aṭṭippēru* with libation of water, (*tirukkai-naṇaichch-aruḷiyār*³) the annual income of forty *kalam* of paddy (accruing) from Peruneydal and the *arandai* of Peruneydal. After informing the ministry, Kulaśekhara-Kōyiladhikāriḷ was also pleased to order the feeding⁴ (of persons) and (the reading of) the *Mahābhārata*⁵ (in the temple) from (this) annual income.

(The members of) the village of Peruneydal and the *poduvāl*⁶ received as *aṭṭippēru* this annual income⁷ of forty *kalam* and *arandai*.

The Kōyiladhikāriḷ having issued the royal order to the chieftains of the inhabitants of Kāpālīmaṅgalam and Muttūru, and Rāman Tāyaṇ of Kāmakkānappaḷi and Nārāyaṇaṇ of Kaḍambanāḷu, as well as, the *ūr-poduvāl*, having together carried (this) royal order to the chieftains, the chieftains of the inhabitants of these two villages came to the temple of Peruneydal and caused the fact that they, as stated in the royal order, ceased to levy⁸ the *arandai*, to be engraved on stone and had it set up.

¹ It cannot be ascertained whether there is any mistake in this word here. If 'mere collection' is implied, the word used is rather rare. Another word 'aḍukkuvaḍu' is defined by Mr. Nagam Ayya in his *Trav. State Manual* as a fee due to the Sirkar from the heir on his succession to the *virutti* holding, for the grant of the Royal need. Dr. Gundert explains it as 'the rights retained by the original proprietor from the purchaser.'

² See note 1, p. 343, above.

³ *Tirukkai-naṇaichcha uḷiyār* means 'was pleased to wet his auspicious (royal) hands,' i.e., 'was pleased to give away with a libation of water' (*aṭṭippēru*, *adaḍadanam*).

⁴ *Namakkāram* (Skt. *nama-kāram*) is an arrangement which consists of feeding Brāhmanas in the temple premises with the food that had been previously offered to the god as *niṣēdanam*, for the merit of, and with the donations made by some individual, either royal or private.

⁵ The reading of the *Mahābhārata* was a favourite form in which temple charities were utilised.

⁶ *Poduvāl*, corresponding to *madhyasthas* of Tamiḷ inscriptions, represents persons who had the supervision of charitable institutions. They were sub-divided into *aga*⁷ and *puṇu-poduvāl*.

⁷ In the expression *aṭṭaikkōḷ*, *aṭṭai*=annual, and *kōḷ* (the substantive of *koḷ*=to receive) the receipt; so the annual income (in kind) from the lands is meant.

⁸ *Aḍikkumuḍu* seems to mean 'realisation (of the tax).'

No. 41.—THE GARAVAPADU GRANT OF GANAPATIDEVA; ŚAKA 1182.

By C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, B.A., OOTACAMUND.

This grant is engraved on three **copper-plates** which were forwarded to the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, in the year 1916, by M. R. Ry. M. Ramakrishnakavi, M.A., late of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, who had obtained them on loan from M. R. Ry. T. Achyuta Rao Pantulu, M.A., Deputy Inspector of Schools. No definite information as to their discovery is available. Their contents have been reviewed in the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for the year 1916-17.¹ The plates have since been acquired for the Madras Museum and deposited there.

The plates are oblong in shape and are held together by a copper ring, the ends of which are rivetted into the back of a circular seal. They measure $9\frac{1}{2}$ " by $5\frac{3}{8}$ " and are about $\frac{1}{4}$ " in thickness. The ring and the seal have a diameter of $3\frac{1}{2}$ " and 2" respectively. The ring had not been cut when the plates came up for examination. They contain four faces of writing in all, the first and the last plates being engraved on their inner sides only. The entire set with ring and seal weighs 274 tolas. On the seal, on a counter-sunk surface, are engraved in relief (1) the symbols of the Crescent and the Sun at the top; below these (2) a **boar**² facing the proper left with a dagger placed in its front with the point upwards, and (3) a cow facing the proper left at the bottom.

The inscription is composed in the Sanskrit language and written in the Telugu characters of the period to which it belongs. The invocatory and narrative portion of the record (lines 1 to 45) consists of 21 verses. This is followed, in lines 45 to 63, by the categorical enumeration of the donees with their *gōtras* and their shares. Lines 63 to 65 give the boundaries of the gift village. These are followed, in lines 65 and 66, by the usual minatory verse beginning with 'खदत्ता' and the closing benediction 'मंगकमहाश्रीश्रीयोः'. On the whole, the inscription is engraved very carefully. The position of the *anusvāra* is not uniform. In some cases it is placed at the proper left top corner of the letter to which it belongs as in the later Chālukyan records, while in a few others it is placed by the side of the letter as at the present day. The *anusvāra* takes the place of the nasal before all consonants. But in some places it does not; e.g. *disanti* in line 1 and *nirvṛṣayanti* in line 2. The consonant following the *rēpha* is doubled. The doubling of the letter *ṇa* is effected by adding a subscript *n* to *ṇa*, e.g., *varṇna* in line 23; *viṣṭirṇna* in line 26, etc.

The word *vēḷi* used for *vēḷi* in verse 1 suggests the influence of the vernacular pronunciation which has a tendency to substitute *la* for the Sanskrit *la*. The expression 'Garavapādākhya' in verse 21 seems to have been employed inadvertently as in Telugu, the correct form *Garavapādākhya* being somewhat difficult to pronounce.³

The composition is marked by force and fluency of style. The author's diction in some places reminds us of that of some great poets. Our mind is drawn to the beautiful expression of Kālidāsa : 'सौदामन्या कनकनिकषस्त्रिगुण्या' in the *Mēghadūta*, by his phrase 'सौदामन्या कनकनिकषच्छायया' employed in verse 6⁴.

¹ Appendix A, No. 4 and page 122, paragraph 30.

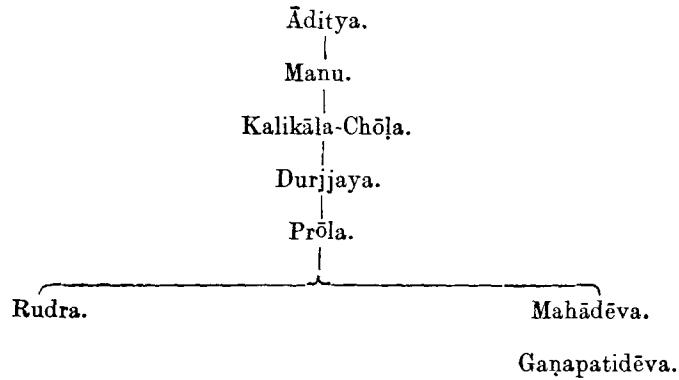
² No. 328 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1905 belonging to King Pratāparudra of this family has the figure of a boar carved above it. The Boar emblem of the Kākatiyas has been noticed by Prof. Hultzsch (above, Vol. XII, p. 189). See also copper-plate No. 17 of *Nellore Inscriptions* in which the 'Boar' emblem is carved.

³ [The name can very well be *Garavapāda* or **pādā*, as given in the inscription, unless the subscript *v* was left out by the engraver.—Ed.]

⁴ [He might have taken it from the *Mēghadūta* itself.—Ed.]

This inscription is the **second** copper-plate record, hitherto found, of the **Kākatīya** dynasty. The one already discovered also belongs to the time of King **Gaṇapati** and is published in the *Nellore Inscriptions*.¹ It is dated in the Śaka year 1176 corresponding to the cyclic year **Ānanda** and is thus six years earlier than the grant under notice.

In verses 1 to 6 are praised in order Vighnarāja (*i.e.*, Vināyaka), Varāha, Sarasvatī,² the moon-crest of Śambhu, the Lord of Ambikā (*i.e.*, Śiva), and Viṣṇu. Verse 7 gives the description of the Lotus coming out of the navel of Viṣṇu from which was born the four-faced Brahmā (verse 8). Verses 9 and 10 state that from his eye came Āditya (*i.e.*, Sun) and from him came **Manu** who was a king that regulated the castes (*varṇas*) and (*their*) duties (*dharma*s) etc. The genealogy from Āditya given in the record is as follows :—



Kalikāla-Chōla is stated to have gone to the **Dakṣiṇāpatha** in the course of a hunting expedition (verse 11). Alighting there upon a famous town called '**Kākatī**' he pitched his extensive camp near it (verse 12). King **Durjjaya** who had the epithet *Raṇa-durjaya*³ (invincible in war) was the next notable member of this family by whom the line of the Kākatī kings was first established (verse 13). Then is mentioned (verse 14) King **Prōla** *i.e.*, Prōla II according to the genealogy of the Mōṭupalli record of Gaṇapatidēva.⁴ His son was **Rudra** (verse 15) who was succeeded by his younger brother **Mahādēva** whose elephants made a breach in the ramparts of the residence of the **Sēvuṇa** (king)⁵ (verse 16). His son was King **Gaṇapatidēva** whose

¹ Copper-plate No. 17.

² The expression actually used is '*Sarasvatīkhyam-tējah*' by which it is clear the author is glorifying the goddess Sarasvatī.

³ A Copper-plate grant of about the 7th century A.D. (No. 6 of Appendix A to the *Epigraphical Report for 1916-17*) mentions Mahārāja Raṇa-durjaya as the founder of the family to which king Prithivi-Mahārāja of the record belonged. He belonged to the Kāśyapa-gōtra. It may be recalled here that Karikāla-Chōla and his descendants claimed to belong to this gōtra and that the long inscription at Malkapuram refers to the Kākatīyas as Durjaya-Kshatriyas (*Epigraphical Report for 1916-17*, page 122, para. 32).

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, page 189. Prof. Hultsch remarks here that 'the first king of this dynasty, Prōla I is not mentioned in any other Kākatīya inscription.' It may, however, be noted that he is the earlier of the two 'Prōlas' mentioned in No. 107 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1902. From No. 204 of 1905 it is seen that Prōla II had two other sons, viz., Harihara and Gaṇapati, not generally known. Of these Gaṇapati probably died at an early age.

⁵ This must be the Dēvagiri Yādava king Bhillama who reigned from A.D. 1187 to 1191 or Jaitugi I who reigned from A.D. 1191 to 1210 (*Bom. Gaz.*, Volume I, Part 2, page 519). Mahādēva's latest year would be A.D. 1197 or 1198.

exploits were great (verse 17). His minister was **Dēvarāja**¹ who was famed for his wide charities (verse 18). He had four sons through his wife **Lakshmī**; they were respectively called **Rāma**, **Tikka**,² **Marichaya** and **Bētaya** (verse 19). In the **Śaka year 1182**, corresponding to the cyclic year **Raudra**, in the month **Chaitra**, on the day of the **Solar eclipse in the dark fortnight**, **Tikka**, the second of the said four sons, granted the village of **Garavapāḍu** as an *agrahāra*, to fifty Brahmans of several *gōtras*³ learned in the *Vēdas* (verses 20 and 21). The date, according to the late Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Ephemeris*, corresponds to **Monday** (not given in the inscription) **April 12, A.D. 1260**. On this day there was a Solar eclipse as stated in the inscription.

The statement that **Karikāla-Chōla** fixed his capital at **Kākatī** in *Dakṣiṇāpatha* is not found in any other known record of this dynasty, though **Kalikāla** (or **Karikāla**)-**Chōla** as an ancestor of the family is mentioned in some. In a few records, however, '**Kākatī**' is referred to as a place with which its early members were connected. An unpublished epigraph⁴ refers to **Kākatī** as the 'family city' (*kulapura*) of this dynasty. Another such epigraph⁵ refers itself to king '**Gaṇapatidēva** of **Kākatīyapura**.'

A chief named **Kākartya Guṇḍyana** is mentioned in an unpublished copper-plate grant⁶ belonging to about A.D. 945 as a subordinate of the Eastern **Chālukya** king **Amma II**.⁷ The family to which the chief belonged is called **Sāmantavoḍḍi**. The epithet '**Kākartya**', which is evidently a variant of '**Kākatya**', must, therefore, refer to a place to which the chief belonged. It is thus almost certain that '**Kākatī**' was an ancient place and the family name **Kākatī**, **Kākatya**, **Kāketa** or **Kākatīya** was based upon the original connection of its members with a town of that name and not upon the worship of any family deity as suggested by **Kumārasvāmin**⁸ [Burnell quoted by Fleet.—Ed.] the learned commentator of the *Pratāparudriya*. If the latter

¹ **Dēvarāja** was not the only minister of the king for we are told that a certain **Śivadēvayya** was his Chief Minister (*Lives of Telugu Poets* by Viresalingam, Old Edition, page 36) who was looked upon as no less than a god. **Śivadēvayya** must have been identical with the great Śaiva teacher **Viśvēśvara-Śiva-Īśika**, the pontiff of the **Gōlākī-maṭha** and the *rāja-guru* of three kings among whom was King **Gaṇapati** (*Epigraphical Report* for 1917, page 123).

² The commander **Tikka** has to be distinguished from his two contemporaries of this name viz., (i) the great poet **Tikkana** who wrote the latter fifteen *parvas* of the *Telugu Mahābhārata* and who is stated to have gone as an ambassador to the Court of **Gaṇapati** from king **Manumasiddhi** of **Nellōru** (Nellore) whose minister he was and (ii) the warrior **Tikka**, the cousin of the poet, who was the commander of the armies of **Manumasiddhi**. **Siddha**, the father of the last was minister under king **Tikka**, the father of **Manumasiddhi** (*Lives of Telugu Poets*, pages 33 to 39). The name **Tikka**, it may be noted, is a contracted form of '**Tiruk-Kālati**' a *Prākṛit* form of '**Śrī-Kālahastī**.' The name was taken after that of the popular god **Śrī-Kālahastīśvara** at **Kālahastī**, **Chittoor District**, **Madras Presidency**. See *Nellore Inscriptions*, A. 7, G. 45, G. 60, etc.

³ Though verse 20 of the inscription states that the village was granted to 'fifty' Brahmans, actually only forty-nine Brahmans received shares. The fiftieth share was granted to **Vallabha** of **Śrikākolānu** viz., **Śrikākolam** in the **Divitaluk** of the **Kistna district**. This is the god of the place who is known also by the name '**Śrikākolēśvara**' and has been popular from early times (see *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1893, Nos. 136-172). While making grants of *agrahāras* it was customary for ancient kings to provide shares for the local deities and for the *Vēdas* chiefly **Rik** and **Yajus** (above, Vol. XVI, p. 253, text line 273 and p. 263). The first eleven recipients of shares are of the **Yāska-gōtra** which is very rarely met with in these days. **Yāska**, the author of the *Nirukta*, was of this *gōtra*. His patronymic is **Paṇḍi** in the *Anukramaṇi* of the *Ātrēyī-śākhā* (Weber *Indische Studien*, I 71, n; 3396; *Vedic Index* by Macdonell and Keith, Vol. II, page 23). The **Muni Yāska** is mentioned in the *Āśvalāyana-Śrautasmṛita* (*Uttarārāḍha*) along with **Vādhūla**, **Mauna**, **Mauka**, **Sārkarākshi**, **Sārshti**, **Sāvarni**, **Śālākāyana**, **Jaimiri** and **Daivantyāyana**, most of whom were founders of *gōtras*.

⁴ No. 204 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1905.

⁵ No. 111 of 1902.

⁶ No. 1 of Appendix A to the *Epigraphical Report* for 1916-17.

⁷ *Ibid.*, page 117 f.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 12.

were the case the deity would have been invoked or praised at least in a few of the innumerable records of this family. And even if there was such a deity known or familiar to the commentator it must have been called so after the place 'Kākati'.¹ There are many instances of the presiding goddess Durgā of a village being called after the village.²

Kānker, the head-quarters of the state of that name, situated immediately to the north of the Bastar State in the Central Provinces was formerly called Kākera, Kākaira and Kākaraya.³ Since epigraphs refer to Kākati as a *pura* (i.e., city) as noticed above, it is very likely that Kānker, as suggested by its ancient names, was identical with Kākati. The forms 'Kākati' 'Kākatya,' etc. might have, in local pronunciation, taken the forms Kākera (cf. the form Kāketa). The connection of the Kākati kings with Kalikāla-Chōla, who is well-known to South Indian history as a king of about the 6th century A.D., and the story that he fixed his capital at the town of Kākati and the appearance, in the adjoining state of Bastar, of an early (Śaka 983) Chōla Chief Chamdrāditya-Mahārāja⁴ who calls himself, like the Kākatiyas, a descendant of Karikāla-Chōla, point to the possibility of the said identity. The advent, again, of Annamarāja, the brother of Kākti (i.e. Kākati) Pratāparudra into Bastar, the present ruling family of which is Kākatiya—though curiously enough Sōmavamsi—must have been only a return to the inherited family territory lying here or such territory reconquered and recovered now.⁵

Among the boundaries of the gift village no village or town is mentioned to help us in its identification. There are villages of the name 'Gārapāḍu' in the Guntur and the Sattenapalle taluks of the Guntur district and in the Nuzvid taluk of the Kistna district. From the reported fact of the discovery of the plates near Ellore in the latter district it may have to be identified with the village of Gārapāḍu in the Nuzvid taluk.⁶

TEXT.

[Metres. Vv. 1, 3 *Sragdharā*; v. 2 *Svāgatā*; v. 4, *Indravajā*; vv. 5, 18 and 20 *Śārdūlavik-rīḍitam*; v. 6 *Mandākrāntā*; vv. 7-8 *Upajāti*; v. 9 *Hārīṇī*; vv. 10, 12-14 and v. 21 *Anuṣṭubh*; v. 11 *Pushpitāgā*; vv. 15-17 *Mālinī*; and v. 19 *Upēndravajā*.]

First Plate.⁸

- 1 'लक्ष्मीं हस्ते दिशन्ति प्रमदमुपहरन्त्यखिवेकादकूलासु-
- 2 र्वीं निर्व्वेशयन्ति प्रतिदिशमचलां कोर्त्तिमानर्त्तयन्ति । किंचान्यद्य-
- 3 द्यदिष्टं निदधति निखिलं तत्तदग्रे समग्रं नित्यं निर्व्वर्त्यमानाः कुशल-

¹ In almost all earlier inscriptions the family name is given as 'Kākati' (see Nos. 213, 244 and 288 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1893).

² [and *vice versa*.—Ed.]

³ Vide Nos. 232 and 253 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1908 and Nos. 124, 128, 169, 228 and 229 of the *Lists of Inscriptions of Central Provinces and Berar* by Hiralal.

⁴ No. 198 of the *Lists of Inscriptions of Central Provinces and Berar* and No. 231 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1908.

⁵ [It is doubtful if philology can allow of such a derivation. Besides, history or rather tradition, goes against it in as much as the Kākatiyas are said to be the descendants of the Pāṇḍava Arjuna and of the Lunar race whereas Karikāla-Chōla and Ganapatidēva belong to the solar race.—Ed.]

⁶ [Line 64 of the text would show that it stood on the Bhāgīrathī. N. P. C.]

⁷ From ink-impressions kindly lent by the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

⁸ This side of the plate is marked close to the ring-hole with the Telugu-Kannaḍa numerical figure for 1.

⁹ The line commences with a spiral which may stand either for *Om* or for *Śrī*. The latter is more probable since even to-day the orthodox practice in the Telugu country is to commence any writing with the letter *Śrī* or an ornamental flourish representing it. [See above Vol. xvii, p. 352 f.n.—Ed.]

- 4 ¹कुलशहा विघ्नराजप्रणामाः ॥ [१*] भूतये भवतु वस्य वराहो-भू-
 5 भूभुवःस्वरधिदैवतमेकं । एकदापि यजनप्रवणानां भूपतित्वम्-
 6 पपादयते यः ॥ [२*] तेजस्सारस्वताख्यं हृदयसरसिजे वः
 7 ²प्रकाशेच शीतज्योतिर्मुक्तासुधांभोनिदि³गगनधुनीचंदनान-
 8 ⁴दनीयं । यस्मिन् संवत्समुद्रे स्फुरति किमपरं निर्भरत्रिस्वरं-
 9 ति स्फायन्मा[धु]र्यधुर्याः परिमकितदिशः श्लोककल्लोललेखाः ॥ [३*]
 10 अन्न[र]तद्विचयसंविभागामराहुदंष्ट्रापरिभूतिभूमिं । अ-
 11 [सु]क्तमौग्धां सुकुटेन शंभोस्संभावितां ध्यायत चंद्रलेखा ॥ [४*] तं सं-
 12 ⁵भायरां विकासहं[च]रं सर्वेपि दर्वाकरालंकारांगमनंगदण्डमनं
 13 ओचंद्र[चू]डामणिं । इ[च्छ]ा यस्य चराचरच्छलभवद्देविध्यलोकत्र-
 14 [यो]ष्टष्टिस्थित्युप[सं]हृतिक्रममयक्रोडाकृतामेडना ॥ [५*] लक्ष्म्या चं-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 15 चत्कनकनिक[ष]च्छायया चारुवत्तास्त्रीदामन्या गतचपलतासौम्य-
 16 ⁶एवांबुवाहः । निर्मर्यादद्विपरथहयोद्विक्त⁷ताटक्कमृ[ध्ये]⁸ भू[त्यै] नि-
 17 त्यं भवतु पुरुषः पुं[ड]रोकेचणो वः ॥ [६*] अनातपायत्तनि[ज]प्रबोधं⁹मचं-
 18 द्विकासंपदधीननिद्रं । सिद्धचतो विष्टपमाविरासोदमुथ नाभेररविंदमेकं ॥
 [७*] त-
 19 [स्मा]करोजादुदभूत्स्वयंभूस्तत्साम्यरम्यैर्वदनेश्चतुर्भिः । दिशश्चतस्रो यु-
 20 [ग]पद्विषण्वन् त[धै]व¹⁰सांगं चतुरोपि वेदान् ॥ [८*] अजनि नयनात्तस्या-
 दित्यस्त्रिलोक-
 21 विभूषणं तिमिर[प]टलद्रोहिज्योतिःपरिष्कृतमंडलः । कमलमिव यः का-
 22 ल्ये लोकं विकासयते परैरखिलममलैरष्टभिर्हिन्दलैरभितो वृतं ॥ [९*]
 तस्मात्तनुरभू-
 23 द्राजा ¹¹वर्णधर्मनियामकः । श्लाघनीयः क्षितिभृतां देवानामिव वा-
 24 सवः ॥ [१०] तदभिजनजनिस्ततो [ध]रित्रीमणि[ष]दिमां कलिकाल-
 चोळदेवः [१*]
 25 दिशि दिशि सृगयाच्छलेन खेलन्नुपगतवानथ दक्षिणापधं¹² सः ॥ [११*]
 पुरं स

¹Read कुलगृह.

²Read प्रकाशित.

³Read ⁰भावयतां.

⁴Read ⁰सुखे.

⁵Read तथैव [and सांगं च]—Ed.]

⁶Read ⁰पथं.

⁷Read ⁰निवि.

⁸Read ⁰येवांबु.

⁹Read ⁰वर्णधर्म.

¹⁰Read ⁰न्द.

¹¹Read ⁰दिक्त.

¹²Read वर्ण⁰ [or वर्ण⁰—Ed.]

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ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 अथ श्रीगणपतिस्तोत्रम् ॥ २ ॥
 गणेशाय नमः ॥ ३ ॥
 गणेशाय नमः ॥ ४ ॥
 गणेशाय नमः ॥ ५ ॥
 गणेशाय नमः ॥ ६ ॥
 गणेशाय नमः ॥ ७ ॥
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 गणेशाय नमः ॥ ९ ॥
 गणेशाय नमः ॥ १० ॥
 गणेशाय नमः ॥ ११ ॥
 गणेशाय नमः ॥ १२ ॥
 गणेशाय नमः ॥ १३ ॥
 गणेशाय नमः ॥ १४ ॥

ii a.

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अथ श्रीगणपतिस्तोत्रम् ॥ १५ ॥
 गणेशाय नमः ॥ १६ ॥
 गणेशाय नमः ॥ १७ ॥
 गणेशाय नमः ॥ १८ ॥
 गणेशाय नमः ॥ १९ ॥
 गणेशाय नमः ॥ २० ॥
 गणेशाय नमः ॥ २१ ॥
 गणेशाय नमः ॥ २२ ॥
 गणेशाय नमः ॥ २३ ॥
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 गणेशाय नमः ॥ ३२ ॥

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SEAL.



- 26 काकतिरिति प्रस्थातं तत्र भूपतिः । प्राप्या[त्त]नस्तद्विस्तीर्ण¹ स्तंभावाकं-
कल्पय-
27 त् ॥ [१२*] आसीत्तदन्वये रा[जा] दुर्जयो रणदुर्जयः । यदुप्रभं वद-
त्यस्य वं-
28 श्यान् काकतिभृष्टतः ॥ [१३*] तत्संततो समुदभूजोलराजाभिधो नृपः ।
29 प्रणामविमुखारातिराजन्यगजकेसरो ॥ [१४*] अलमकृत तक्षोयो नंदनसं-
30 ततिं तां शमितसकललाकोपद्रवो रुद्रदेवः विदधदरतिभंत्यत्प्रत-
31 पौर्वतापः प्रतिनृपजलराशीनंजसा संजहार ॥ [१५*] अश्विषदखिलमु-
र्वीचक्रमा-
32 चक्रवालात्तदनु तदनुजन्मा श्रीमहादेवराजः । यदिभरदववि[द्वः]
33 ²से[व्य]णावासवप्रः शरवणा(ण)भवभिन्नं निष्ठुते क्रौचमद्रिं ॥ [१६*] अथ गणप-

Second Plate ; Second Side³.

- 34 तिदेवस्तस्य पुत्रो धरित्रीमुदवहदुरगेंद्राहंतुदायामवाहुः ।
35 भुवन(भुव)मनितरभूपायत्तमुक्तातपनां व्यधुरतिरथशक्तेयस्य श्री-
36 रायितानि ॥ [१७*] तस्यासीदथ देवराजसचिवो विसंभभूर्भूषतेर्विश्वाशामु-
37 श्मतीतकोत्तिविभव[ज्यो]क्ताविलासाश्रयः । यो दानांभुमहप्रवाहचह-
38 रोनिर्हृतविद्वज्जनस्फूर्जद्गर्गमदुर्गतत्वशमलः सर्वश्रियाप्राश्र-
39 यः ॥ [१८*] जगत्तयत्राश्रयराय[ण*]स्य भु[जे]ः समावा मधुसूदवस्य ।
40 लक्ष्म्यामभूवन्नथ तस्य रामस्तिकाभिधो मंचयवेतयाख्यो ॥ [१९*]
41 शक्तान्दे हयदिकरेभ्रमणिते वर्धे च रौद्राभिदे⁵ चैत्रे मास्मि
42 सितेतरे शुभदिने सूर्योपरागे सुधोः । श्रीमान् तिकचमू-
43 यतिः प्रविततं तेष्वग्रहारं शुभं विप्रेभ्यः फलशास्त्रिशास्त्रिभिरहितं
44 पंचाशते प्राददात् ॥ [२०*] अस्मिन् गरवपाडाख्ये⁶ भागिनाममज्जानां ।
45 नामगोत्राणि लिख्यंते विदुषां वेदवेदिनां ॥ [२१*] श्रीमनाथाख्ये
46 द्विभागे । जनाईनार्थः एकभागे । नामनार्थः एकभागे । वासुनाथः
एकभा- ।

¹ Read °स्तीर्ण° [or °स्तीर्ण° —Ed.]

² Read सेवुणा°.

³ This side of the plate is marked with the Telugu-Kannada numerical symbol for 2.

⁴ Read जगत्तय°.

⁵ Read रौद्राभिदे.

⁶ Read °पाडाख्ये.

47 गी । कामनार्यः एकभागी । मैलारार्यो द्विभागी । सोमनार्यः
एक-

48 भागी । केशवार्यः एकभागी । मा[त]वार्यः एकभागी । दामोदरार्यः[.]

Third Plate.¹

49 एकभागी । मारनार्यः एकभागी । एते यस्कगोत्राः ॥ केशवार्यो
द्विभागी । चो-

50 डनार्यः एकभागी । नागनार्यः एकभागी ॥ (i) केशवार्यः एकभागी ।
ए००पोतार्यः-

51 [.] एकभागी । प्रोलनार्यः एकभागी । [i] नर[सिं]हार्यः एकभागी ।
प्रोलनार्यः एकभागी [i*] आ-

52 द्वित्यार्यः एकभागी । भास्करार्यः ए[क*]भागी । पोतनार्यः एकभागी ।
एते हरितगोत्राः [ii*]

53 पोतनार्यो द्विभागी । चा[व]नार्यः एकभागी । अप्पनार्यः एकभागी ।
प्रोलनार्यः

54 एकभागी । कामनार्यः एकभागी । प्रोलनार्यः एकभागी । मामेनार्यः
एकभा-

55 गी । प्रोलनार्यः एकभागी । सूरनार्यः एकभागी । एते श्रोवत्सगोत्राः ॥
सूर-

56 नार्यः एकभागी । गौतमगोत्रः ॥ अनेनार्यः एकभागी । आत्रेयगोत्रः ॥
मारना-

57 र्यः एकभागी । वाधूलगोत्रः ।² नन्दनार्यः एकभागी । गार्ग्यगोत्रः³ ॥
पोत-

58 नार्यः एकभागी । बोह्नार्यः एकभागी । मैलारार्यः एकभागी ।
[एते*] काश्य-

59 पगोत्राः ॥ प्रोलनार्यः एकभागी । कोल्लनार्यः एकभागी । प्रोलनार्यः

60 एकभागी । कोमनार्यः एकभागी । चौवनार्यः एकभागी । एते
भारद्वाजगोत्राः ॥

61 प्रोलनार्यः एकभागी । कोमनार्यः एकभागी । कोमनार्यः द्विभागी ।
गोवर्धना-

¹ The plate is marked with the Telugu numerical figure for 3 near the ring-hole.

² [Danda is unnecessary.—Ed.]

³ Read गार्ग्यगोत्रः.

- 62 र्यः एकभागी । केशवार्यः एकभागी । मे[ड]नार्यः एकभागी ।¹
एते कौशिकगोत्राः ॥ श्रीका-
- 63 कीलनिवसभस्य एको भागः ॥ अस्य ग्रामस्य सीमानः । पूर्वतः²
ऊहगुलकुंट । आग्नेय्यां
- 64 बेलगकुंट । दक्षिणतः ।³ नेलगुंटमध्यसु । 'नैरित्यपश्चिमवायव्यतः । भीमर[थी] ।⁴
उत्तर-
- 65 तः ।⁵ पायुं[पु]ष्ट । ईशान्यतः मूरपुष्ट ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरत
वसुं-
- 66 घरां । षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि विद्यायां जायते क्रिमिः⁵ ॥ [२२*] मंगळ-
महाश्रीश्रीश्रीः ॥

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1). Salutations to Vighnarāja, offered every day, being the family home of prosperity, bestow wealth on hand, convey great pleasure, cause the enjoyment of the earth which wears the silk garment of the sea-coast, set a-dancing everlasting fame in every quarter of the globe and also place before (us), exhaustively, everything that is desired !

(V. 2). May that Varāha (i.e., the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu), the sole presiding deity of (the three worlds) Bhūḥ, Bhuvaḥ and Svaḥ, who bestows royalty even on those that were once devoted to sacrifice⁶, be for your prosperity (i.e., bless you)!

(V. 3). May that Lustre of Learning, shine in the lotus of your heart, which is delightfully enjoyable like the Cool-rayed (Moon), the pearl, the nectar-sea, the celestial river and the sandal! And what more? While this sea of knowledge heaves up, series of the waves of verses flow forth unceasingly, laden with increasing sweetness, perfuming the quarters.

(V. 4). Meditate upon that streak of the Moon which has not shaken off its coyness (i.e., remains tender), which is honoured by the crown of Śambhu, which knows not the vicissitudes of growth and decay and which is not subject to humiliation by the fangs of Rāhu !

(V. 5). Worship you all the Companion of Ambikā, the glorious Moon-crested One (i.e., Śiva), whose body is adorned with snakes, who destroyed the pride of Anaṅga (i.e., Cupid) and whose volition is (the cause of) the repeated sport consisting of the order of creation, protection and destruction of the three worlds (with their) duality born of the apparent (phenomena of) the movable and the immovable !

(V. 6). May the Lotus-eyed Purusha (i.e., Vishṇu) whose chest is beautiful with (the goddess) Lakshmi of sparkling hue like that of the golden streak on the touchstone (and who is) compar-

¹ [Rules of sandhi are not observed in this list.—Ed.]

² Read पूर्वतः.

³ [The danda is to be omitted.—Ed.]

⁴ Read नेच'ल°. ⁵ [Read क्रिमिः.—Ed.]

⁶ The reference here might be to the story of Varāha-Vishṇu having raised to royalty the Dēvas, who were devoted to sacrifices, having vanquished the Asura Hiranyāksha. Or it may be to the fact of His bestowing royal glory upon the descendants of the Munis, Mānavya and his son Hārīta, i.e., the Chālukyas, who had the Boar emblem, probably on this account. [अपि would show that there is no such reference. The idea seems to be that Varāha bestows royalty even on those who worship him only once.—Ed.]

able to the cloud (lit. with lighting), that is void of fickleness and handsome, be ever for (*i.e.*, grant) that prosperity of limitless increase such as overflows with elephants, chariots and horses !

(V. 7). From the navel of this (*Vishṇu*) who desired to create the world there appeared a lotus, which did not depend upon the Sun for its awakening (*i.e.*, blossoming) and which did not depend upon the splendours of the moon-light for its sleep (*i.e.*, closure).

(V. 8). From that lotus arose the Self-born (*Brahmā*) simultaneously determining the four quarters with the four faces beautiful like itself (*i.e.*, the lotus) and even so (*i.e.*, simultaneously) revealing the four *Vēdas* with their branches (*aṅgas*).

(V. 9). Of his eye was born the Sun, the ornament of the three worlds, whose round form is adorned with the light which is hostile to the mass of darkness and who opens (*i.e.*, awakens), at the morn, the entire world (*which is*) like a lotus closed in all round by the eight petals, *viz.*, the eight quarters.

(V. 10). From him was born the king *Manu*, the regulator of castes and (*their*) duties, who was praiseworthy among the lords of the earth like *Vāsava* (*i.e.*, *Indra*) among the *Dēvas*.

(V. 11). Then (*i.e.*, in course of time) ruled this earth *Kalikāla-Chōḷadēva*, who had his birth in that noble race (*of Manu*). Sporting, for the sake of hunt, in the several quarters, he reached *Dakṣiṇāpatha*.

(V. 12). Reaching there the well-known town called *Kākati*, the king fixed his extensive camp at that extensive place.

(V. 13). In his family was born King *Durjaya*, unconquerable in war (*raja-durjaya*), whose foundation (*people*) say that the *Kākati* kings, born in his race, were.

(V. 14). In his line was born the king called *Prōlarāja*, who was a lion to the elephants, *viz.*, the hostile kings disinclined to do homage (*to him*).

(V. 15). (*Then*) adorned that race, his son *Rudradēva*, who removed all sufferings on earth and the sea-fire of whose prowess, causing internal (*i.e.*, mental) distress, quickly consumed the oceans of hostile kings.

(V. 16). Then, his younger brother, the glorious *Mahādēvarāja* ruled the entire circle of the earth right up to the *Chakravāla* mountain, the residential rampart of the *Sēvuṇa* (*king*) breached by the tusks of whose elephants, eclipses the *Krauñcha* mountain cleft by *Śaravaṇa-bhava* (*i.e.*, *Kumāra*).

(V. 17). Then bore (*i.e.*, ruled) the earth, his son, *Gaṇapatidēva*, who had arms long enough to give pain to the Lord of serpents (*i.e.*, *Ādisēsha*) and the exploits of him, who had the strength of an *utiratha* (*i.e.*, super-chariot-warrior), rendered the earth (*with its royal*) pearl umbrella subject to (*the authority of*) no other king.

(V. 18). Now, that king had a minister (*named*) *Dēvarāja*, who possessed his confidence, who was the repository of the glory of the moon-shine of great fame, sung by the mouths of the several quarters of the globe and who removed the dirt, which was the insurmountable poverty of learned men, with the waves of the big streams of water (*poured out on the occasions*) of gifts and who was the refuge of all (kinds of) prosperity.

(V. 19). To him were born, through (*his wife*) *Lakṣmī* (*four sons*) *viz.*, *Rāma*, *Tikka*, *Marichaya* and *Bētaya*, resembling the (*four*) arms of *Madhusūdana* (*i.e.*, *Vishṇu*) who is occupied with the protection of the three worlds.

(V. 20). In the *Śaka* year counted by two, the elephants of the quarters (*i.e.*, eight) and *Isas* (*i.e.*, eleven), *i.e.*, 1182, in the (*cyclic*) year called *Raudra*, in the month *Chaitra*, on the auspicious day (*in the*) dark (*fortnight*) on (*the occasion of*) the solar eclipse, the wise and the illustrious general *Tikka*, of those (*four brothers*), gave, to fifty¹

¹ See f. n. 3 on p. 348 above.

Brahmans, an extensive and prosperous *a rahāra* (i.e., Brahman village) possessing fruitful paddy (-fields).

(V. 21). (Hereunder) are written the names and the *gōtras* of the learned Brahmans versed in the Vēdas and holding shares in this (*agrahāra*) called **Garavapāḍu**.¹

No.	Name.	Share or shares.	Gōtra.	No.	Name.	Share or shares.	Gōtra.
1	Sōmanāthāryya .	2	Yaska.	26	Prōlanāryya .	1	Śrīvatsa.
2	Janārddanāryya .	1		27	Kāmanāryya .	1	
3	Nāmanāryya .	1		28	Prōlanāryya .	1	
4	Vāmanāryya .	1		29	Māmēnāryya .	1	
5	Kāmanāryya .	1		30	Prōlanāryya .	1	
6	Mailārāryya .	2		31	Sūranāryya .	1	Gautama.
7	Sōmanāthāryya .	1		32	Sūranāryya .	1	
8	Kēśavāryya .	1		33	Ammēnāryya .	1	
9	Mātavāryya (Mādhavāryya?)	1		34	Māranāryya .	1	
10	Dāmōdarāryya .	1		35	Namdanāryya ³ .	1	
11	Māranāryya .	1	Harita.	36	Pōtanāryya .	1	Kāśyapa.
12	Kēśavāryya .	2		37	Bōddanāryya .	1	
13	Chōḍanāryya .	1		38	Mailārāryya .	1	
14	Nāganāryya .	1		39	Prōlanāryya .	1	
15	Kēśavāryya .	1		40	Kōllanāryya .	1	
16	Ērapōtāryya .	1		41	Prōlanāryya .	1	Bhāradvāja.
17	Prōlanāryya ² .	1		42	Kōmmanāryya .	1	
18	Narasimhāryya .	1		43	Chauvanāryya .	1	
19	Prōlanāryya .	1		44	Prōlanāryya .	1	
20	Ādityāryya .	1		45	Kōmmanāryya .	1	
21	Bhāskarāryya .	1	Śrīvatsa.	46	Kōmmanāryya .	2	Kauśika.
22	Pōtanāryya .	1		47	Gōvarddhanāryya .	1	
23	Pōtanāryya .	2		48	Kēśavāryya .	1	
24	Chāvanāryya .	1		49	Mēḍanāryya .	1	
25	Appanāryya .	1		50	Vaḷlabha of Śrikākōlanu.	1	
							This is a god.

¹[The plate gives Garavapāḍa (or °pāḍā. See f. n. 5 on p. 346 above).—Ed.]

²[Prōla (or Pōla) seems to be connected with Pōlēri or Pōlēramma which is a corruption of Prōlēlamma 'the goddess that presides over the city'. The elision of *r* accounts for forms like Pōla, Pōlēri and Pōlimēra, etc.—K. V. S.]

³Read Nandanāryya.

Ll. 62f The boundaries of this village (are) :—

On the east : **Ūḍḍugulakuṇṭa**¹;

On the south-east : **Vēlagakuṇṭa**¹ ;

On the south : the centre of **Nēlaguṇṭa**¹ ;

On the south-west, west and north-west : (*the stream*) **Bhīmarathi** ;

On the north : **Pāyuripuṭṭa**²;

On the north-east : **Mūrapuṭṭa**².

[V. 22 is the usual minatory verse warning one against the sin of revoking gifts of land made by oneself or by others.]

(L. 65). May there be three-fold prosperity, auspicious and great !

¹ This must have been a pond.

² This must have been an ant-hill.

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¹ Mr. G. S. Ramanathan, B. A., of my office has proved very useful in the preparation of this index.

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